THE

Parliamentary Regiſter;

OR

HISTORY

OF THE

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES

OF THE

HOUSE OF COMMONS;

CONTAINING AN ACCOUNT OF

The moſt intereſting SPEECHES and MOTIONS; accurate Copies of the moſt remarkable LETTERS and PAPERS; of the moſt material EVIDENCE, PETITIONS, &c. laid before and offered to the HOUSE,

DURING THE

FIFTH SESSION of the SEVENTEENTH PARLIAMENT

OF

GREAT BRITAIN.

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DEBATES AND PROCEEDINGS

IN THE

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

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THE

HISTORY



OF THE

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES

OF THE

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

In the FIFTH SESSION of the

Seventeenth Parliament of GREAT BRITAIN,

Appointed to be holden at WESTMINSTER,

On THURSDAY, the 25th of NOVEMBER, 1790.

Tuesday, 30th December, 1794.

A MESSAGE from His Majesty was delivered by Sir Francis Molyneux, Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod:

Mr. Speaker,

The King commands this honourable House to attend His Majesty immediately in the House of Peers.

Accordingly, Mr. Speaker, with the House, went up to attend His Majesty; and being returned,

Mr. SPEAKER acquainted the House, that in pursuance of the directions of an act of the 24th of his present Majesty, he had issued his warrants, during the recess, to the Clerk of the Crown, to make out new writs for the election of several Members to serve in Parliament.

The Speaker was now proceeding to read the bill to prevent Clandestine Outlawry, for the purpose of opening the business of the session, when

Mr. SHERIDAN rose, and said, he was sorry to present himself to the Chair at this moment, but particular circumstances made it absolutely necessary. He was compelled at that moment to state some objections to a proceeding which had usually passed without any observation—he meant the question which was now before the House, Whether the bill to prevent clandestine outlawries be now read? He objected to putting that question, upon this ground—it had been the uniform practice of the House to read that bill on the opening of every session of Parliament, before they proceeded to take His Majesty's speech into consideration; this he understood to be a custom for the purpose of expressing the right of the House of Commons to proceed to any business previous to taking into consideration the speech from the Throne. He thought this right not an useless, barren trifle, but a right to be insisted upon whenever an occasion should occur for any practical good purpose. He conceived the opportunity was now come for asserting that right, and this he did by way of enforcing the principle in the strongest manner possible.—With that view he must object in form to the reading of the bill now proposed to be read, in order to introduce a motion upon another subject. We were now called upon seriously to advise His Majesty, in a time the most extraordinary, in a situation the most critical and alarming, upon a subject of the utmost importance to this country at large, as well as to every Member of that House; and, before they could say they were in a proper situation to give fit advice to His Majesty, in a free, fair, and impartial manner, it was essentially necessary they should themselves be free, which could not, with any colour of reason, be said to be the case while the Habeas Corpus act remained suspended. His object, therefore, was, after this question was negatived, to move for leave to bring in a bill to repeal the act of the last session of Parliament, which suspended the Habeas Corpus act. He was confident there could be no objection from Ministers to this mode of proceeding, unless they would assert, that there does exist at this moment the same paramount necessity as that on which they grounded the suspension of the Habeas Corpus act, thereby depriving every Englishman of a right which is most dear to him. If he was told, that the bill which he now wished to repeal had but a very short time to run; or if he should be told it was not intended to be renewed, he would answer, that he would not suffer such a bill to die a natural death; that he would not wait a month, a week, a day, or a single moment, after the meeting of Parliament, without calling on that House to act as independent, honourable, and free agents for the Public, but would defend those rights of the People which had been

invaded by Ministers; rights, which the People, if fairly left to the exercise of them, would never abuse. He concluded with saying, that, unless the House should testify a disinclination to the measure, he should move for leave to bring in a bill, to repeal the act of the last session of Parliament for suspending the Habeas Corpus act.

Mr. DUNDAS expressed his doubts relative to the propriety of the honourable Member's objections at this particular time.

The SPEAKER admitted the propriety of Mr. Sheridan's conduct. A question had been urged in the usual mann r, to which the honourable gentleman, as a Member of Parliament, had a right, if he pleased, to object. The parties were now at issue, and it was the House alone which could decide the difference.

Mr. DUNDAS supported the original motion as submitted to them by the Speaker. As to that to which Mr. Sheridan called their attention, he could by no means give his acquiescence. He saw no reason why the more urgent discussion of the day should be delayed for the purpose of deliberating on a subject of an extraneous nature. Before the expiration of the bill, which happened in the month of February, there would be ample opportunities to consider the propriety of its renewal. If, however, his opinion could afford any gratification, he had no scruple in declaring, that, if from the complection of the times, no stronger reasons appeared for the discontinuance of its suspension, than at present existed, the safety of the Government and the Country demanded its renewal in the month of February.

Mr. JEKYLL said, that though Mr. Dundas seemed to have made up his mind by anticipation, it did not follow that this House should be of his opinion. He expected, from the candour of the right honourable gentleman who spoke last, that he should not have insisted now on the propriety of continuing the suspension of the Habeas Corpus act, without assigning some reason for it. But he only enjoined them to wear their shackles to the month of February; and he should then condescend to think of the expediency of taking them off. The late events should teach the House the better lesson of maintaining its own respectability. The verdicts of the virtuous juries at the Old Bailey had sufficiently demonstrated that no such thing as a conspiracy had existed in this country. The honourable gentleman (Mr. Sheridan) had stated, that the suspension of the Habeas Corpus act kept the people, and the representatives of the people, in shackles. In this opinion he agreed with him, and therefore thought that it ought instantaneously to be repealed, and that the people ought not to be shackled another day, much less to be allowed

to remain till February at the will of Ministers. There never was a time which called more for strict inquiry into the conduct of Ministers than the present. The House had, on the suggestion of certain persons, declared there existed a plot in this country, thereby in a great measure prejudging and preventing the fair operation of the Grand Jury. Persons were accused on that occasion, and many things were published against the accused, and even threats held out in papers well known to be under the influence of Government, in order to bring about a verdict contrary to the good sense, the honour, and the justice of the jury. Their verdicts, however, were well known, and the practical inference from these trials was, that there never existed any such plot as was stated to exist, and that there was no occasion for shutting up individuals for six months upon such charges as had been preferred against them. But he hoped the day would come when such practices would be fairly examined, as well as the subject of new-fangled treasons, introduced by Ministry, in direct and unconstitutional contradiction to the statute of Edward the Third.

A Member on the Treasury side of the House, (Mr. MAURICE ROBINSON) said he should oppose the suspension of the Habeas Corpus act when the proper time came for discussing it; but that he could not agree to any departure from the usual mode of proceeding on the first day of the session, more especially at a period when every thing that might admit of a construction disrespectful to His Majesty ought to be avoided.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL, (Sir John Mitford) thought it a duty incumbent upon him to deliver his sentiments on this occasion; because, if any blame was attached to those in power, he was in a great degree implicated. So far from having any doubts on the subject, he declared that he was more and more, from the proceedings that had taken place on the trials, convinced of the existence of the conspiracy. The only effect of the late verdicts, he stated to be, that the persons acquitted could not be again tried for the same offence! They by no means went, in his opinion, to affect the general question. One of the persons who were tried and acquitted, he meant Mr. Tooke, had afterwards, when examined on his oath, admitted the existence of such a conspiracy, and the intention of calling together a British Convention:—

Mr. BRANDLING interrupted the learned gentleman by observing, that his reverence for the Constitution would not allow him to sit in silence while he heard the smallest insinuation against the conduct of jurors. Those summoned on the late trials had certainly acted agreeably to the dictates of their conscience; therefore

it would be proper and wife in gentlemen—more efpecially thofe of the learned profeffion—to withhold any obfervations which might be conftrued unfavourable to them.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL proceeded by ftating the topic of difpute, and by adverting more particularly to what had fallen from the gentlemen on the oppofite fide. The latter denied the exiftence of a confpiracy—he and his friends, on the contrary, fupported the affirmative. But no gentleman who wifhed for a rational difcuffion would deny that a confpiracy of fuch a nature might exift, as, in the refult of a profecution, would tend to the conviction of fome, and the acquittal of others. The perfons accufed might, indeed, be all equally guilty; but by the doubts of the jurors, or by the deficiency of the evidence, a difcrimination of the nature now defcribed might follow. Not only the evidence of a perfon tried and acquitted, prove upon oath the exiftence of the confpiracy, but the Report of the Committee, fanctioned by that Houfe, ferved to corroborate the affertion.

"If the Juries had been as well informed of facts as I was, they would have acted in a different manner! I do not, however, attempt to ftigmatize them for their conduct. The fituation of this country has, indeed, the moft ferious complection! [*Hear! Hear! Hear!* from the oppofite fide.] The fneer of ridicule I can defpife in the difcharge of my duty, but, at leaft, let gentlemen comprehend my meaning before they fignify their approbation or difapprobation. I fay, that there are men in this country who propagate doctrines of the moft dangerous tendency. There are men who pretend to do one thing, while their real actions appear diametrically oppofite. There are men of a malignant fpirit, who, to obtain a parliamentary reform, think any means juftifiable.—There are focieties, affiliated, after the example of the deteftable Jacobins of France, whofe aim is univerfal fuffrage, whofe plans of reform are impracticable, becaufe they would unavoidably introduce the French anarchy, with all its horrid concomitants. Thence I conclude, that a confpiracy has exifted, and does ftill exift, to overturn the happy Conftitution and Government of this country!" Should a doubt remain in the minds of fober and impartial men, let them turn their attention to the papers and addreffes of the different focieties who have been unbounded in their praifes of the French Convention.—Let them ferioufly ponder over the feveral congratulations, written by their malignant leaders, and recorded in their proceedings—Let them examine alfo the writings of thofe who have fupported the French revolution, and thofe who are the moft enthufiaftic reformers. They will at once collect from thefe

fertile ſources, the object and ſpirit of the modern reformers; they will thence be convinced of the exiſtence of a conſpiracy! Their affected moderation ſerves to put men of political penetration on their guard; and even the mildeſt of their champions cannot ſufficiently diſguiſe their intentions.

Of the ſpeculative writers on this ſubject, one of the moſt eloquent ſays, "Let us obtain univerſal ſuffrage, and monarchy and ariſtocracy will be but as duſt in the balance." All this is true. If univerſal ſuffrage be obtained, monarchy and ariſtocracy will be but as duſt in the balance, becauſe the diſtinctions of ſociety are properly weighed and adjuſted by the preſent ſyſtem, and thus the equilibrium retained; but univerſal ſuffrage being inconſiſtent with order and the true adminiſtration of juſtice and the laws, the proportions are deſtroyed, and riot and confuſion will bear down the ſcale. This was fully eſtabliſhed in the courſe of the trials. Thoſe who were engaged, contended not for univerſal ſuffrage only, but for the inalienable right of the people to effect a reform. Such rights can exiſt neither in this nor in any other well-regulated country. There would be perpetual innovation, and perpetual confuſion. To demand as a right——

Mr. MAINWARING interrupted the learned gentleman in his argument, by reminding him of the queſtion, from which he ſuſpected he had unwarily departed. He declared he thought the learned gentleman was going beyond the rules and orders of the Houſe.

The SPEAKER was of opinion, that as the point in diſpute originated from an obſervation that no plot now exiſted in this country, and as the obſervations of the learned gentleman tended to maintain that ſuch a plot did exiſt, he could not be ſaid in ſtrictneſs to have departed from the rule of order.

Mr. FOX obſerved, that the motion intended to be made by his honourable friend ought not to be objected to. The Houſe, for the purpoſe of aſſerting their own dignity and independence, and not from a deſire of ſhewing any diſreſpect to the Crown, for that would at all times be improper in the Houſe of Commons, had proceeded to read a bill, or do ſome other act, previous to taking the ſpeech from the Throne into their conſideration. This they did firſt for the purpoſe of eſtabliſhing, and afterwards continuing a right which they now inconteſtably enjoyed, and it was a right they ſhould continue to enjoy, becauſe it was beneficial to the Public; and that being the view he had of the ſubject, he confeſſed that all the debate which had ariſen on the obſervation of his honourable friend's was ſtrictly regular, for it certainly was as regu-

lar for one person to assert, as it was for another to deny the existence of a plot. He listened with great attention, as he ought to do, to what he heard from the Solicitor General. The learned gentleman had given his own opinion on these trials, and he had also taken notice of the decision of the Jury. Now in giving his own opinion, even although his arguments should be against it, he had a right to do so; but it did not appear that the Jury gave him any authority to say any thing for them. Now with regard to the verdict of acquittal of a Jury, Mr. Fox said he understood it to be in the language of the Constitution of this country, an establishment of the innocence of the accused—a complete vindication of character, and restoration of honour. But he had heard language to-night which was to him entirely new, for he had been told that the verdict of acquittal was in effect no more than that the accused party should not be tried again on the same charge. That was a definition of law, he trusted, he should never hear again, even from the colleagues of that learned gentleman. He had not the good fortune to hear his speech on the late trials, but there appeared to him, from what he had heard of that speech, to be a repetition of considerable parts of it to-night. The learned gentleman had insisted on the existence of a treasonable plot, because it appeared that there were some persons who wished for universal suffrage and annual parliaments; and because addresses had been presented to the French Convention, or because these persons held opinions upon political subjects contrary to those of the learned gentleman. It was thus the doctrine of constructive treason was to be maintained; doctrines, which if permitted to pass unnoticed in any place where the publication of opinion was important, might in time be insisted upon as the law of the land. The learned gentleman said, that the evidence on the trials proved the existence of a treasonable plot: he might think so; but, did the Jury think so?—Most unquestionably they did not. The Jury had the advantage of hearing the speech of that learned gentleman, but it did not convince them; and, Mr. Fox said, if he might judge from the specimen, which the learned gentleman had given to-night, he believed it would have had no better effect upon himself. The learned gentleman said he was better informed than the Jury: but it did not appear from that observation, that the learned gentleman had communicated that superior knowledge, either on the trials on that occasion, or to the House in the present instance. Mr. Fox then took notice of the acquittals of Mr. Hardy, Mr. Tooke, Mr. Thelwall, and all the other gentlemen who had been indicted as authors of a treasonable plot, on which it had been maintained in that House, that extraordinary steps

ought to be taken. The Jury had negatived the existence of that plot, by finding them all not guilty.—That Jury were not men who had favours to ask of Government;—they were not Members in that House adopting the Report of a Secret Committee, afterwards voting for the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, and then, perhaps, within a month, called to the House of Peers. No; they were men who honestly and conscientiously performed their duty, and he believed they performed it well to the satisfaction of the Public; and happy indeed it was for the people of this country that their lives and characters, and every thing they held most dear, was in such hands. Now, how stood the case?—A Committee of that House had declared there existed a treasonable conspiracy in this country; the jury, by their verdict, had denied its existence. He did not ask the prosecutors whether they were satisfied of the existence of a plot; he dared say they were; but he would ask a jury, and they would answer him there was no such plot. With these reflections, he thought his honourable friend fully justified in calling the attention of the House as early as possible to the subject; for, if time were given, fresh plots, new false alarms, and conspiracies might be brought forward to answer the same purposes as the former. They would call out their new John Nokes and Thomas Stiles, and all the herd of their spies, to support such plots, and therefore to avoid the possibility of such evils recurring, it was essential that no time should be lost. This was a subject on which those who felt for the Constitution as they ought, would consider gravely, and the more especially as doctrines had been maintained on the law of treason, by Advocates, whose learning and importance carried with their opinion almost as much weight as if coming from the Bench; doctrines, which, if allowed to creep in, and establish themselves, might, in process of time, be destructive to the civil liberty of the country. It was a point, therefore, which could not be too soon or too seriously discussed; for it was alarming to hear what he had indeed apprehended would be the case, because he knew that there was nothing so desperate, of which Ministers were not capable, that on such pretences the Habeas Corpus act was to be again suspended, after it had been proved already that the very cause for that suspension did not exist. He concluded with professing his readiness to discuss the subject at length, whenever it came in a formal manner before the House, but if his honourable friend should persist in making his motion to-night, he should vote in its favour.

Mr. Serjeant ADAIR said he would not enter at large into the subject, but some things he had heard this night from his right ho-

nourable friend, made it impoſſible for him to ſit ſtill. He had had a ſhare in the conduct of the proſecutions alluded to, and he ſhould not ſhelter himſelf under the right of pleading the duty of an Advocate, he ſhould ſcorn to avail himſelf of ſuch a ſubterfuge; in the part which he had taken he avowed the moſt unequivocal reſponſibility, and he was ready to deliver his opinion freely in that Houſe upon that ſubject whenever it ſhould be diſcuſſed, at full length. This much, however, he muſt ſay now, that he did not agree with his right honourable friend as to the conſtitutional operation of a verdict of acquittal in a Court of Juſtice. He had ſaid that ſuch an acquittal was a complete eſtabliſhment of innocence, and a complete juſtification of the accuſed. So little did he think that to be the caſe, that no perſon was bound to form that concluſion for himſelf in that Houſe. Out of that Houſe it was unqueſtionably every man's duty not to arraign the verdict of any jury, but in that Houſe there was no ſuch injunction when the ſubject came to be diſcuſſed. Neither the preſumption of common ſenſe, nor any rule of legiſlative diſcuſſion required that any Member of that Houſe ſhould agree in declaring that a perſon was wholly and entirely innocent of an offence laid to his charge, becauſe he ſtood acquitted in a Court of Juſtice. As well might it be ſaid that an houſe-breaker, highway-man, or pick-pocket, was as pure and honourable a character as his right honourable friend, merely becauſe by the forms of a Court of Law he ſhould be entitled to his acquittal. The truth was, that every man accuſtomed to attend Courts of Juſtice, knew that many guilty men were acquitted, not becauſe any real doubts might be entertained of their guilt, but becauſe they were entitled to that acquittal by the ſtrict rules of legal evidence. He obſerved he did not expect to hear it argued, that merely from the effect of an acquittal, and without attending to any other circumſtances, the accuſed party muſt be conſidered as purely innocent. He ſhould not arraign the verdict of a jury any where elſe, nor did he wiſh to ſay any thing upon this ſubject. The jury were conſtituted as they ought to be conſtituted, they were nominated by the Sheriff in the uſual form, and returned. On the time for proceeding to the challenges, a vaſt number of them appeared to be diſqualified, ſcarcely enow attending to allow the priſoner his peremptory challenges, and the Crown the challenges in the form the law required. It was not neceſſary that the jury ſhould be clearly ſatisfied of the entire innocence of the party accuſed in order to acquit him; if there was a doubt in their mind, that doubt was ſufficient ground for their acquittal. But would any man ſay that becauſe upon ſuch a doubt, they might

acquit, therefore there was no ground for the charge, or that the party was entirely innocent? It had been said that doctrines of high treason which were dangerous to the Constitution, had been maintained on the late trials. He knew not to whom in particular that observation was directed. He was ready to take the responsibility on himself for what he had said upon these trials. He also had noticed much of what had been said by others, and in no instance did there appear to him any thing that could warrant such an observation. The two learned gentlemen who took the lead in the prosecutions, had so conducted themselves as to rivet his esteem to them for ever. He concluded with observing that he should have sat silent if he had not heard some doctrines, which, in his opinion, ought to be refuted, especially as they came from an authority which was so justly and so highly respected.

Mr. FOX, after a short compliment to the learned and honourable gentleman who spoke last, observed, that no respect or esteem which he might have for him should bias his opinion upon any subject. He did not mean to insinuate that that learned gentleman had delivered any opinion as an advocate, which he did not believe to be a just one. Notwithstanding that, Mr. Fox observed, that nothing should deter him from forming and delivering his own sentiments, the more especially upon points that involve every thing that can be dear to every honest man in this country. And upon this he would now declare that much of the doctrine maintained on the late trials for high treason was contrary, as it appeared to him, to the letter, and to the spirit of the act of Parliament of the 25th of Edward III. and as far as he had examined, not warranted upon any good legal authority, doctrines which he knew to be incompatible with the spirit of any good law, and which he believed to be disgusting to the most enlightened and independent subjects of Great Britain. With respect to the effect of the verdict of the jury, all he had pronounced was the opinion of the jury; they had expressed no doubts, and he knew of none; therefore, he took it as it appeared, that the accused were innocent, because they were pronounced, not guilty. He had no difficulty in saying his opinion coincided with that of the jury. If there were any difference, it was only that he thought, when the proceedings for the prosecution were closed, he should have told the prisoner, you need not enter upon your defence, you are acquitted, because the evidence for the Crown is insufficient.

Mr. Chancellor PITT said, he would not advert to much of what he had heard upon this subject on the other side, because proper answers had been given to most of the arguments already,

He wished the House to recollect what the question was which was now before them. It was perfectly true that in point of form, a bill should be read previous to the entering on the discussion of the speech from the Throne, and therefore a motion for it was always made, but it was always a formal motion, and he believed it would be difficult to find, in the course of practical business, an instance where the House had proceeded beyond the mere point of form. No doubt could be entertained of the right which the House had to enter upon serious business previous to the discussion of His Majesty's speech; but this was a right which was not to be used but in cases of extreme urgence. Now what was the case here? An honourable gentleman had said that a certain bill, the operation of which suspended the Habeas Corpus act, ought to be repealed. What reason was there for repealing it now? He would say there could be none, unless it was meant to be alledged that what Parliament had acted upon, after due deliberation, was now disproved; or that the conduct of Government had been so reprehensible that they had manifestly abused the discretion which had been reposed in them. Now, would any of the honourable gentlemen on the other side take such ground and justify either of these propositions? They said the jury had negatived the existence of a plot. He affirmed, they had done no such thing. They had negatived the existence of the charge, upon the proof exhibited within the line of law, in the manner and form stated in the indictment; they had not negatived that part of the charge which was the ground of the suspension of the Habeas Corpus act, namely, that these persons were parties to a conspiracy, if not of treason, to a crime as great in moral guilt, and as dangerous to the rights and privileges of Parliament, and to the tranquillity of the country, as treason, or any other offence can be. The verdict of acquittal, therefore, was not conclusive evidence to the satisfaction of the House, that the bill for suspending the Habeas Corpus act ought to be repealed. He was for one prepared to argue that all the substantial grounds, (he spoke not of formal or technical treason, but of that species of moral guilt and dangerous tendency which made precaution necessary, and which, he believed, in the opinion of the world at large, was as destructive to the State as any treason whatever, did exist) were proved upon these trials. Whether it would be necessary to continue the suspension of the Habeas Corpus act, he would not now argue, because it was not now necessary to argue it. He could not, however, leave it without saying that he saw no reason for abandoning the caution which the Legislature had provided.— He must also add, that if it shall appear after the trials of the persons

charged in this indictment for high treason, that they have not been supported so as to lead to the proof of legal guilt against the individuals: but if they have been in the opinion of the Public, guilty of a design as dangerous as any that ever were attempted, which do not come within the degree of punishment which the law at present provides, Parliament would then do wisely to consider whether more or less precaution to prevent such mischief shall be adopted. He would not anticipate what the decision of the House would be upon that subject; nor would he now declare his own opinion on the subject. But he would not admit the question to have been decided on the certain grounds, and particularly the high tone which had been adopted this day. He then proceeded to justify the officers of Government as to the length of the confinement of persons who stood charged, and contended that they suffered no hardships to which they would not have been subjected, under the charges exhibited against them, if the Habeas Corpus act had never been suspended. He observed, that Government were justified in the accusations they made against them on the evidence which they had an opportunity of hearing; they could but hear one side, the defence was not open to them. On what they heard, these persons were committed, regularly charged with their indictments, and these indictments were found true bills by the grand jury. No higher justification could be had, nor could there be found a more satisfactory answer to all complaints against the proceedings adopted, with respect to the persons that had been accused. Under all these circumstances, there was nothing which could or ought to decide the mind of any impartial man against the renewal of the suspension of the Habeas Corpus act. It was a measure now as much as ever necessary for the public safety. But leaving all these points behind, there was nothing in what had been said to-night, which ought to induce the House not to proceed to business, on which the public attention was fixed, or to depart from the common order of the proceedings of the House.

Mr. LAMBTON considered the verdict of a jury in acquitting any person charged with a crime conclusive evidence in justice, in morals, and in common sense, and a complete justification of innocence. He had ever understood it as a maxim of English law, that every person was to be considered innocent till he was found guilty. He expressed great indignation at some of the doctrine he had heard to-night from the ministerial side of the House, and declared that after what he had heard, he should not be surprized to hear it proposed from that quarter, that a Bastille should be erected in this country.

Mr. SHERIDAN replied shortly to all the obfervations which had been made on his propofed motion. He faid that the bill, the reading of which he oppofed, was a bill for preventing clandeftine outlawries. He had no objection to fuch a bill; but what he chiefly had in view was to prevent a bill for the clandeftine outlawry of the Habeas Corpus act, and the beft fecurities for the lives and liberties of the people. When the right honourable gentleman fpoke of the fufpenfion having been voted on folemn deliberation, he was not in the higheft form of memory, for it was hurried through the Houfe with unprecedented precipitation, in only two days, and without even the formality of a previous notice. By the trials for treafon, and the declaration of a learned gentleman, it appeared that there were at leaft two culprits, viz. the Attorney and Solicitor General, who had either profecuted perfons who were not engaged in the fuppofed confpiracy, or neglected to bring forward the evidence to convict them, although they were in poffeffion of fuch evidence. He was under no neceffity of perfifting in his motion now; he could make it at any time he pleafed. He had hinted already, that if the Houfe did not wifh to hear it now, he would not now perfift in it. The time would foon come when the fubject fhould be ferioufly difcuffed. He took therefore this opportunity of giving notice, that as every word he had heard from the other fide of the Houfe had confirmed him in his opinion, that the fufpenfion of the Habeas Corpus act was intended to be renewed, he fhould take the earlieft day he could to bring forward the difcuffion. He was determined to allow no time to concert plans for exciting alarm, no time to make frefh falfe accufations, no time to marfhal and arrange fpies, but to call at once upon the Minifters for their reafons for continuing to deprive the People of this country of their deareft rights, after every honeft man was convinced that the whole ftory of plots and confpiracies was nothing but a wicked fabrication. He then took notice of the obfervations of Mr. Serjeant Adair, as to the right a Member of Parliament had in that Houfe to revife the opinion of a jury. He differed entirely from the learned Serjeant, for he thought that Houfe was the laft place in England in which fuch a verdict fhould be arraigned. He took notice alfo of the obfervation of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, of the grand jury having found the bill againft the perfons who were tried for high treafon. That right honourable gentleman had forgotten to take notice that a Secret Committee in that and in the other Houfe of Parliament, had previoufly found their bills upon the very fame fubjects by their reports. This, amongft others, was a very ftrong reafon why that Houfe fhould be very cautious in faying or doing any thing that might tend to coun-

teract the impreſſion, which the verdicts of acquittal had juſtly made on the public mind; becauſe it would appear by their ſecond interference in this extra-judicial proceeding, as if they were endeavouring to ſupport their own former deciſion, againſt the honeſt opinion of mankind in general. He obſerved alſo, that now the charge of high treaſon, or treaſonable conſpiracy, was given up, even by the Miniſter himſelf; but for the purpoſe of continuing the ſuſpenſion of the Habeas Corpus act, he might find it ſerviceable to his views to alledge there exiſted a ſpecies of minor conſpiracy; and it ought to be remembered, that if this minor conſpiracy only had been alledged originally, the Miniſter would not have been empowered by law to ſeize the papers of the accuſed party; for nothing ſhort of a poſitive charge of high treaſon could have juſtified that ſtep. He concluded with giving notice, that he ſhould to-morrow name the earlieſt day poſſible for the diſcuſſion of this important ſubject.

The bill for preventing Clandeſtine Outlawries was then read.

Mr. SHERIDAN ſaid, he was ſorry to interrupt the buſineſs of the day a ſecond time; but what he had now to ſtate was an important point of order. He thought he ſaw an illuſtrious ſtranger (Mr. Dundas) in the body of the Houſe, to whom, whatever might be his merits, to pay any greater degree of attention than to other ſtrangers, was irregular. By Mr. Burke's bill, which aboliſhed the office of Third Secretary of State, and enacted, that if His Majeſty, at any future period, ſhould think proper to revive the office, the perſon appointed to it, if a Member of the Houſe of Commons, ſhould vacate his ſeat, he apprehended the right honourable gentleman was no longer a Member. Lord Grenville, they all knew, was Secretary of State for the Foreign Department, and he wiſhed to know whether the Duke of Portland and the right honourable gentleman was one Secretary of State, or two Secretaries of State; becauſe if they were two, he conceived that the right honourable gentleman, from the nature of his office, muſt be the Third Secretary of State.

Mr. Chancellor PITT ſaid, he did not know why this inquiry had been made, unleſs it were to throw an impediment in the way of the important matters the Houſe had to diſcuſs. It appeared to him rather ſingular, that Mr. Sheridan, who had given up the motion he propoſed, on a ſubject he thought of the greateſt importance, ſhould now come forward with another ſcarcely of much leſs moment. He thought the honourable gentleman had not acted with any great degree of candour towards Mr. Dundas, in endeavouring, as he had done on the former diſcuſſion, to inveigh and entrap him into a delivery of his ſentiments in that Houſe, and immediately to

found on that circumstance an accusation which would subject his right honourable friend to a penalty of 500l. If Mr. Sheridan had made his motion, it would have answered his argument. For what would it appear that Mr. Dundas had accepted more than he had possessed before? He held the same seals, and transacted the same business which he had done for a considerable time; the Duke of Portland merely bore the name of Secretary. The honourable gentleman had asked, Who exercised the new office? To that question the answer was extremely plain; the natural reply to it was, that that person who last accepted the office, was invested with the new office. The honourable gentleman, he said, when he asserted that the act left only two departments, was not, to make use of his own expression, in his highest form of memory. The fact was, that the home and foreign departments were entirely new arrangements, made by the Ministry by whom that bill was passed. It was not a division of the business, for the King might signify his pleasure to any person either at home or abroad, through any channel he thought expedient. It was fully competent either to the Duke of Portland or Lord Grenville to convey the King's pleasure to any person, whether in the department of which he nominally bore the direction or not. The arrangements might be, and were, made as best suited the convenience of affairs, and as they were best calculated to produce facility and expedition into the conduct of the public business. This he thought would be satisfactory to every reasonable man, and would convince the House that Mr. Sheridan had interfered upon no good grounds, and at an unseasonable period.

Mr. SHERIDAN said, it was extraordinary that an attack should be made on him for want of candour, accompanied by an accusation of an attempt to inveigle and entrap the honest simplicity and innocence of the right honourable Secretary, in order to make him pay the sum of 500l.; if this had been so, he, however, thought Mr. Dundas fully able to pay such a sum out of the emoluments of his places, which certainly were not inconsiderable. According to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Duke of Portland was the nominal Third Secretary of State: a more respectful mode of mentioning his ministerial office might have been adopted by his new friends. What confirmed him in the opinion that Mr. Dundas must be the third Secretary of State was, the right honourable gentleman's declaration, on a former occasion, that he had accepted the office he then held merely as a temporary accommodation to His Majesty's service, and that he never went to bed at night, or rose in the morning, without feeling that he had undertaken more busi-

nefs than he was able to perform. In confequence, he thought the great political Alcides had been called in from Burlington Houfe, *ut quiefcat Atlas.* It was lamentable to fee an act, which was one of the many that did honour to the political character of its author, violated in the fpirit, if not in the letter, by thofe who had been the loudeft in its praife. Calling the Duke of Portland the Third Secretary of State, was a mere juggle to evade the act, and the old ominous feals held by Lord George Germaine, more particularly ominous from the fimilarity of circumftances, were rummaged out. Great as his refpect for that nobleman was, he fhould always lament that he had condefcended to take them into his poffeffion.

Mr. DUNDAS rofe to correct an error of Mr. Sheridan. He had formerly, he faid, complained of the great labour of his employ, and he was now relieved, not only of the hardfhips but of the emoluments of his office. He enjoyed no fuch falary as had been hinted. He would not conceal any thing that was honourable for him to accept, or proper for the King to grant; he had only obeyed the King's commands, and he fhould never difavow fuch obedience, where the Public had made any acquifition, fuch as he was fure they had made, from the transfer of the duties of the office to a nobleman, by whom they would be difcharged with the higheft integrity and ability. Mr. Sheridan, he obferved, had mifreprefented what Mr. Pitt faid, as to the Duke's bearing the name only of the office. Mr. Pitt had faid no fuch thing. He fhould not have underftood Mr. Sheridan on this fubject, had he not met with fome fuch allufions in the newfpapers, to which he paid no great attention. The Duke of Portland, whom the honourable gentleman and his friends formerly took all occafions to praife, was not a nominal Secretary of State, for in his office was all the bufinefs within the home department, of Great Britain, Ireland, and the Colonies. He thought the Duke of Portland's name fhould have been ufed with more decorum by a perfon profeffing to refpect him.

Mr. FOX wifhed to know which, in fact, was the third Secretary; for though he did not think the letter of the law reached the cafe, yet he was convinced that the fpirit of it had been invaded. It had been faid that the laft appointed was of courfe the third Secretary; this was a curious affertion, and led to an abfurd conclufion; for on this ground every perfon, whatever powers might be entrufted to him, who laft came into office, was to be confidered as the third Secretary, as defcribed in the bill. Did the Minifters mean to reduce the bill to this? (he thought he could venture to

ask the noble Duke himself, and be sure of his answer) that there might be three Secretaries of State, consistently with the principles of the act, while any one of them had not a seat in the House of Commons; this was an absurdity that no man could advance. It was incumbent on those who thought that that act was an honour to those who proposed and supported it, to consider whether something should not be done to prevent its becoming nugatory and useless. He was sorry to see the Duke of Portland, of whom he should never speak but in terms that became the respect he felt from long political connection and private friendship, accepting an office which he himself had formerly thought ought to be abolished.

Mr. Chancellor PITT said, there were not more offices nor more salaries than before the Duke of Portland had the name and the power of a Secretary of State.

Mr. FOX asked if there were not, in the third office, an Under Secretary and Clerks, and, whether they had any salaries?

Mr. SPEAKER reported, that the House had attended His Majesty in the House of Peers, where His Majesty was pleased to make a most gracious speech from the throne to both Houses of Parliament, of which, Mr. Speaker said, he had, to prevent mistakes, obtained a copy, which he read to the House, and is as followeth, viz.

My Lords, and Gentlemen,

After the uniform experience which I have had of your zealous regard for the interests of my People, it is a great satisfaction to me to recur to your advice and assistance, at a period which calls for the full exertion of your energy and wisdom.

Notwithstanding the disappointments and reverses which we have experienced in the course of the last campaign, I retain a firm conviction of the necessity of persisting in a vigorous prosecution of the just and necessary war in which we are engaged.

You will, I am confident, agree with me, that it is only from firmness and perseverance that we can hope for the restoration of peace on safe and honourable grounds, and for the preservation and permanent security of our dearest interests.

In considering the situation of our enemies, you will not fail to observe, that the efforts which have led to their successes, and the unexampled means by which alone those efforts could have been supported, have produced among themselves the pernicious effects which were to be expected; and that every thing which has passed in the interior of their country, has shewn the progressive and rapid decay of their [illegible] and the instability of every part of that violent and unnatural [illegible]

which is equally ruinous to France *and incompatible with the tranquillity of other nations.*

The States General of the United Provinces *have nevertheless been led, by a sense of present difficulties, to enter into negociations for peace with the party now prevailing in that unhappy country. No established Government or independent State can, under the present circumstances, derive real security from such negociations: on our part, they could not be attempted, without sacrificing both our honour and safety to an enemy whose chief animosity is avowedly directed against these kingdoms.*

I have therefore continued to use the most effectual means for the further augmentation of my forces; and I shall omit no opportunity of concerting the operations of the next campaign with such of the Powers of Europe *as are impressed with the same sense of the necessity of vigour and exertion. I place the fullest reliance on the valour of my forces, and on the affection and public spirit of my people, in whose behalf I am contending, and whose safety and happiness are the objects of my constant solicitude.*

The local importance of Corsica, *and the spirited efforts of its inhabitants to deliver themselves from the yoke of* France, *determined me not to withhold the protection which they sought for; and I have since accepted the crown and sovereignty of that country, according to an instrument, a copy of which I have directed to be laid before you.*

I have great pleasure in informing you, that I have concluded a treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation, with the United States of America, *in which it has been my object to remove, as far as possible, all grounds of jealousy and misunderstanding, and to improve an intercourse beneficial to both countries. As soon as the ratifications shall have been exchanged, I will direct a copy of this treaty to be laid before you, in order that you may consider of the propriety of making such provisions as may appear necessary for carrying it into effect.*

I have the greatest satisfaction in announcing to you the happy event of the conclusion of a treaty for the marriage of my son the Prince of Wales with the Princess Caroline, *daughter of the Duke of* Brunswick: *the constant proofs of your affection for my person and family, persuade me, that you will participate in the sentiments I feel on an occasion so interesting to my domestic happiness, and that you will enable me to make provision for such an establishment, as you may think suitable to the rank and dignity of the heir apparent to the crown of these kingdoms.*

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

The considerations which prove the necessity of a vigorous prosecution of the war, will, I doubt not, induce you to make a timely and ample [illegible] for the several branches of the public service, the estimates for

which I have directed to be laid before you. While I regret the necessity of large additional burdens on my subjects, it is a just consolation and satisfaction to me to observe the state of our credit, commerce, and resources, which is the natural result of the continued exertions of industry, under the protection of a free and well-regulated Government.

My Lords, and Gentlemen,

A just sense of the blessings now so long enjoyed by this country will, I am persuaded, encourage you to make every effort, which can enable you to transmit those blessings unimpaired to your posterity.

I entertain a confident hope that, under the protection of Providence, and with constancy and perseverance on our part, the principles of social order, morality, and religion, will ultimately be successful; and that my faithful People will find their present exertions and sacrifices rewarded by the secure and permanent enjoyment of tranquillity at home, and by the deliverance of Europe *from the greatest danger with which it has been threatened since the establishment of civilized society.*

Sir EDWARD KNATCHBULL, in rising to move the Address, expressed much diffidence, and could have wished that the important task had fallen to others. He hoped, however, for the indulgence of the House while he recapitulated the heads of His Majesty's speech, as containing the grounds of the Address which he meant to propose, and which he flattered himself could not fail of meeting with general concurrence. He disclaimed all intention of entering into the particulars of the last unfortunate campaign, (unfortunate he was justified in calling it, from the speech delivered from the Throne.) Administration, undoubtedly, was responsible for all the measures that had been adopted during the present war. He meant not to throw the slightest blame upon Government; he did not believe that the ill success originated with them, and there was no doubt but they would be able to give complete satisfaction on this business. It appeared, from His Majesty's speech, that the States General had entered into a negociation of peace, with the French. As that negociation was now depending, Sir Edward thought it would be improper to make any comments upon it.— He regretted much, that all idea of peace under circumstances of safety and honour to the country, was at present hopeless. The continuation of the war with increased vigour and activity became, therefore, the only object to which our attention should be turned. However anxious all parties might be for a peace, it would be improper to negociate on any terms, that would not ensure the security of this nation, and the safety of all the other countries [illegible]. The times required [illegible]

manly and honeſt manner, his ſentiments on the ſtate of affairs. In contemplating which, it afforded him much conſolation to compare the reſources of this country with thoſe of France. Ours were freſh and not fully brought into action; theirs rapidly expending themſelves and nearly exhauſted. With us trade and commerce flouriſhed; with them they were totally extinct. In the preſent emergency he called earneſtly on every honeſt man to ſtep forward and join hand, heart, and purſe, in the glorious cauſe in which we were engaged. Let this be done, and Old England had nothing yet to fear, but every thing to hope. He then adverted to the acquiſition of Corſica; he ſhould not now diſcuſs how far, from its local ſituation, it might be of importance to this country, that muſt afterwards be determined by circumſtances; but the bravery of the troops employed in that quarter certainly merited the public gratitude, and the ſpirit which the inhabitants had ſhewn in reſiſting the ſyſtem of French tyranny, entitled them to the protection of the Britiſh Sovereign. The treaty with America, and the marriage of his Royal Highneſs the Prince of Wales, were objects he could not for a moment doubt of the moſt warm and general approbation. The one could not fail in its conſequences to be highly beneficial to this country; and with reſpect to the other, every good ſubject muſt participate in the joy which His Majeſty feels on an occaſion ſo intereſting to his domeſtic happineſs. In this view of the ſubject, he thought it unneceſſary to add more, and concluded by moving an humble Addreſs to His Majeſty, echoing, as uſual, the language and ſentiments of his ſpeech.

Mr. CANNING ſaid, that the embarraſſment with which he roſe, was partly done away by the hope which he entertained that the Addreſs would meet with the unanimous concurrence of the Houſe. Upon ſome of the ſubjects there would be no difference of opinion at all. The treaty with America, and the objects embraced in that treaty, muſt give great ſatisfaction to every one. And the treaty of marriage for the Prince of Wales would be no leſs ſatisfactory to their feelings, than the former to their judgement. It would therefore be a waſte of their time to ſay any thing more on thoſe ſubjects; though, on the other material points, more difference of opinion might reaſonably be expected, he was yet willing to hope that the Addreſs would not meet with oppoſition. He grounded this hope on the firm conviction, that as he might fairly give to thoſe gentlemen who ſhould differ with him in opinion, and might fairly take for thoſe with whom he ſhould agree, the credit of acting ſolely for the benefit of their country; and as both ſides of the Houſe, therefore, were equally anxious for an honourable and permanent

peace, and the only difference of opinion subsisting between them would be found to be as to the *time* at which such a peace would be practicable; so that as to the *mode* of procuring it, whenever it should be to be procured, he trusted every gentleman would agree with him, that the best and surest mode would be the unanimity of this night's decision. But if on these grounds he looked for the consent and agreement of the whole House, he confessed there were others on which he was sanguine enough to presume he could not fail of the concurrence of a very large majority.

He hoped he should not be thought too sanguine in presuming so far, when he referred to the recorded proceedings of that House, and called upon such gentlemen, if any such there were, as had hitherto solemnly and repeatedly sanctioned with their votes the prosecution of the war, and now meant to oppose them, to state some circumstances which would make it proper to alter their resolutions, and to shew that it was more practicable at this moment to procure a peace on honourable grounds, than at the time when they came to their determination to carry on the war. It did not appear to him that peace could be obtained at this time, either with safety or honour, and he challenged those who were of a contrary opinion, to come forward and shew how it was at this time more practicable or secure than at the period of the last session when it was so universally rejected as a deceitful and impolitic pursuit, both by the House and the country at large. He admitted that the House met under circumstances somewhat different from those under which they parted. He was ready to allow, what was stated in an open and manly manner in the Speech, that considerable reverses and disappointments had been encountered in the campaign, such indeed as no one could have foreseen; but we were not therefore to be so cast down, as to relinquish all farther endeavours. We were not to look for the cause in any circumstance which could attach any culpability or shame to us, but partly to the dereliction of our allies, whether proceeding from necessity or treachery he could not discuss, and partly to the unparalelled exertions of the enemy. A great consolation he derived from an examination into the causes of that prodigious exertion, from which he thought compensatiou would be attained for our losses and disappointments, as our enemy, in making them, had so far exhausted her resources, that at present she was to be regarded in a state of comparative debility. He should not be surprised to hear persons, who were in the habit of differing from those who were of the same opinion with himself, that all this was the fault of those who had the conduct of affairs, and that it would not have happened if they had attended to the predictions of

wise and prudent men. It was most true that such predictions had been verified; but he could not fail to observe that it was not difficult to predict evil. Persons who were in the habit of foretelling disasters, knew that if their predictions turned out false, they, in common with other good subjects, they, in common with all their countrymen, should rejoice at the event; but if true—he meant no imputation upon the gentlemen opposite, for he believed it was in human nature itself that they should have a pride in their own sagacity, which afforded them some gloomy satisfaction in the midst of those misfortunes which affected them in common with the rest of the people. But if prophetic veracity was of consequence, the ministerial side of the House might also boast of it. Here it was foretold that the self-called immortal Republic of France would fall under the individual despotism of one man. It had done so. Roberspierre had usurped the most despotic power; he had erected the most sanguinary and atrocious tyranny that had ever reared its head in the world; a tyranny unparalelled in its strength, and unequalled in enormity; one hand grasping the property of every order of men, and the other shedding the blood of innocent and defenceless persons. Again, in the zenith of his power, we pronounced it precarious and transitory. What has been the fact? That colossal system of arbitrary and bloody empire, whose enormous strength seemed at one time to have crushed all resistance, and to have swept from before it, with "bare-faced power," every thing which could check or oppose it, conformably to our predictions, that system has been overthrown. Conformably to our predictions, Jacobinism, which had been fairly considered as the very nerves and arteries of the Republic, as the springs which combined and connected the whole system, the channel which propagated feeling, and communicated motion to the farthest extremities of the country, Jacobinism too is fallen. True, it is fallen; but till it is utterly destroyed, who shall ensure us that it will not return again? Under the Moderates (moderate only to those who are more villanous) nothing more is to be relied upon. All the malignant desires of their predecessors they retained; their power only is wanting. In calculating that power, I do not look to their army; because the army, it is clear from experience, have no principle; they follow and look up to those who feed and support them. Under Dumourier they were Royalists; they followed afterwards the wildest excesses of Jacobinism, and are returned with equal docility to the passing subjection of the Moderates. The power of this army is tremendous; but not so for its attachment to any form of its Government. In looking to the re[illegible] of France, surely we are warranted in taking their own ac-

counts; and he found matter of great consolation in observing the necessary decay in their interior resources. He stated a Report of Cambon's, which established his assertion. This Report computes their expences, since they have been at war with us, at three hundred and thirty millions, above one hundred and sixty millions a year. And how was this sum adequate to the expence? By the most despotic exercise of power, assignats were raised much above their value; provisions sunk much below theirs; but, if by accident or force this power fail, how incalculable is the dilemma and expence! When the system of terror is shaken, all fails. Who can doubt, then, but in the quick succession of changes, the vaunted Moderates will fall; and who will contend that they can have the same resources as their predecessors, seeing that they profess to give up the system of terror, by which alone those resources were procured, unless he shall be at the same time prepared to argue, that the superstructure becomes strong in proportion as the foundation is taken away? And who shall persuade us, that in such a situation they can continue to make exertions equal to those hitherto made, unless he is prepared to prove that an equal expenditure can be maintained with *diminished* resources? But it is in power alone that Moderatism differs from Jacobinism; its virulence remains unimpaired. If it were possible, Sir, that the events of the whole revolution of France could be blotted from the page of history, excepting those only which have taken place since the establishment of what is called moderation in that country, and that they were to go down to posterity, with no other comment of the historian than simply, "This was termed their moderate system," what an opinion would after ages form! (not an adequate one, I admit, for human imagination might be defied to invent such horrors as have actually been practised) But good God! Sir, what an opinion must they form of the transactions of the preceding periods, in comparison with which the system now existing could be defined, mercy and moderation!

But supposing I were ready to allow, that any material difference exists between the character of the present rulers in France and that of their predecessors—admitting, for the argument's sake, that, when I look towards Paris, I do not at present discover there those scenes of atrocity from which twelve months ago my eyes revolted with horror and indignation; that instead of carrying on as heretofore their commerce of murder and proscription, I find the Moderates of the present day occupied in the comparatively innocent employment of adjusting their accounts, and striking the balance, settling their partnership account of blood, and ascribing to each individual his particular share of the guilt. Granting these circum-

stances, it might be asked, why not practicable to conclude a peace on honourable terms with the present rulers? or at least, why not make the attempt, and inquire what terms we are likely to obtain? Because the one is impossible, the other unnecessary. It is impossible to look for a safe and honourable peace from Moderatism, any more than from Jacobinism, until we shall have been convinced that it is not only more mild, but more stable, that it at once holds out the probability of tranquillity abroad, and of permanency at home. And even if these characteristics were discoverable in it, (which that they are not, every man must see who looks at the state of the country, at the divisions of the Convention, at the speeches of their political leaders, which indicate so strongly the continuance of their malignant disposition towards surrounding nations, and the exhaustion of their means, which demonstrates the instability of their present Government) even then it would be less necessary now than ever to humiliate ourselves so far as to demand of them what terms of peace they may be disposed to grant us, because we shall speedily have an opportunity of judging of them more certainly than from any declarations which they might hold out to us, and of arguing the terms which we might expect to obtain, from those which are obtained from them by other nations.

Holland, as His Majesty's speech informs us, is at this moment negociating a separate peace; how wisely, how justly, or how successfully, it is not our business to argue. If we considered the debates and decrees of the Convention, we should find they had divided their enemies into those who had provoked the war, and those who had been forced into it; two classes of which we rank under the most aggravated, Holland under the least. This Power is now soliciting peace, let us therefore see what will be the issue. The most determined advocates for peace had gone no farther in their expectations than to the *status quo ante bellum*. Now supposing Holland, under all the circumstances which operate in its favour, as a Power whom they consider as having been forced against her will into hostilities, as being the first to ask for a cessation of them, and as being that Nation whom, of all others, they were most anxious to detach from our alliance, if Holland obtains a *status quo*, can it be reasonably expected that we, who have no such favourable circumstances in our situation, we, to whom they assign the foremost rank in their enmity and hatred, shall be treated with equal advantages? I think it can hardly be imagined. But even supposing this to be the case, supposing Holland could obtain the *status quo*, improbable as it was, and setting out of the question the almost impossibility of our obtaining any terms equal to theirs; yet, if it were

possible we ought not to accept peace on such grounds. Holland, let it be recollected, has not conquered any territory, nor has she received many emigrants: but shall we, admitting France would treat with us in the same degree, relinquish all our conquests, and consign the objects of charity, and honourable confidence, to that vengeance from which they seek refuge? The acquisitions which we have made, considering them only in a commercial point of view, as an indemnity for the expences, which the war has obliged us to incur, nobody would willingly abandon; but when to this interested and cold-blooded way of stating the subject, is added the consideration of the thousands who have fled to us from their sanguinary tyrants, surely there is no human mind that can for a moment entertain the idea of giving them up, without necessity. Let gentlemen only recollect what their own feelings have been, whenever, in the course of this last campaign, it has unfortunately happened that the emigrants have been surrendered; let them recollect whether the first question that they have asked, upon such an event, has not uniformly been, Was there an urgent and inevitable *necessity* for doing this? And what, if the question could be answered in the negative, what have been the feelings of glowing indignation that arose in their breasts against the base and cowardly treachery of such an abandonment? Apply this to your country. Will you agree that she shall incur the disgrace of a proceeding so foreign to every sentiment of human honour, and human feeling? Will you agree, without a *necessity* so paramount, so overbearing, as neither to be avoided nor resisted, to yield up to these savage proselytes of mercy and moderation, the throats of all those confiding suppliants who are clinging round your knees for protection? Sir, it cannot be.

The next argument against peace, was its insecurity; it would be, from their character, the mere name of peace, not a wholesome and refreshing repose, but a feverish and troubled slumber, from which we should soon be roused to new horrors and fresh insults.—What are the blessings of peace, which make it so advantageous and so desireable? To which is it owing, that at the very mention of the name of peace, there is a sentiment in every man's bosom that feels, as it were, an echo that returns it? What, but that it implies tranquil and secure enjoyment of our homes? What, but that it may restore our seamen and our soldiers, who have been fighting to preserve our homes, to a share of that tranquillity and security?—What, but that it lessens the expences, and alleviates the burdens, of the people? What, but that it explores some new channel of commercial intercourse, or re-opens some one that war had shut up? What, but that it renews some broken link of amity, or forms some

new attachment between nations, and ſoftens the aſperities of hoſtility and hatred into kindneſs and conciliation, and reciprocal good will? And which of all theſe bleſſings could we hope to obtain by a peace, under the preſent circumſtances, with France? Not kindneſs and conciliation, moſt aſſuredly; not a renewal of ſocial harmony or commercial intercourſe; ſtill leſs could we venture to reſtore to the loom or to the plough the brave men who have fought our battles; for who could ſay how ſoon ſome freſh Government might ſtart up in France, which might feel it their inclination and their intereſt, as in all probability it would be, to renew hoſtilities? The utmoſt, therefore, that we could hope to obtain, would be a ſhort, deluſive, timid, and ſuſpicious interval of armiſtice, without any material diminution of expenditure; without ſecurity at home, or a chance of purchaſing it by exertions abroad; without any of the eſſential bleſſings of peace, or any of the poſſible advantages of war: a ſtate of doubt and preparation, ſuch as would retain in itſelf all the cauſes of jealouſy to other States, which, in the uſual courſe of things, produce remonſtrance and inquiry, and if they are anſwered unſatisfactorily, war. The only other alternative is, that in ſtupid confidence we ſhould unarm, and unprepare ourſelves, a helpleſs prey to the firſt renewed attack of our enemy; ſure to meet the occaſion when it ſhould ariſe, under every poſſible diſadvantage, having unſcrewed and let down from the pitch to which we have raiſed them, the great machines of our defence, our army and our navy, and hopeleſs of being able to raiſe them again, by any exertions or any expence, to ſuch a height as would be calculated to reſiſt the unremitted and unrelaxed efforts of our enemy. They might be aſked, how long they meant to go on? He ſaid, that it was not poſſible to foreſee circumſtances, or calculate the diſaſters that might make it neceſſary to enter into a negociation. The queſtion now was, would they ſtop now? No poſſible combination of reaſon, no calculation could ſhew there was any neceſſity now of ſubmitting to a baſe compromiſe and dereliction of their principles. We were more particularly called on to proſecute the war, becauſe it was to us that all Europe looked for ſupport, and if we fall, they fall with us.

If I am aſked what probable good effects we might expect from a continuance of the war, I anſwer, that, calculating from paſt experience, I look for the delapidation and decay of the *preſent* Government in France, as certainly, as it is certain that every other Government, erected in that country ſince the revolution, *has* fallen, more or leſs rapidly, before it. This effect I think deſirable; not as is perpetually inſinuated, from any taſte or preference for this or that form of Government in France, but becauſe

I would have their Government, whatever it may be, strong and solid at home, that it may be safe for other nations; and I consider the continuance of our exertions as requisite to this end; not from any hope or wish, that we may conquer France by our arms, but because if an argument, which has been much and often used on the other side of the House, be *true*, that our hostility has in fact been the principal cause of all the changes and convulsions that have torn the interior of France, and if it be true also that Moderatism be so much better than Jacobinism, then we have to congratulate ourselves on having worked one good change, and may hope by perseverance to effect one still more desirable.

If it was our hostility that excited and consolidated the enormous tyranny of Roberspierre, let us arrogate at least the natural conclusion, that it was our hostility too that destroyed it. If we, by attacking France, created the monster of Jacobinism, it is not fairly to be denied, that the continuance of our attacks also destroyed it. And if all this be so, the conclusion that naturally followed it was, that *we* had produced the alteration from Jacobinism to moderatism, and therefore *we* might finally bring the country to a proper form of Government; not in the view of conquest, or of imposing our own choice on them, but in forcing them, if you will, finally to chuse such a one, as shall secure their own happiness, and our safety. If I am asked, what are the means on which I rely for bringing this about, I answer, on *their weakness*, and on *our strength; their weakness*, which is to be looked for not in their armies, but in the resources, which have supported those armies, now in rapid decay; in the exhaustion of their country, and in the distractions and discontents of its inhabitants; *our strength*, which is to be calculated not from the process of our arms, but from the flourishing state of the kingdom, from the spirit which we bear, and the vigorous capacities which we possess for exertion; from our resources, not only unexhausted, but as yet comparatively almost untouched, from the unabating confidence and loyalty of the people; and the unalterable justice of our cause. Impressed with these sentiments, and confident in these hopes, I think I cannot better discharge my duty to my country, or better consult the advantage of all Europe, and of the civilized world, than by seconding the motion for the Address.

Mr. WILBERFORCE began by observing, that he felt, in its full force, an observation made by the honourable mover of the Address, that this was a time when it became every man who wished well to his country most seriously to consider what measures it was proper to pursue. For his own part, he declared, he had been long and anxiously deliberating on the present state of

affairs; this was a crisis wherein there was much to be urged on both sides, and all perhaps that was left us was, a choice of evils; he would fairly declare that his mind had been for some time in suspense, but after adjusting the respective claims of conflicting arguments, and honestly and impartially assigning its due weight to each, he was equally bound to declare, that he had at length a decided opinion to which scale he must assign the preponderance. He rose, therefore, to perform a painful act of duty, in expressing his dissent from the Address which had been just moved to them, and thus manifesting, on this one important occasion, a difference with those with whom it had been the happiness of his political life so generally to agree. It was his firm belief, on a most mature and deliberate review of all the circumstances of our present situation, that peace was now desirable, if it could be effected on terms consistent with our honour and our interests.

But though such was his clear opinion, he should most likely have thought it best not to interrupt the unanimity of that day's proceedings, if the Address had been couched in terms at all moderate or pacific, but its language was of a quite contrary character, and he thought no one could adopt it who was not prepared to say that Great Britain ought never to treat with France till a counter-revolution should be effected, he, at least, could not conceive that the Address could be properly understood in any other sense, and therefore in no other could he agree to it, thinking, then, as he did, that the war ought no longer to be prosecuted for the sake of effecting a counter-revolution, he felt himself compelled, however reluctantly, to step forward and declare his opinion.

In assigning the reasons on which this opinion was grounded, it was natural for him to begin by adverting to something which had fallen from his honourable friend in seconding the Address, who had appealed to the consistency of all those who had supported the war last year, urging, that there had been no change of circumstances since that time, aud that therefore their sentiments must remain unaltered. On the contrary, many, and those most important changes, appeared to him to have taken place; first, the Jacobin Clubs had been destroyed; was that nothing? Where then was the propriety of the language which had been so often used on that subject, and of the eloquent terms in which his honourable friend had himself that very day described them, as constituting the ducts and arteries by which the circulation was maintained throughout the whole of the body politic of the French Republic? Members of the Convention had been lately executed for cruelties committed in the provinces; other symptoms of moderation had appeared, and

though he must not hastily infer that these things proceeded from the purity of the persons who were now in power, yet one might perhaps argue from them what it was conceived would be the language and conduct most likely to recommend a party to the public favour.

Another grand difference of circumstances was, that at the beginning of last year we were connected with a large and powerful confederacy; one of its members had long ceased to afford us any active assistance; another, we had been this day informed by His Majesty, was at this very time negociating for peace; it was notorious that many members of the Germanic Body had been endeavouring to withdraw the Empire from the combination, and we had reason to believe that Austria would not be able to continue the war without the support of our credit, was all this nothing? Did it not shew the probability of our being left to maintain the struggle by ourselves?

He would assign some other most important differences, which he wished gentlemen to consider, with a reference to the reasons which had formerly determined us to go on with the war. Gentlemen would remember, that the defence of Holland was one grand object with us; Holland was now providing for her own safety by negociation. We, formerly, had been justly alarmed by the dread of French opinions in this country; this danger, he now hoped, was greatly lessened, and in two ways; first, he could not but believe that the nation in general must now have had time to see the pernicious effects of those baneful principles, by the specious appearance of which, many even well-intentioned men had been at first beguiled; they must now know the true characters of that detestable and destructive system, that it was hostile to all property, to all personal security and domestic comfort; that it was not only the wealthy and the noble that became its victims; as there was nothing which could resist by its greatness, so there was nothing which could escape by its insignificance. After enlarging a little on this topic, and again expressing his hope that all good men were at length undeceived with regard to the effects of French principles, he added (alluding to the volunteer corps) that the nation had now armed in its own defence, and that he placed great reliance on the means which had been so opportunely taken for the maintenance of our internal tranquillity. This change of circumstances made him much less apprehensive of what might follow from peace with France, than he had been formerly, when our enemy might have attempted, with too little resistance, and too much success, to diffuse her pernicious principles, and foment our internal discontents.

Again, he could by no means agree with the honourable seconder,

that it was nothing that we had had ſo unſucceſsful a campaign; more particularly when he adverted to what the honourable gentleman added, that this did not ſeem imputable to any want of bravery or military ſkill: what had been found beyond our ſtrength when the confederacy had been in full vigour, was it reaſonable to expect to effect when it was ſo greatly weakened.

But he wiſhed particularly to obſerve, how much all the preceding remarks bore on that great queſtion, the probability of a counter-revolution in France; an event which, though he had not been ſo ſanguine as ſome others as to the probability of effecting it, had been, he frankly owned, the object of his moſt ardent wiſhes, as being that which would be moſt for our own ſecurity, and no leſs for the happineſs of France herſelf. For his own part, indeed, if he were diſpoſed to ſpeculate, he ſhould ſay, that, for a time at leaſt, and on ſome accounts, he ſhould wiſh to ſee the American Conſtitution eſtabliſhed in France, in preference to any other; becauſe, poſſeſſing many advantages of a mixed monarchy, it would not be ſo likely to call into action old prejudices and reſentments. But to return to the queſtion he was treating of, namely, the probability of a counter-revolution. When ſo great a combination of ſurrounding powers was preparing to attack them on all ſides, then if ever by means of war, it might have been expected this object would be obtained, it might have been hoped that the Republicans would be intimidated, that the Royaliſts would be encouraged to come forward and aſſert their own cauſe, that the neutral and wavering would be fixed. But how different had been the iſſue, and what muſt be the effects actually produced on the minds of theſe ſeveral deſcriptions of perſons. This great confederacy muſt have now ceaſed to excite terror on the one hand, and to infuſe hope and comfort on the other; at the beginning of laſt year, we had been told that beſides a powerful army of inſurgents in La Vendee, inſurrections had appeared in forty-three different places in France; all theſe had been ſuppreſſed, whilſt at the ſame time the French had, on every hand, repelled the attacks of their invading enemies: but granting that our arms might be more ſucceſsful in the next campaign, yet would not paſt experience render the French mal-contents juſtly apprehenſive that though we had been able to raiſe a mound, as it were, againſt the ſwelling tide, and even to recover diſtricts which had been overflowed by it; yet, that in a following year, the armies of the Convention, like the returning of the ocean, might ſweep away all before them, and again re-occupy the countries of which they had been diſpoſſeſſed? It was, indeed, in his mind, a moſt important conſideration, and one from which

it was altogether aſtoniſhing to him that a directly contrary inference had been drawn from that which it appeared to him to warrant, that in all their many armies there had been no ſigns whatever of diſaffection or diſcontent; the Convention ſeemed the great center to which they all gravitated, and ſo long as this exiſted, they ſeemed to care little what individuals might hold the reins of Government; this looked but too much like a rooted attachment to a Republican form, and produced unity and vigour in action throughout all the viciſſitudes of conflicting adminiſtrations. He owned, that he had always ſeen great force in the objection which had been made to our attempting to effect a counter-revolution by force of arms; the objection to which he alluded was, that the French were a high-ſpirited people, whom, by thus appearing to force a government upon them, we compreſs into reſiſtance: this conſideration was formerly, however, overborne by others of more force; but to perſiſt in the ſame ſyſtem, when, for the reaſons which had been aſſigned, it muſt be with ſo much leſs compreſſive power, (if he might be allowed the expreſſion), was to produce the ills of compreſſion, without obtaining the good, and to excite a feeling of hoſtility and reſentment, which was not counterbalanced by any oppoſite advantage. When ſpeaking on this ſubject of a counter-revolution, he muſt ſay, that he feared it was grown far leſs probable on another account; it was now many years that a Republican Government had prevailed in France, and from the very circumſtance of its having ſo long ſubſiſted, it had acquired ſome ſort of ſtability in the minds of men, the people had been accuſtomed to look to the Convention as the ſeat of legitimate authority; add to this, that many of the old generation have died off, and a new race had already come, and were daily coming, into action, who had been educated in the habit of looking on monarchy with horror. Many, alſo, much as they might deteſt a ſyſtem of Government which had been productive of general miſery, muſt be now tired out; they muſt recoil from the idea of having all to begin over again, and the acquieſcence dictated by this feeling was likely to be encouraged by the ſubſtitution of a ſomewhat milder ſyſtem in place of the furious and bloody tyranny of Roberſpierre. Mr. Wilberforce declared, he thought a counter-revolution was, for many obvious reaſons, more likely to take place after a peace than during the continuance of the war.

After adducing ſome additional arguments, to prove that we had no reaſon to expect ſo much from perſevering in our efforts, as would juſtify our not agreeing to peace on fair and reaſonable terms; he declared, however, that feeling himſelf bound not to ſpeak the language of a partizan, but that of fairneſs and impartiality, he

muſt ſay, that there was conſiderable weight in many of the conſiderations urged in behalf of the continuance of the war, which had been ably ſtated by the honourable ſeconder. Theſe, however, ſeemed to him to have been puſhed much too far, and in one or two inſtances, the impreſſion they made on his own mind was didirectly contrary to that which they had produced on that of the honourable gentleman.

The great argument on which we were to found our hopes of ſucceſs was, that of the French reſources being now ſo nearly at an end, that if we would but force them to the neceſſity of continuing the ſame efforts, they muſt ſoon be entirely exhauſted. To this he might reply, if the French were at length ſo reduced that they were no longer formidable when acting on the defenſive, we ſhould, at leaſt, not have ſo much to dread from them as the honourable member had ſtated, if we were to make peace; becauſe, in that caſe, they would have to carry on offenſive war, which every one knew was much more expenſive and exhauſting.

He might aſk on this head, what ſymptoms appeared of this complete exhauſtion? What expence had they ſpared? What ſervice had they ſtinted? The vaſt charge of their prodigious army had not (it was but too well known) prevented their making aſtoniſhing efforts to increaſe their navy. Surely the ſtream might be expected to run low before it failed altogether. Let it be remembered that their reſources were not like ours in this happy country, bounded by the willingneſs of the repreſentatives of the people to grant ſupplies, but only by the Government's ceaſing to have the power of extorting them; ſuch had been the rapacity of the French rulers, that they had got almoſt half the land of France into their own hands, and this, to the value of 260 millions ſterling, remained as a ſubſtratum for future emiſſions of aſſignats.

But he muſt freely declare, that he extremely diſtruſted all ſuch calculations of the remaining reſources of an enemy and the inference attempted to be drawn from them. Did gentlemen remember the extreme depreciation of the American paper, and how the Americans were able to perſevere in the conteſt when it was argued that their means alſo were almoſt entirely at an end? Abundant experience proved but too plainly the futility of all ſuch ſpeculations; miſchievous indeed had been their effects on the happineſs of mankind, by inducing nations to defer the hour of peace, from an idea that by perſevering in war they might extort better terms from the weakneſs of their enemy. Every gentleman who was acquainted with the hiſtory of Europe for the laſt century, muſt be at no loſs for inſtances in proof of this aſſertion; and he conjured the Houſe

not to lend itself too hastily to reasonings, the soundness of which there was so much cause to suspect.

Another argument which had been already urged, and of which he expected great use would be made by others in the course of the debate, was, that it would be base and humiliating for this country to sue for peace. Sue for peace! nothing was farther from his meaning; he was for such a peace only as both in itself, and in the manner of effecting it, should be consistent with good faith to our allies, and with the national interest and honour. In various ways this country had declared against treating with the existing Government of France, and all he wished was, that if we had now abandoned the idea of effecting a counter-revolution by force of arms, we should shew that the existence of a Republican Government was no longer an insurmountable obstacle to peace. If this was a proposition of which we were convinced, he thought it would be more truly magnanimous fairly to avow than to dissemble it. In his mind truth was dignity, and falshood meanness. To think of obtaining peace by concealing your willingness to make it, was a mode of acting he must condemn, not for its want of simplicity only, but for its meanness: it was the artifice of a petty chapman, who pretended to be indifferent about an article he meant to purchase, rather than the open, manly, dignified conduct, which became a great and powerful nation. We were in that very situation wherein a pacific line of conduct could hardly be misconstrued, and the vast exertions we were capable of making, (and these he would by all means recommend to go on with increasing energy, as what alone could give effect to our negociations), must prevent its being thought that our disposition to make peace arose from our inability to carry on war. Another unsuccessful campaign might render it expedient for us to wish for peace under far more questionable circumstances, with a weakened Government and a clamorous people; when our enemy might know her advantages, and rise proportionably in her demands.

Another objection was, the precariousness of any peace which might be made with the present Government of France. Here also he must admit, with the same frankness with which he had before expressed himself, that no peace could probably be secure which should be made with a French Republic of which *Paris should be the seat of Government*: But then he must add, that giving this consideration its full weight, the evils resulting from this insecurity were by no means equal to those of continuing the war. He would concede that we must be backward in disbanding our army, and much more so in laying up our ships; but then this would only be

for a time, till some change in the internal condition of France should render her a less formidable neighbour, or until some intermixture in continental politics (and many probable events here occurred to his mind) should draw off the force of France in some other direction; whereas so long as we continued the war we kept it pointed against ourselves. Besides, as the insecurity he had been speaking of was not confined to the case of a peace concluded with the present French Government only, but applied almost equally on the supposition of any French Republican form, this state of insecurity (granting there would be no counter-revolution, which was the ground he was arguing upon), was a state through which they must have to pass at some time or other, before they could arrive at a condition of complete and secure peace, and therefore, on many accounts, the sooner they got to it the better. He was ready to allow that an extensive peace establishment was a great evil; but surely it was speaking of it in too strong terms to put it on a level with a state of actual war; was the expence of a war its only evil, or was it not rather one of the least of which it was productive? But then the French would attack us when we were disarmed and off our guard; in answer to this he had already observed, that we must not be disarmed nor off our guard; for his own part, however, he could not but believe that though he could have no great dependance on the good faith of France, he might trust somewhat to their still retaining something of the common principles of human nature. After all they must have suffered, he thought the greater part of them could not but be glad of a little quiet, and that they would not again be hasty to provoke the resentment of a nation they would have so much cause to dread. But it was urged, that the chief animosity of the enemy was avowedly directed against ourselves, and he was sorry to observe, that too much effect was produced by the mention of certain violent expressions which had been used in the Convention concerning this country. Not but that it was perfectly natural we should chiefly attract their enmity; they hated us most, because they feared us most; but then this fear afforded an additional argument for their being ready to make peace with us, and for their dreading to renew hostilities: however, whilst he was on this head, he would plainly say, that (supposing France to continue a republic) unless the representative assemblies of both countries should so harden themselves as not to be very tenderly sensible of a few violent and absurd speeches which might be made in each, concerning the other, perpetual matter of irritation would be mutually afforded: and was it possible, in speaking on this topic, not to bear in mind the strong expressions which had been used in that

House concerning the French ? expressions, the justice of which, however allowed here, the Convention would hardly be very ready to admit.

But another argument which had been urged for our continuing the war was, that we alone, of all the nations of Europe, were able to repress the excessive power of France, which would hereafter be likely to fall upon some of her continental neighbours, if we were not now to weaken her completely. This, by the way, was not very consistent with what the same honourable gentleman had said of the French resources being so nearly at an end: this was an argument to which he would not say much, but he ought not altogether to pass it by. So far as we were bound by treaties, the strictest good faith was to be observed, and he should hold it the extreme of dishonour to steal alone out of the general confederacy; but he must go on to protest against our so far making common cause with the rest of the Governments of Europe, as to think we stood exactly upon the same footing with them. Thanks to the bounty of Providence, our insular situation, a Constitution superior to any the world had ever known elsewhere, with all the attending blessings which followed in its train, had given us advantages and a degree of security which it would be the grossest blindness not to see and acknowledge, as it would be the height of ingratitude not to be thankful for them. The happiness of the people of this country was intrusted to our care, and we ought not to expose it to needless risk, by taking upon ourselves the guardianship and protection of other nations.

He had already anticipated another objection that peace could not be effected, and that holding a pacific language would only tend to dispirit our own people, and to call forth anew the insolence of France. How far it was probable such a peace could be effected as it would become us to accept, he would not take upon him to say; but there was nothing of which he was more confident than of this, that whether effected or not, our plainly declaring our willingness to negociate must be productive of the happiest consequences both in France and Great Britain. In France, whatever insolent expressions might be used by any individual, it would infuse a principle of relaxation which would gradually work; the idea of our wanting to dictate a Constitution to them would cease to operate to our disadvantage; the minds of the people would grow more and more alienated from their rulers, whilst groaning under the calamities of a war continued by their obstinacy, and the alienation would even extend to the Convention itself. In this country, on the other hand, the effects would be just the reverse, and when [illegible]

once more so undeniably put our enemy in the wrong, if he might use the expression, when it was rendered perfectly clear, that it was not an over rigid adherence on our part to declarations we had once made, though a change of circumstances required a different line of conduct, but that it was the violence and ambition of our implacable enemy which prevented the return of the blessings of peace, he was persuaded the burdens and evils of war, however great and pressing, would be patiently and even cheerfully borne by a loyal and united people.

The sum of his opinion, therefore, was, that upon fairly comparing the dangers which would follow upon making peace with France, with those which were likely to follow from continuing the war, the latter were by far the greater. This was the question which it behoved every one present to put to himself. For his own part, he confessed, that knowing the disposition of human nature to carry on wars when the great objects of them had been relinquished, he always suspected himself in this particular, and felt it his duty carefully to look around from time to time, in order to see if there was any opening for the restoration of the blessings of peace.

He could not think that there was any probability of effecting a counter-revolution by force of arms, sufficient to justify our continuance of the war for that object, however desirable: he was even of opinion, (as he had before said) that a counter-revolution had become more likely to follow from making peace. By continuing the war, we seemed to him to have little to get and much to lose; and he hoped he had in some measure succeeded in shewing, that to negociate was no less consistent with our honour than our interest. It was by no means inconsistent in the House to change its conduct when the state of affairs had so materially changed, when two of the great objects we formerly had in view, the protection of Holland and our domestic tranquillity were otherwise provided for, and when a counter-revolution, another great object, appeared at length to be unattainable by force of arms. Under these circumstances, he felt himself bound, however unwillingly, to dissent from the Address which had been proposed, and he should conclude with moving an amendment,—" To assure His Majesty, that they are determined " to grant the most liberal supplies, for the purpose of enabling His " Majesty to act with vigour and effect in supporting the dignity of " the Crown, the internal security of his dominions, and the good " faith towards His Majesty's allies, for which this country has " been so eminently distinguished: and that, notwithstanding the " disappointments and reverses of the last campaign, they are " firmly convinced that from the unremitting exertions of His

" Majesty, and the spirit and zeal which have been so generally
" manifested throughout the kingdom, by a people sensible of the
" advantages they enjoy under His Majesty's Government, they
" may promise themselves (by the blessing of Providence) complete
" security from the attempts of foreign or domestic enemies.

" That at the same time they beg leave most humbly to repre-
" sent to His Majesty, that upon full consideration of all the events
" and circumstances of the present war, and of some transactions
" which have lately passed in France, and also of the negociation
" entered into by the States General, they think it adviseable and
" expedient to endeavour to restore the blessings of peace to His
" Majesty's subjects, and to his allies, upon just and reasonable
" terms.

" But that if, contrary to the ardent wishes of his faithful Com-
" mons, such endeavours on the part of His Majesty should be
" rendered ineffectual by the violence and ambition of the enemy,
" they are persuaded that the burdens and evils of a just and ne-
" cessary war, will be borne with chearfulness by a loyal, affection-
" ate, and united people."

Mr. DUNCOMBE seconded the amendment; he entered into a short comparison of the situation of France and England in carrying on the war, with a view to the circumstances which made it eligible for this country to take the earliest opportunity of putting a period to the contest, and went over nearly the same grounds which Mr. Wilberforce had stated for moving it.

Mr. BURDON said, we had entered into the war, as he conceived, not for the purpose of conquest or indemnification, but to repel an unjust aggression, and bring the French back to their senses. The French were, in a great measure, brought back to their senses; and he could not see the policy of persisting in the war, because we disliked their form of Government. He should therefore vote for the amendment, which, in every point of view, must be productive of beneficial consequences.

Mr. WINDHAM, (the Secretary at War) said, he had heard with surprise and grief, the arguments in support of the amendment. What was their obvious tendency? Submission, humiliation, degradation before an inveterate and insolent enemy. It was absurd folly, that a display of our force would cure the evil; for the very act of offering to treat, or suing for peace, would be a confession of weakness that could not be done away. Did the French Convention act thus, when the confederacy against them appeared the most powerful, and they were pressed by the arms of the allies in every quarter?—No: they remitted nothing of their lofty lan-

guage; they never once talked of peace. It was proposed to consent to nothing less than a safe and honourable peace, while it was acknowledged in the same breath, that no peace, concluded under the present circumstances, could be safe; while it was alledged, as an argument, that we might make it safe, by keeping ourselves on our guard, and prepared for war. The war, it was true, had been unsuccessful; but it had been so, only as compared with the wishes, the hopes, and the force of the confederacy. It had been unsuccessful from conduct, on the part of some of the allies, of which, for the honour of nations, he hoped the instances would be few. It was not unsuccessful, compared with foreign wars in which this country had been engaged. Look at the history of our wars with Louis XIV. which continued, with little interruption, for twenty years after the revolution. In those wars we and our allies had been much more unsuccessful than in the present war, and yet, by spirit and perseverance, we triumphed in the end. All, therefore, that could with truth be said was, that the war hitherto had had only a negative success.

If the enemy had over run part of the territories of our allies, we had in our hands very valuable possessions of theirs, which rendered the war, however unsuccessful as to the main object of it, not unsuccessful with regard to us individually. The circumstance from which the greatest danger appeared, and of which he had seen an alarming symptom in the speeches of gentlemen who spoke for the amendment, was, that the country was not true to itself: it had not put hand and heart to the war, as on former occasions, when the stake was not so great, and the crisis far less formidable. This was owing to several causes. The French revolution, in its earlier stages, was looked upon with a favourable eye by the people of this country. We all regarded it as the virtuous effort of a great nation, to correct the abuses of its Government; as the friends of liberty, we looked upon it with an indulgent eye; and although we saw things which we could not approve, we were willing to hope that the evil would be transitory, and the good permanent. Yet even at that time, there were not wanting men of great and comprehensive minds to warn us of the consequences that must necessarily result from the principles on which the French revolution was proceeding. A right honourable gentleman, (Mr. Burke) who he regretted was no longer a Member of that House, in a book which he would advise all who heard him once more to read, had predicted the evils that must necessarily ensue from their doctrines of liberty, equality, and the rights of men. It was his fate not to be believed at the time, and afterwards to be found completely right. Then came

the opinions of those who having favoured the French revolution at its commencement, could not so soon as others detach their affections from a system that had led to massacre and ruin. The imaginations of the people at large continued to be amused by, as he and those with whom he had now the happiness to act contended, a numerous and active party infected to the bone with French principles, and intent on the subversion of the British Constitution. Societies formed by this party had propagated doctrines the most hostile to the interests of this country. But it was said, the Members of these societies had been acquitted by the verdict of a jury, and gentlemen talked of their innocence in a tone of exultation. He wished them joy of the innocence of an acquitted felon.

[He was called to order by a Member under the gallery, (Mr. MAURICE ROBINSON) who said he could not hear without indignation the term felon applied to a man who had been acquitted, and the verdict of an English jury arraigned and degraded.]

Mr. Windham explained that he did not mean to arraign here the verdict of a jury; he meant only to say that the acquittal of the persons who had been brought to trial for treason, although proof that there was no legal evidence of their guilt in the opinion of the juries, by no means proved that they were free from moral guilt. The evidence in his mind established the direct contrary. The minds of the people, as he had before observed, were agitated by a party here, countenanced and supported by men of great consideration, who in support of their own views, were willing to receive the aid of men whose views they knew to be very different, and for that purpose entered into correspondence responded, and so far made a common cause with them. The French revolution in a very early stage proclaimed universal peace, and all who applauded this visionary doctrine, continued to applaud those by whom it was promulgated, even after it was seen that their practice led only to war and devastation. These were some of the circumstances which had rendered the prosecution of the war on our part less vigorous than it ought to have been. He maintained that our interference in the internal affairs of France, when that interference became necessary for our own safety, was wise and just. It was the distrust of this which had unnerved our exertions, and prevented us from interfering so soon as we ought to have done. The advantages of war or peace were not to be estimated by the territory or the trade we might gain or lose. No nation could say—Let us be disgraced provided we grow rich; if it did, what security was there for the continuance of its riches? When he received advice, he must consider both the advice itself, and those from whom it came. Approving

or disapproving of the French revolution must in future decide and distinguish the political characters of men. They were extremes irreconcileable, and what was fit for the one could never be good for the other. When, therefore, any man offered him advice, he would first ask to which of the two descriptions he belonged; and if he found him to differ in this essential point from himself, he would say, "This may be good advice for you, but cannot be good advice for me." The people of this country, he trusted, would in future think this distinction as strongly marked as he did. He could not see upon what principle or with what propriety, those, who originally considered the war as just and necessary, could now change their opinion. The honourable gentleman who moved the amendment, had, as far as his single vote went, contributed to embark his country in the war, and having done so, was it fair, on disasters, perhaps, merely casual and temporary, to abandon it? The confederacy against the common enemy, was not to be considered as dissolved because one or two of its Members had withdrawn. Even if it were dissolved, How long was it since we entertained the idea that Great Britain alone was not able to cope with France? With respect to the number of the well-disposed inhabitants of France, there was no reason to believe that our chance of co-operation within the kingdom was less than it had been at any former period. He was astonished at hearing any man talk of the stability of the French Government, which exhibited nothing but a succession of changes, and these changes generally effected by violence. Peace was not more likely to be obtained for our asking for it. If it were, what would then be the situation of this country? A situation so awful, that he durst hardly contemplate it. The intercourse between the two countries must be opened; the French would pour in their emissaries, and all the English infected with French principles, whom we had now the means of excluding, would return to disseminate their abominable tenets among our people. With what views would they come? With the views very forcibly expressed in a song performed with great applause in one of those innocent societies, as they were now called, a stanza of which he recollected.

They come, they come, the myriads come,
From Gallia to invade us;
Raise, raise the pike, beat, beat the drum,
They come, like friends, to aid us.

A Jacobinical club would be erected at every one's door; of property, an inquisition immediately instituted respecting his rights to it; and a Convention might be even established in the neighbour-

hood of that houſe. In this ſituation of danger, then, ſhall we ſend a ſubmiſſive commiſſion to them? If the aggreſſion of the Spaniards at Nootka Sound, a place ſcarcely marked in our maps, called forth the threatening vengeance of this country; if our own territories are not diſmembered, our reſources almoſt untouched, ſhould we give up a war, in compariſon of which all former ones are as children's play, and all peace muſt be ruin? The moment that peace was concluded, they would go among our poor, among our labourers, among our manufacturers, and teach them the doctrine of liberty and equality. They would point out the gilded palaces of the rich, and tell them that they ought to be plundered and demoliſhed for the benefit of the poor. True it was that the poor man had as great an intereſt in the ſecurity of property as the rich; but could this argument be made ſo clear to the poor man as to perſuade him to reſpect the property of his wealthy neighbour while he had no property of his own, or as it might be, for ſuch was the neceſſary order of ſociety, the means of obtaining any when he ſtood moſt in need of it? Such a peace would be worſe than any probable event of war. But of the future events of war we had no reaſon to deſpond. Exertions greater than the country could make at any former period, were now ſo lightly borne as hardly to be felt.—Who could ſay that he had felt them; except thoſe whoſe expences were ſo near the whole extent of their means, that the leaſt accident, either in peace or war, muſt reduce them to diſtreſs? Had the poor felt them, unleſs in a few particular and local inſtances? Had thoſe who were conſtantly telling the poor of the miſeries of war, been obliged to curtail a ſingle luxury? What Member of that Houſe had deprived himſelf of any of his wonted gratifications? [Here Mr. Sheridan reminded him that the Members were not the poor.] He acknowledged that the Members were opulent and the repreſentatives of opulence; but he held it as a maxim, that if the rich felt no ſuffering, the poor were not likely to feel any alſo. The cauſe for which they were fighting, it had been ſaid, would animate the French and render them invincible. Where had this invincible courage appeared? In what inſtance, in what quarter had the courage of our ſoldiers and ſeamen been inferior to theirs? Sorry he ſhould be if we could not do for the beſt of all cauſes, what the French could do in ſupport of every thing the moſt flagitious. The French emigrants in our ſervice in every inſtance had diſplayed a valour and perſeverance not ſurely to be exceeded by their infatuated countrymen againſt whom they were reduced to the neceſſity of taking up arms. He dwelt at ſome length on the unimpaired reſources of this country compared with the un-

natural and consequently unsound resources of France, from which he inferred, that whatever present appearances might indicate, we must be ultimately successful. It was not the character of the English easily to dispond. Perseverance and invincibility were their characteristics. They had met France single handed in her proudest day; what then can hinder us, unimpaired, to go on with the war with a nation whose capital is with accelerating rapidity wasting away, and itself upon the brink of poverty? With such a pandemonium, is it possible for us for a moment to think of treating? They were bleeding to death, our wound as yet was but skin-deep. He exhorted the House to imitate the perseverance of the French, who endured every hardship, and in all their domestic contests, to do them justice, never forgot the common cause of their country. He concluded with recommending the advice given by King William to his parliament after an unsuccessful campaign; that by persevering they might hope with confidence to preserve their religion, liberties and constitution, if they were not wanting to themselves, and displayed the patient spirit of Englishmen.

Mr. BANKES expressed himself equally astonished at what had fallen from the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Windham) as that gentleman had stated himself to be, at the speech of his honourable friend; a speech which was replete with that manly and decided reasoning, which so strongly characterized every opinion advanced by that gentleman. He did not, however, feel much surprized, that any person who had been so strenuous an advocate for an early and premature commencement of the present war, should continue so warm in his approbation of its continuance. For his part, he approved of the war in its commencement, because he considered it as a war of aggression on the part of our enemies; he should continue still to approve of it, did he not consider it as ruinous and destructive in its effects. There must be some period for restoring peace. He lamented to see that period put off by the speech from the Throne, and the Address, to such a distance as afforded little prospect short of an eternal state of warfare. Were we never to treat with France while France had a Republican Government? Those who answered in the affirmative ought to be able to shew that the Republican Government of France must be speedily dissolved. If they could not shew this, as he thought they were unable to do, it was no symptom of fear to say that a war of such indefinite duration must be productive of inevitable distresses, and that it was wise and prudent to look to the earliest opportunity of making peace. It seemed to him that the French Republic would last longer than the war system could last. He was happy in believing our resources to

be as great and extenſive as could be ſtated by the warmeſt admirer of Miniſters, but muſt ſay, that extenſive as they were, ſhould the war be continued until the overturning of the French ſyſtem, it was his firm opinion a national bankruptcy muſt be the conſequence. We muſt treat ſome time or other, and the earlieſt time was the beſt. The allies with whom we had engaged in the war were much more deeply intereſted in it than we. One of theſe allies was negociating; the co-operation of another even money could not buy; and the complete aſſiſtance of the Emperor we were not to expect gratuitouſly. Was Great Britain ſingly, or at her ſole expence, to fight the battles of all thoſe allies? There was no degradation in offering to treat on fair and equal terms. True magnanimity conſiſted not in haughtineſs, but in candour and plain dealing. If we were at war with an acknowledged power, we might have peace in the worſt event by ſome ſacrifice of commerce or of territory; but in the preſent war we ſtaked every thing, for we ſaid we would not treat with the exiſting Government of France, and held out no proſpect but that of extermination on the one ſide or other. We ought, therefore, to explain to the French that we were willing to treat upon equitable terms, and that we had no intention of interfering with their internal Government. He was convinced that the riſk incurred by making peace was infinitely leſs than that of continuing the war, and therefore thought it a duty he owed to his country and his conſtituents to vote for the amendment.

Mr. BUXTON ſaid, there was nothing in the Addreſs that declared we would not treat with the French Republic. He lamented the arguments for diſcontinuing the war, which he had no doubt would be read with acclamation in the French Convention. Feeling, as he did, the diſtreſſes of the country, and having ſeen them to be great, he would rather ſpend his laſt ſhilling, and ſhed the laſt drop of his blood, than ſubmit to treat with the preſent rulers of France.

Sir RICHARD HILL ſaid, Mr. Speaker, though I never attempt to deliver my ſentiments in this Houſe, without feeling that awe and reſpect which are due to the Aſſembly before which I ſtand, yet at no time do I remember to have riſen under ſo much diſtreſs and agitation as I do at preſent.

Any one who may have paid the ſmalleſt attention to the conduct of ſo inſignificant an individual, muſt have obſerved, that for the courſe of many years I have ſhewn a uniform and ſteady attachment to the preſent Adminiſtration, and particularly to the truly worthy and diſtinguiſhed character at the helm of public affairs; I have

therefore always efteemed it my honour and my happinefs to give him my feeble fupport and my confidence. But

Amicus Plato, amicus Socrates, magis amica Patria.

Sir, my difficulty does not end here. I have always underftood that an addrefs of thanks for a fpeech from the Throne, carried with it a degree of perfonal refpect to the Throne itfelf. Happy then fhould I efteem myfelf, could I give my voice for the original motion this night, but if I am thereby to be looked upon as pledging myfelf to vote for a continuation of the war, I cannot in confcience do it How, Sir, can I again look my conftituents or my countrymen in the face, were I to vote the money out of their pockets, and the blood out of their veins, in fupport of a war which has hitherto been difaftrous in the extreme; and which if perfifted in, I am perfuaded will be moft awful in the event. It is true, when the war firft took place, I voted for it as a war of *juftice* and of *neceffity*, nay, as a war which was *unavoidable*. I was convinced that our alarms, both as to internal and external danger, were far from being chimerical or groundlefs, and I thought, and do think, that much praife was due to Government for their timely and wife exertions for the fafety of the country. But when our laft campaign was ended, and we had fulfilled every engagement with our allies, (who, by the bye, had fulfilled none with us,) I was exceedingly grieved to fee that Minifters were bent on profecuting the war; and fhould certainly have voted for a motion made for peace, towards the clofe of the laft feffion, by a right honourable gentleman (Mr. Fox,) whofe philanthropy is univerfally acknowledged, and whofe lenity I myfelf have fufficiently experienced, when he might, by a word, have crufhed me to atoms, had it not been for fomething which fell from the Chancellor of the Exchequer in the courfe of the debate, which was, "*That the French Convention would declare any of their Members a traitor, who fhould but mention peace with England.*" This decided my vote that night; but let it be obferved, that the fanguinary faction of Roberfpierre then ruled. Since then feveral months have elapfed, during which we have been *profecuting the war with vigour*, as it is called. But what have we, or what have our allies, gained by it? I believe, the word RUIN will anfwer the queftion for all the parties. Try it for the Emperor; Try it for the King of Spain; Try it for the King of Sardinia; Try it for the Stadholder. I am unwilling to fay, Try it for ourfelves. But have any fteps been taken by us to put an end to the war? I fear none at all. On the contrary, have we not been foliciting, bribing, courting, wooing, Kings and Emperors to carry

on the war, almoſt whether they would or not? and with what difficulty have they at laſt been *coaxed* to defend their own territories, with Engliſh money? To bring this matter to a ſhort iſſue, Is there an honeſt, independent, man in this Houſe, who will not aſk, Is there, or is there not, an opportunity of making peace on any tolerable terms? if it be ſaid, *yes*, then in God's name, let us endeavour to do it without delay. If *no*, then let us withdraw our forces from the Continent, and keep them to defend ourſelves. Let Old England add to her wooden walls, by which ſhe has ever proved herſelf miſtreſs of the ocean, and ſhouted on the vaſt theatre of the globe, that *Britannia rules the waves*. I would not be underſtood, from any thing I have ſaid, to lay our miſcarriages at the door of the right honourable gentleman; I believe he inherits his illuſtrious father's ſentiments with regard to continental wars, inſomuch, that what one of our own poets ſaid of a *quandam* great Miniſter of France, may juſtly be applied to him: "*Peace is my dear delight, not Fleury's more.*" I believe he kept off war as long as in prudence he thought he poſſibly could, and till he apprehended both juſtice and neceſſity compelled him to enter into it. But he has been unfortunate; things have turned out contrary to his expectations; and I ſadly fear, that unleſs the preſent ſyſtem be abandoned, no change for the better can be expected. Under this perſuaſion, Sir, I give my hearty approbation of my worthy friend's amendment.

Mr. Chancellor PITT ſaid, that however deſirous he might be of firſt hearing the arguments of ſome gentlemen, from whom he muſt expect the ſtrongeſt arguments to be drawn in favour of the propoſed amendment, he was induced to offer himſelf at this late hour to the attention of the Houſe, leſt, from indiſpoſition, he ſhould be incapacitated at a ſtill later hour from entering upon a diſcuſſion upon which he was particularly anxious to be heard. Of the gentlemen to whom he had firſt alluded, there were many whoſe original opinions upon the neceſſity of this war muſt prevent him from entertaining any hopes of their concurrence; but as ſome of his friends had, in the debate of this evening, contradicted their former opinions, or were led to alter them by the progreſs of unfavourable events, it was with them that he meant principally to be at iſſue. He would firſt advert to the conſtruction and terms of the Addreſs, as they had been referred to by his honourable friend (Mr. Wilberforce), and with reſpect to which he wiſhed to give every explanation. His honourable friend had ſaid that he could not conſent to the Addreſs, becauſe it implied that this country would not treat with a Republican Government in France.—He had not pledged himſelf to that extent, he had only ſaid, that with

a government ſuch as that, which was now exiſting in France, this country could not treat with ſecurity; we were certainly not driven to that hard extremity, to that abſence of all hope, to that total want of reſources, as rendered it neceſſary for us to procure peace upon any terms. If ſuch indeed was our ſituation, and there remained no rational hope of avoiding the impending calamity, he never had contended that it would not be incumbent upon us to yield to the extraordinary preſſure, and to encounter the evil in its utmoſt extent. But he conceived that in the preſent condition of affairs, there ſtill exiſted intermediate terms. He would not ſay that there was no Republican form of Government, with which it would be poſſible for us to treat, though he muſt confeſs that he did not deem ſuch an event the moſt probable. He had ever thought that the moſt likely caſe, in which we could treat with France, would be the eſtabliſhment of a Monarchial Government; on ſomething like the foundation of the former Government. There was no other Government to the principles of which we could look for the ſame degree of ſecurity. And he, for one, did not think this country to be reduced to ſuch extremity as to be obliged, in the preſent moment, to treat without ſecurity. He conſidered that the perſons, with whom he was now at iſſue, were his honourable friends, who had expreſſed themſelves in favour of the amendment. They were, in the firſt inſtance, convinced of the juſtice and neceſſity of the war; they had exerciſed long deliberation on the ſubject, and had now declared themſelves perſuaded that the time was come when it was proper to treat with the French. He muſt own that they had appeared to him on the preſent occaſion to ſpeak more faintly of the conſiderations from which the war had been undertaken than he had expected from their former ſentiments. The object of the conteſt had been ſtated in repeated Addreſſes ſanctioned by theſe honourable gentlemen, to involve, not only the permanent intereſts of this country, but the exiſtence of order, humanity, and religion, in oppoſition to anarchy, cruelty, and impiety. The Government with which we were at war had declared itſelf the enemy of all natural and revealed religion, to the entire excluſion of all toleration. If ſuch was the nature of that Government, how dreadful were the reflections preſented by the example of ſuch a Government, trampling over all the order of ſociety, over every thing honourable and ſacred, more eſpecially over ſuch a mind as that of his honourable friend. Before we came to ſuch an alternative we ought at leaſt to be more ſure of having exhauſted all our reſources, and all our hopes. If ſuch a ſyſtem was indeed to be allowed to triumph over every thing dear and valuable, we ought at leaſt to be aſſured

that we did not yield to the suggestions of a base and unmanly fear, that we resisted while we entertained any hopes of being able to resist with effect, and that at last we submitted not to an assumed but to a real danger, not to any application of theoretical principles, but to the practicable impossibility of continuing the contest.—

——————Potuit quæ plurima virtus
Esse fuit. Toto certatum est corpore regni.

He begged pardon if he expressed himself with more emotion than was consistent with the propriety of debate; the particular situation in which he stood, opposing the opinions of those with whom he had been accustomed in almost all points to agree, would, he trusted, excuse the warmth of his feelings.

The question now to be discussed might shortly be stated, Whether the risque of making peace with the present Government of France, was greater than that of continuing the war in the present condition of the resources of this country? As to the variations of the French Government to attach any particular value to a thing so often changing its name might fairly be construed to amount to indifference to all. Since the fall of Roberspierre, the party of the Moderates had been at the head of the French Government. But it was to be remembered that a Constitution had been prepared in time of war, which was to be adopted in time of peace. This Constitution was superceded by the Revolutionary Government.—The present Government were much more mitigated in the use of their power than their predecessors, from whom it would be no unfair account of them to say, that they just differed about as much as the partizans of Roberspierre from Brissot and his party, who were the authors of the war with this country. From this circumstance it was to be inferred how far their moderation could be a good ground of reliance to this country in treating for a peace. They had succeeded to a Government founded on liberty and equality, and the unqualified rights of man, principles different from those of every other regular Government of Europe, and particularly hostile to this country. Their theoretical principles were found only to produce practical violence, while our Constitution, though it could not boast of theoretical excellence, shewed that it contained every thing valuable in practice. These principles of the French Government held out every other form of Government to be founded in usurpation and abuse; and the persuasion of this not merely grew out of the Government, but formed part of it. In short, the French system possessed all the inveteracy and bigotry of old popery. Could we believe that they had parted with the inclina-

tion, which two years ſince they had ſo ſtrongly diſcovered, to propagate their ſyſtem in other countries? Could we ſuppoſe that they would not retain the ſame inclination the moment that they had an opportunity of carrying it into effect? Peace could only be deſirable to the French upon two principles; firſt, that ſuch was the neceſſity of their affairs that they would be glad to embrace it, and ſecondly, that the interval which the period of peace would afford, would be favourable to the advancement of their views. What was the proſpect which a peace with France under the preſent circumſtances preſented to this country? Had we reaſon, as his honourable friend (Mr. Canning) had ſtated, to expect from ſuch a peace any cordial intercourſe, any uſeful commerce, any deſirable amity and friendſhip? Could we from ſuch an event expect any advantage to the public economy? Would we be enabled to diſband our armies or diſarm our fleets, or to put an end to the Traitorous Correſpondence bill, and the other meaſures which had been paſſed with a view to the preſervation of public order and tranquillity? He could eaſily ſuppoſe that thoſe gentlemen who had in an early part of the evening, ſo decidedly given their opinion with reſpect to the late trials, and who had ſuppoſed all the perſons in this country to be ſo pure, as not even to be infected by contact with jacobin principles, would foreſee no danger from a French alliance, and would look forward with ſatisfaction to the conſequences of ſuch a meaſure. But ſuch was not the caſe with his honourable friends, who, even in ſuch an event talked of the neceſſity of additional precautions, in order to guard the dignity of the Crown, and preſerve the tranquillity of the country. What then would be the rational proſpect of advantage to this country, from a peace with an enraged enemy, in which there could exiſt no confidence on either ſide, but which muſt neceſſarily give riſe to a ſtate of jealouſy, ſuſpicion, and conſtant armament. He would not here ſpeak of that narrow and pernicious policy, which, in order to ward off a preſent diſadvantage, incurs the riſque of a greater evil, and which, to ſave ourſelves from a temporary inconvenience, expoſes the deareſt intereſts of poſterity, and every conſideration for which men ought to be prepared to hazard their lives; and ſhould a rupture, as would moſt probably be the conſequence, follow cloſe upon the heels of ſuch a peace, in what ſituation would you come to the conteſt? You would then have put an end to the machine, which is with ſo much difficulty ſet in motion, and which can ſcarcely, at the end of two years, be raiſed to the pitch neceſſary to try the national ſtrength—a pitch to which it would be almoſt impoſſible to raiſe it again in the ſame ſpace. On the other hand the enemy would find it as

impossible to disband their troops, as with respect to your forces you would find it necessary. They would again be prepared to start with the same gigantic resources, deriving fresh confidence from the disposition which you had shewn to peace, and new vigour from the interval which had been afforded to hostilities. What then would be your situation? It had been said that you would have to carry on the war without any alliance at all. On the event of this night's debate, may depend what shall be your future situation with respect to your allies. If you do not now proclaim your weakness, if you do not renounce your prospects, you have still great hopes from the alliance of Europe. Neither Prussia, Austria, Spain, and the States of Italy, were yet in such a situation that their assistance might not be looked to in carrying on the contest. The honourable gentlemen who supported the amendment, disclaimed the language of fear; they said they knew what Great Britain could do, if once it was roused. What then was to be inferred from all their former professions? Was this then a business, in which, after all, they were not serious? Was this cause which had been admitted to involve not only the most important interests of Great Britain, but the safety of Europe and the order of society, not considered to be of such a nature as required all the energies of the country? What then was the greater necessity to which they looked? What the occasion on which they deemed that they could more worthily employ their efforts? If we should dissolve the powerful confederacy with which we were now united, could we hope again to bring it back at our summons; and would we not in the case of a fresh rupture be exposed alone to the fury of France, without the smallest prospect of assistance from any other quarter? But this was not the only objection to abandoning the war in the present moment. We were desired to relinquish the contest at a period at which all the natural and unnatural resources, by which France had hitherto been enabled to persevere, were fast approaching to their termination. To give peace to France in the present situation of their affairs, would be to enable them to recruit these resources, and to renew their depredations at the expence of this country. Considered in all these points of view, the dangers of peace were infinite; and it was in every respect preferable to continue the contest, even with the probabilities which the aspect of affairs presented. The only answer to all these objections was a speculation that in the event of a peace, the present destructive system would no longer be able to maintain its ground, and France would naturally fall into a more regular form of Government. It had been argued that the system had hitherto only been upheld by the extraordinary pressure from the exte-

rior, and that as soon as that pressure was withdrawn, it must necessarily fall in pieces. But what would be the conclusion if the fact was otherwise? and the extraordinary pressure, instead of being the cause of the existence of the system, had now almost brought it to the verge of ruin; and if a peace, instead of having the effect to establish a moderate and settled Republic, would tend only to produce a more powerful and violent despotism than even that which now subsisted. When it was said, therefore, that a peace would have the effect to overthrow the Government of France, the proposition was by no means clear; the probability was much greater that the persons now at the head of the Government, would, in order to continue their own power (and in France, it was to be recollected, that the continuance of their power was connected with that of their lives, so that in addition to the incentives of ambition, they had the powerful motive of self preservation) be induced to continue the same system of measures that now prevailed. Obliged as they would be to recal a powerful army from the frontiers, would the troops of whom it was composed, after having tasted the sweets of plunder and the licence of the field, be contented to return to the peaceful occupations of industry? Would they not, in order to amuse their daring spirit, and divert from themselvs the effects of their turbulence, be compelled to find them some employment? And what was the employment to which they would most naturally direct their first attention? They would employ them to crush all the remains of courage, loyalty and piety that yet remained in France; and extinguish all that gallant and unhappy party from whose co-operation we might promise ourselves, at any future period, to derive advantage. What else could be expected from those Moderates, who, though assuming that appellation, had, in succeeding to the party of Roberspierre, only established themselves on a new throne of terror? Thus the peace which was in the present instance proposed, as the means of safety, would ultimately only operate to ensure the work of destruction. But this was but a small part of the objections to concluding a peace in the present moment. His honourable friends who supported the amendment, had not yet told him what sort of peace they proposed to make; and before they could require his assent to their proposition, they ought first to be prepared to shew what terms of peace they would adopt under the present circumstances, rather than proceed to carry on the war for another campaign. Except they could do this, to propose a peace, in the situation in which we were now placed, was only to propose a gratuitous loss of honour, to hold out a symptom of fear, and a signal of despair. Would his honourable friend, or would even the

right honourable gentleman opposite (Mr. Fox) himself say, that England was in that state under which she should agree to a peace, leaving the Austrian Netherlands in possession of the French? In a few months after, Holland would certainly be added to that acquisition, and in a short time afterwards, the sword must be drawn again, upon terms of much greater disadvantage, than we had now to encounter in carrying on the war. He would assert, paradoxical as it might appear, that the only security for Holland at present in making a peace with France, was derived from the circumstance of our still continuing to carry on the war. Who that looked to the proceedings of the Convention, did not see that it was their policy on every occasion, to keep up their arrogant and menacing system, and to hold a high tone of superiority with respect to all other nations? By these means they had contrived to cherish that spirit of enthusiasm among the people, which had enabled them to make such extraordinary exertions, and on which they depended for the continuance of their power. It would be impossible to propose peace, without an implied admission of this boasted French superiority; to adopt the language of pacification, would at once be an acknowledgement of their claims, and a confession of your own disgrace.

Would they, in such a situation, be disposed to make peace with you on terms of equality, or must not you be contented to accept of such terms as they should be inclined to offer? The honourable Baronet, (Sir Richard Hill) whom he highly respected, had alluded to a decree of the French Convention, mentioned by him in the course of last session, and had assigned that decree as a reason why he then voted for the war. This was the decree of the 13th of April, 1793, in which it had been declared treason for any man to propose peace with the powers at war, except upon a recognition of the French Republic, on the principles of liberty and equality, founded on the unalienable and imprescriptible rights of man. They were not simply content with the recognition of their Republic, except it was acknowledged on their own principles, principles hostile to every established Government, and which he contended could not be adopted by this country, without signing the deposition of the King, and the annihilation of the Parliament. But even if a peace were to be made on the *status quo*, it could not be done without a restitution on your part of the conquered West-India islands, on retaining which depend not only all your hopes of indemnification for the expences of the war, but of the future security of your own possessions in that quarter. Would you, in any other war, readily be disposed to make such a concession, and will you be induced, in the

present, tamely to submit to such a sacrifice? The scene of misery and horror that must ensue, was indeed inconceivable; the surrender of these islands, would be to give up to the fury of their ancient tyrants, the miserable inhabitants who had sought your protection, and at once to violate every principle of good faith and humanity. Before, too, you made such a surrender, there was another question to be considered: no less than whether you would afford to the French an unresisted opportunity of working upon the unfortunate system that now prevailed in that country; and introducing their government of anarchy, the horrors of which were even more dreadful than those of slavery. To those who had in common deplored the measures of the unfortunate negroes, it must appear astonishing, that any proposition likely to be attended with such consequences, could ever enter the mind of his honourable friend (Mr. Wilberforce). Besides, it was impossible to ascertain what a wide-spread circle of calamity the adoption of this proposition might produce. If once the principles of Jacobinism should obtain a footing in the French West-India islands, could we hope that our own would be safe from the contagion? If it had been found scarcely possible to shut out the infection of these principles from the well-tempered and variously blended orders of society which subsisted in this country, where a principle of subordination ran through all the ranks of society, and all were united by a reciprocity of connection and interest, what might be expected to be their effects operating upon the deplorable system subsisting in that quarter. It would be giving up your own colonies speedily to be devoted to all the horrors of anarchy and devastation. Such is the situation to which you would reduce yourselves by any proposition for peace in the present moment, even upon the *status quo*, which, in all probability, would not be accepted. Any such proposition must necessarily imply a confession of your own weakness. You must ask for peace, not indeed in the language, but in the posture, of supplication. He had not yet heard our own difficulties stated in such terms, as shewed an absolute necessity of immediately having recourse to peace. What had chiefly been insisted on, was the unfortunate event of the last campaign. He was not disposed to diminish the extent of our calamities, or hold out any flattering prospect of the success of our operations. The speech of His Majesty mentioned the reverses and disappointments which had attended the progress of our arms. But was this a sufficient ground why we should all at once be induced to abandon the war, and to sue for peace? Was the enumeration which had been made of the checks and defeats in the course of the last campaign, to be considered as at all conclusive? Had not simi-

lar checks and defeats occurred in former wars, where the object was much less serious, and where, after all, the event had been successful? Would any man, then, from the experience of former wars, pretend to say, that the bare check of military operations, or the transfer of territory from one Power to another, were sufficient grounds of discouragement, or formed the ultimate criterion of success? No man would pretend to say such was the case. And if such was not the fact with respect to wars in general, much less would it hold with respect to the present war, as carried on by this country. All modern wars had been remarked to depend on a comparison of the means by which they were to be carried on. That power which possessed the superiority of resources had been found finally to be successful. The great question between Great Britain and France, in the present contest, was, Which should be able to hold out longest in point of pecuniary resources? At present both the balance of territorial acquisitions, and of pecuniary resources, were on the side of Great Britain. Nay, he should go farther, and venture to affirm, that if all that had been lost by Austria, Prussia, and the States of Italy, were to be put together, it would not amount to the extent of the loss which had been sustained by France alone, since the commencement of the war. With respect to the resources of France, they had existed, and they had ceased.

He said it would indeed be very singular, if, because a nation, in direct contradiction to hope and reason, had maintained a war of two years, and carried it on with a wild profusion, which enabled them to astonish the world with their military atchievements, that it was not to be determined when those means would end; he, for his part, thought it a subject of reasonable calculation. They existed, he said, by means as extraordinary as the events they brought about—their pecuniary expences were beyond any thing ever known—and supported by requisition of person, life, and property—they depended entirely upon terror—every thing that weakened that system, weakened their means, and as the adoption of moderation sapped it on one side, so the perseverance in attack could not but pull it down on the other—"take every part of it," said he, "one by one, view their expenditure, and then see, whether terror is not the instrument by which they have raised their extraordinary supplies, and obtained all their unexampled successes." His honourable friend (Mr. Canning) had stated the expence with which the French Government had been attended since the commencement of the revolution. As to entering into details of this sort, he wished to observe, that, if any Member was desirous to be acquainted with the authorities upon which he proceeded, he was ready to enter into

any particular discussion, and point out the sources from which he had derived his information. He then stated, that since the revolution their expenditure amounted to 480 millions sterling; 320 millions sterling in two years was the price of the efforts by which they wrested from the allies the conquests they had obtained. But was this to be considered as the scale of what they could spend? did these enormous sums arise from an increase of revenue, or from an orderly system of finance?—Not at all—it arose from an unlimited paper credit—and all their own accounts concurred, he said, in declaring, that if carried any farther, it would be impossible to maintain any longer, much less to augment it, by any further aggravations of the mischiefs of plunder and confusion. It had even been stated by their own leader, that it had now been carried to that point, beyond which it could not be extended without ruin to the country. In former times the whole circulation of France had been stated to amount only to 90 millions annually, of which it may naturally be supposed that a great part remained unactive. He mentioned this in order to shew how far the scale of their expenditure exceeded what might be supposed to be the natural resources of the country. While the circulating medium of the whole country amounted to no more than 90 millions in 1793, the assignats issued amounted to 130 millions sterling; and at the same time, the price of all the conveniences of life rose to an enormous height. The forcible measures brought forward and adopted for the temporary remedy of this grievance, did not bring into actual circulation above 130 millions, and thereby were reduced to half their nominal value, so that the Louis brought 120 livres in assignats, one-sixth of their nominal value only. Then came into their aid the system, of terror, and the paradoxical experiment of credit, founded on the basis of fear—for from desolation and distress they extracted such sums as could not be raised, from the utmost confidence, in the most opulent nation of the earth. It might appear, he said, very extraordinary, how they contrived to carry into the recesses of every house the impulse of their engine, terror—a law was made by them enacting a penalty of 20 years imprisonment against any man who refused to take the assignats at the depreciated value of one-sixth, and at the same time obliging them, by an arbitrary maximum, to sell their provisions at a low price fixed by themselves. This he said, was actually carried into execution—but means so violent could not be expected to last long. In the days of Robespierre, the advocates for the French had said, all this was done by the enthusiasm of the people—but appeared afterwards to be done by cruelty—by the revolutionary tribunal, and the indefatigable activity of the

guillotine—that taken away, the aſſignats fell conſiderably. One thing, he ſaid, he would mention, on the authority of the French Miniſter of Finance, under the title of an Article of Oeconomy, viz. in addition to the other engines of tyranny, they eſtabliſhed in every diviſion a deſcription of men, under the name of Revolutionary Committees, who were appointed to ſuperintend the execution of this law; they lived by plunder, and coſt no leſs a ſum than 26 millions ſterling. Since, thoſe 130 millions aforementioned, inſtead of diminiſhing, they augmented to 260 millions ſterling; and their own account of the ſtate of thoſe in 1793, would give ſome idea of the effect likely to be produced by 260 millions. If then the ſyſtem of terror be done away, how, he aſked, could they ſubſiſt? a ſyſtem ſo unnatural could not ſubſiſt by natural means, as the ſyſtem relaxed, aſſignats decreaſed in value, and were charged at an immoderate diſcount by the ſervants of the Convention themſelves. In two months after the death of Robeſpierre, they fell to one half, and lately to one fourth of their nominal value. In addition he ſtated, that the Members in the Convention, even thoſe who were moſt oppoſite, concurred in declaring, that by the diminution of aſſignats their means were leſſened, and that they could only raiſe them by contracting their exertions, and diminiſhing their forces. And it ſhould be recollected this was their only reſource. Was it then too much to ſay, their reſources were nearly at an end? It was this unlimited power which the French Convention had aſſumed to purchaſe or to ſeize all property, as ſuited to their purpoſes, which accounted for the ſtupendous ſcale of operations which they had been enabled to purſue. This circumſtance completely ſolved the phænomenon, which otherwiſe appeared ſo inexplicable, and was adequate to all thoſe miraculous effects which had attended the progreſs of the French revolution, and which ſeemed to baffle all reaſoning, as much as they had exceeded all human expectation. In all theſe circumſtances he would ſay that we had ſufficient inducements to carry on the war, if not with the certainty of faith, yet at leaſt with the confidence of expectation. A war, the immediate termination of which would be attended with certain evil, and the proſecution of which, under the preſent circumſtances, was at leaſt not without great probable hope.

If we looked to the ſituation of France, they were now attempting to have recourſe to a milder and more moderate ſyſtem, a ſyſtem which would only deprive them of thoſe prodigious energies, which they had hitherto exerted with ſuch aſtoniſhing effect; but they no longer indeed poſſeſſed the ſame means, and could not therefore be expected to diſplay the ſame exertions. Would it be

poſſible for them all at once to reſtore the farmer to the occupations of agriculture, and the merchant to the purſuits of commerce, and to replace, in an inſtant, the devaſtations of war and plunder, by the arts of peace, and the exertions of induſtry? It would require years of tranquillity to reſtore them to the enjoyment of thoſe ordinary reſources, which they had poſſeſſed previous to the commencement of the preſent deſtructive war—reſources which they could no longer employ. For even could it be ſuppoſed that Roberſpierre were raiſed from the dead, they would no longer be qualified to diſplay the ſame energies which, under his adminiſtration, had been called forth by the influence of a ſyſtem of terror; the means by which theſe exertions had been ſupplied, were now exhauſted.—What could they poſſibly reſort to for freſh ſupplies? Could it be ſuppoſed, that when the forced loan failed at the time it was attempted, it can again be tried and ſucceed, in a time much more unfavourable to it, when the ſyſtem of terror is almoſt diſſolved? The queſtion then was—had we, under the preſent circumſtances, the proſpect of being able to bring as great a force into the field, as would require from the French the ſame degree of exertion which had been neceſſary in the former campaigns? Even let it be ſuppoſed that Holland ſhould fall, and that circumſtances ſhould be ſuch that we could no longer look for aſſiſtance from the Court of Berlin, yet he could ſee no reaſon why the augmentation of the Britiſh force might not fully ſupply the loſs, and even do ſomething more valuable in point of effect, with reſpect to the operations of the war. He could ſee no reaſon if we gave to Auſtria the pecuniary aid which it required as its own expence, why we might not be able, in conjunction with the augmented force, which, from the aſſiſtance of our credit, it would be enabled to bring forward, along too with the powers of Spain, and the States of Italy, to effect a powerful diverſion, and accompliſh the important purpoſe—a purpoſe in the accompliſhment of which, the happineſs, almoſt the exiſtence of Europe, entirely reſted.

Mr. FOX ſaid, that exhauſted as he felt himſelf, and diſguſted as the Houſe muſt be at hearing a repetition of the ſame arguments upon which we had been firſt involved in a ſituation diſaſtrous beyond example, if he did not endeavour to ſtate to the Houſe the neceſſity of adopting the amendment, or an amendment of ſome ſuch nature, he ſhould be wanting in his duty. On the conduct of the war, not a word had been ſaid. The honourable Baronet who moved the Addreſs, had declined all diſcuſſion on that head, expreſſing his belief that thoſe who were entruſted with the direction of it would give the neceſſary explanations at a future period. The

time would come for those explanations, or, at least, for calling for them. At present, he wished gentlemen to consider the horrible picture which two of His Majesty's Ministers had given of our situation; that we were engaged, and must persevere in a contest, the issue of which involved not territory or commerce, not victory or defeat, in the common acceptation of the words, but our Constitution, our country, our existence as a nation. Viewing this picture, he was glad that truth and reason had at length found their way to the minds of some men. He should have thought it strange, indeed, if while so many had separated themselves from him on differences of political opinion, there should have been none to adopt the opinions which he still retained. Those who moved and supported the amendment now said, that the House of Commons ought not, by their Address to the Crown, to pledge themselves never to agree to a peace with France, while the present Republican Government existed. Was this a new doctrine? Certainly not; but it was new to call upon the House for such a pledge. It was the first time of asking Parliament to assure His Majesty that they would never think it adviseable to treat with the French Republic on the present system, unless in a case of such imperious necessity on the part of this country as must preclude all reasoning, and he gave Ministers credit for their candour in asking it thus fairly, and without equivocation. [Mr. Pitt intimated across the table that expressions in a former Address pledged the House to this] Mr. Fox said, he wished to give the right honourable gentleman some credit for candour, but the right honourable gentleman so detested the thing, that he could not endure even the name. He knew there were expressions in former Addresses that might admit of such a construction; and aware that they would be so construed, when Ministers found it convenient, he had warned, but in vain, the House against adopting them. If, in the misfortunes of his country it were possible not to sympathize, he should feel some consolation in observing the effect of double dealing; of using words in one sense, with the intention of their being understood in another; of courting the support of some men upon one interpretation, and of others upon an interpretation directly opposite. If the Minister had said candidly and plainly, in the first instance, "This war is undertaken for the express purpose of destroying the French Government, and, come what will, we can never make peace while that Government endures," he might not, perhaps, have had so many supporters, but he would have been saved the unpleasant feeling of this day's difference with his friends. His eagerness to obtain the support of all led him to make use of equivocal words, and now

his own friends told him that they did not interpret those words as he did; that they thought the destruction of the French Government a desirable object if it could be accomplished on reasonable terms; but that if they had imagined that peace must never be thought of, till that Government was destroyed, they would not have voted for the war. Here was an instance of the Minister's deriving no advantage from equivocation. Here at length was what he had so often laboured, but without effect, to obtain; a clear declaration of the precise object of the war, and of the terms on which alone we could hope for peace. This led to the question of policy, and, in proceeding to examine that question, he found another instance of ingenuousness. The Speech from the Throne, the mover and seconder of the Address, admitted that we had experienced disasters in the course of the last campaign. The two Ministers who had spoken on the subject, both said *they would not deny* that the enemy had over-run provinces and taken strong towns.—They would not deny—astonishing candour! The accession of strength and integrity they had gained in the Cabinet inspired them with such confidence that they felt bold enough to substitute plain dealing for shuffling and equivoque, and they would not deny that the enemy had overrun provinces and taken strong towns! When the true statement was, that never, in any one campaign, since the irruptions of the Goths and Vandals, had such reverses been experienced on the one hand, and such acquisitions made on the other. The French had not only driven the allies from France, retaken all the captured fortresses, but were now actually in possession of all the Austrian Netherlands, Dutch Brabant, a considerable part of the United Provinces, all the left bank of the Rhine, except Mentz, part of Piedmont, all the province of Navarre, and much of Biscay and Catalonia—Then Ministers were ready to confess that the French had taken strong towns! Were so many ever taken in any five campaigns in the history of modern Europe? He should be told, it was acting the part of a bad subject to exaggerate the successes of an enemy;—he would reply, that he was acting the part of an honest Member of Parliament, in telling the House truths which they ought to hear, as the only grounds of deciding properly; and reminding them of disasters which, not fortune, but folly, had brought upon the country. On the means by which the exertions of the French had been hitherto stimulated, much declamation had been wasted. If we were ever to be unfortunately in the same situation with the French, we should then make similar exertions, and not till then. Why not make similar exertions now? Because we had not similar motives. That we were fighting for our Constitution, our liberties,

religion, and lives, did very well for rounding a period in a ſpeech; but the people would believe none of all this, nor that they who ſaid ſo believed it themſelves. To him it was aſtoniſhing how any ſet of men who did believe it, could have ſo worked themſelves up, as to riſk ſuch a war on the wild theories they had nouriſhed in their own minds, or the applauſes of thoſe who were but too ready to applaud upon truſt. To hear them, one would think, that no nation was at peace with France, or that, if any were, it muſt already be undone. Was Denmark, Sweden, or even Genoa, notwithſtanding our tyrannical conduct towards it, in a ſtate of anarchy, in conſequence of being at peace with France? Was America, whoſe own glorious Conſtitution was founded on the rights of man? No ſuch thing—With America the intercourſe of France was great and conſtant; in America, French principles, more than in any other country, the principles of liberty and equality, might be expected to find a genial ſoil; yet America was ſo far from being thrown into a ſtate of anarchy by the growth of thoſe dreaded principles, that ſhe had juſt obtained a very advantageous treaty of amity and commerce with this country—a treaty, as far as he had heard of it, which juſtice and policy would have dictated at any time, but which he feared the difficulties in which our Miniſters had involved themſelves, rather than their juſtice or policy, induced them to give. Why, then, were we to be ſo much afraid of peace with France, when ſo many other nations had made the experiment, without any miſchievous conſequences? When men were attached to theories they ſhut their eyes againſt the plaineſt and ſtrongeſt facts. The French Revolution had now ſubſiſted five years and a half, and in the ſixth year of it we were told, that if we were to make peace with the preſent rulers of France, their terrible principles would ſpread anarchy, and robbery, and bloodſhed, not only over this country, but over all the world. Yet though their ſucceſſes had been brilliant beyond example, (and how far ſucceſs impoſes upon the bulk of mankind, the Chancellor of the Exchequer could tell better than moſt men), except in the petty ſtate of Geneva, of which he did not know to be upon French principles, not a ſingle revolution had their example produced. To us, however, it was ſaid that their intercourſe in time of peace would be moſt formidable. From Calais to Dover they would pour in upon us ſo many miſſionaries.—What, had they none already here? Had not Miniſters told the Houſe and the public, that for more than two years, Jacobin Societies, correſponding with the Jacobin Societies of France, had been labouring, with indefatigable zeal, to propagate Jacobin principles?. Happily theſe emiſſaries. who knew the habits, manners, and language of our

people, had been labouring without effect; nay, he was justified in saying so by Ministers themselves; for, thank God, the King's Speech, for the first time these two years, had nothing of an alarm in it. There must, then, be something in the French language, so agreeable, so soothing, so captivating, so intelligible to English ears, that French emissaries would be sure of success, where English emissaries had laboured in vain for more than two years. On the expression—*acquitted Felon*, which a right honourable gentleman had used, he hoped inadvertently, since he had thought it necessary to explain it, he should say nothing of how reprehensible it was, either in a constitutional or moral point of view. Of the Societies then in the right honourable gentleman's mind, he believed the truest description had been given from the Bench, viz. "That they wanted numbers, arms, money, and even zeal." This, he believed, would be found to be the accurate description of any Society, formed in this country, for the purpose of overturning the Constitution. That there might be a few speculatists in this country, who would prefer another form of Government to the present, he had no doubt, there were such in every country, and even these seldom had much zeal. But the English language would not do to seduce the people of England from their allegiance to the Constitution. French emissaries must come over and inculcate French principles in the French language. They must go among our labourers and manufacturers, and as the calamities of war had proved insufficient to rouse them, tell them they were now exposed to all the calamities of peace! The right honourable gentleman (Mr. Windham) complained of want of zeal in the country. Surely our soldiers had not fought with less valour, nor our officers with less skill, than in any former war. Whatever bravery or conduct could atchieve, they had uniformly done, but it must be recollected, that the general exertion of a campaign depends upon the numbers brought into the field.

When he formerly made a motion in that House for peace, he found no want of zeal for war, no want of zeal to cry down any man who had the hardiness to oppose it—at least he found enough, and knew not to what greater length it could have gone, unless they had expelled him the House, or declared him a traitor, as they seemed to think a laudable practice in other places towards any man who opposed the will of the majority. What was the cause of that zeal? contempt for the enemy and confidence in their own strength; and the cause being gone, the effect had ceased. Such would ever be the case with zeal founded on false principles. Why [illegible] the zeal and exertions of the French less affected by ill success

than ours? Ministers would answer; "they force every man into the field who is capable of serving, they strip every other man of whatever they want for the service of the army, and amid misery, wretchedness and death, they produce an unnatural exertion by means of tyranny and terror."—At the call of necessity, even such means must be resorted to. Were a French army to land in this country, declaring that they would make no peace with us, till we renounced our Constitution and accepted of a form of Government according to their fancy, who would deny that every man capable of serving against them must be compelled to service, and that every sacrifice must be made by individuals to repel the common danger? Such acts in such cases, instead of tyranny, became a virtue; and he was surprised to hear men of correct minds deducing arguments from them, of which they ought to be ashamed. Would we submit, it was asked, to peace with the present Government of France? Submit to what? Submit to the French having a bad Government? Had we not submitted to this for more than a century? Had we ever found ourselves uneasy under our submission to Persia's having a bad Government? Had we not submitted to all the injustice, cruelty and slaughter perpetrated in Poland? Then it was asked, "Would we submit to propose peace?" If all nations were to stand upon this point, no war could ever be concluded, but by the extermination of one or other of the contending parties, for one or other must submit to propose peace. But to propose peace was no submission, no degradation. Peace had often been proposed by the victorious party, and this had always been deemed an act of wisdom and magnanimity, not of concession. What were all the other degradations and submissions but lofty words and unmeaning phrases? We had once said, that we would never treat with the present Government of France; take away this impediment to peace, and every advantage we obtained afterwards, if the war must be continued, would be something in our favour; whereas, while that remained, our successes would only stimulate the enemy to fresh exertions, by fresh sufferings and fresh sacrifices; for it was impossible to suppose that the French Government would ever negociate for its own destruction. Would not this give a clear sanction of justice to the war? Would it not produce unanimity with greater zeal and exertion at home, by convincing every man that we were not at war for unreasonable or impracticable objects, but to bring an unreasonable enemy to equitable terms of peace? But what might it not be expected to produce in France, where, as Ministers said, the Government was perpetually changing from hand to hand, and the loss of power marked the pe-

riod of life? Ministers were always speculating on the internal affairs of France; why not try a little of this speculation? The Convention, they said, deluded the people by telling them that they were waging war of extermination. To offer to treat would put an end to the delusion, the people would open their eyes, and the Convention must give them peace or meet the extermination which they were said to denounce against others. The present state of the war was calamitous beyond example. We had gained Martinico, Guadaloupe, St. Lucia, and part of St. Domingo, in the West Indies, with Corsica in the Mediterranean. Our Allies had lost all he had enumerated in the former part of his speech. If these astonishing exertions of the enemy by land had impeded their exertions by sea, it would be something; but unfortunately the prediction in one of the King's speeches, that their navy had received an irrecoverable blow at Toulon, was already falsified. Was it not true that a fleet had already sailed from that port superior in point of number to our fleet in the Mediterranean? Their naval exertions at Brest had afforded Lord Howe one of the most glorious triumps in the annals of our history. If their navy had been such as Ministers represented it at the commencement of the war, viz. a navy only upon paper, Lord Howe would not have had the glory of beating an ennemy of superior force. But even that blow proved not to be irreparable, for they had now a fleet at sea which it was doubtful whether we could immediately collect a sufficient force to drive from the English Channel. These circumstances were matter of very serious consideration to every man who felt for the honour and safety of his country. If the war should go on, must we not expect, from what we have seen, that the enemy would again dispute with us the superiority at sea? The skill and courage of our navy he confided in as unmatched by any people in the world; but skill and courage could not always compensate for inequality of force; and as our chance of victory was greater, so was our stake. The defeat of the French fleet, as we had so lately experienced, would be of little consequence to the general issue of the campaign, while the defeat of our fleet would be little short of absolute destruction. Why then expose us on such unequal risk? It was admitted, however, that when disaster had subdued obstinacy and extinguished hope, we must make peace, even with the French Republic. Then indeed, all that was now imagined of humiliating and degrading would be true; we must throw ourselves at the feet of those we had contemned and riviled, perhaps exasperated, and submit to whatever terms they thought fit to impose. Why expose ourselves to the bare possibility of such ruin? Why not renounce the visionary

project of overturning the present Government of France? If after that they abused the peace we made with them, we should do as we had done with France before, contend for superiority with the same stake and the same exertion. If asked what terms of peace he would advise, he would answer, that to adjust the terms was the business of Ministers, who alone possessed the necessary information. Let them propose such terms as on a consideration of all the circumstances, of the relative strength of the contending parties, of what might be gained and what lost on either side, they should judge to be fair and equitable, and if these were refused, we should be in a better situation than before, because both parties would know what they were fighting for, and how much the attainment of it was worth. Another difficulty arose from the French Loyalists. Thank God, he was innocent of whatever might befal these unfortunate men. He had deprecated the war in the first instance, and after its commencement, every act which could give the French Emigrants reason to expect our support in their pretensions upon their own country. Next, it was said: "Will you give up the West India Islands, will you deliver over those men to the vengeance of their implacable enemies, who, as the price of your protection, assisted you in taking those Islands?" To these questions let them answer, who had sacrificed the French Emigrants fighting in our pay, in almost every garrison we had been compelled to surrender, who had thrown men into situations from which they could not be extricated, nor yet receive the ordinary protection of the laws of war. These might be difficulties to the Minister; these might be reasons why he should never be able to extricate himself from the business with honour; but it was the Nation's honour, not the Minister's, about which he was anxious. The Honourable Baronet who moved the Address, had expressed his hopes of a unanimous vote in support of it. If it were to be voted unanimously, this country could never make peace with honour, if there were a division upon it, part of the country would come out clear. In His Majesty's speech, there is no mention of allies, it was only said, "that His Majesty will omit no opportunity of concerting the operations of the next campaign with such of the powers of Europe as are impressed with the same sense of the necessity of vigour and exertion." Who those powers might be we were left to conjecture. The Dutch, however, we were told, were negociating, and the King of Prussia, we knew, had failed. The hon. gentleman who seconded the Address, had given him the credit of predicting this failure; but added that he himself had predicted the fall of Robespierre, and various other matters which had also come to pass. The honourable gentleman

might have predicted that it would be a dry summer and a rainy autumn; he resigned to him all the honour of prediction. For his own part, he had predicted nothing; he had only used the best arguments he was able, to shew that, from the past conduct of the King of Prussia, there could be no reliance on any engagement he might enter into with us, and the event had shewn that those arguments were all founded. The Minister himself would not now promise us any assistance from the King of Prussia beyond his contingent as an Elector of the Empire, even on the treaty of 1787. But the Emperor was to make a great augmentation of his forces, by money borrowed on our credit. Why on our credit? Plainly, because he had no credit of his own. Were there no monied men in the Emperor's dominions? Were the capitalists of Europe so short-sighted, so slow in perceiving the advantages of an Imperial loan, that they could not see them, till pointed out by our Government? They saw the advantages, but they would not lend their money, because they knew the borrower was not to be trusted. The loan was neither more nor less than a subsidy under another name, a distinction so flimsy and so trifling, as he hoped never to have seen attempted by the Ministers of great potentates. Mark then the desperate situation to which we were reduced. The only Ally from whom we had any hopes of efficient aid was the Emperor, and from him, for the enormous sum of six millions, we might get as good and as useful a subsidiary treaty, as was our treaty with the King of Prussia last year. The Emperor, it would be said, had more faith—so it was said of the King of Prussia, but he had very little confidence in the faith of the cabinet of any absolute Monarch. During the American war, a noble Marquis then commanding a separate army, expressed his great surprize at finding the people of Virginia so like the people of Carolina. Next year we might have to express our great surprize at finding the King of Bohemia so like the Elector of Brandenburgh. He would agree to put the whole argument on the opinion of any experienced officer who had served the last campaign on the continent, whether or not there was any rational hope of co operation between the English and the Austrian army. They hated one another more than either hated the French; and from the battle of Tournay, where the Austrians fought the whole day, or rather stood the whole day without fighting, and the enemy were repulsed by a detachment of the British army, their mutual complaints and recriminations had been incessant. But the finances of France were exhausted, and therefore, we ought to try whose finances would hold out the longest. Into this part of the question he would not enter, because we were

were told the very ſame thing laſt year, and on the very ſame arguments. The King's ſpeech laſt year ſaid the reſources of the French were rapidly declining; but rapidly was only a relative term; they were again rapidly declining this year; and ſo they might be ten years hence. The fall of Roberſpierre—he ſeemed a great favourite on account of his power—it was ſaid had relaxed the terror, and conſequently the energy, of the French ſyſtem. The fall of Roberſpierre, from the ſtreſs laid upon it, one would think a tale of yeſterday; but when we looked at dates, we ſhould find that he was put to death on the 27th of July, and ſince that time there appeared, at leaſt, no relaxation of the French ſucceſſes. Moderation, it was contended, muſt weaken their Government, and cripple their exertions; he believed no ſuch thing; he looked to general principles, and inferred that moderation gave ſtrength. Why, it was aſked, were we to look for leſs co-operation in the interior of France than formerly? Becauſe there was no inſurrection at Lyons, Marſeilles, Toulon, and, he apprehended, very little in La Vendee. Our reſources, it was ſaid, were not yet touched. No! The Speech did not tell us, as laſt year, that the burdens to be impoſed would be little felt by the people, an omiſſion he much regretted, as it certainly was not made in compliment to his arguments on the impropriety of ſuch an inſertion. Would the Chancellor of the Exchequer ſay, that if the war was continued another year, the people had yet felt one-tenth of the new taxes they muſt have to bear? Taxes were felt by the poor, and their ſituation was particularly to be conſidered, when the object of the war was ſo equivocal, that it might be doubted whether the attainment of it would be deſirable, even if it could be attained by making peace. Miniſters appeared to know every thing that was paſſing within France, but nothing that was paſſing out of it. Of the ſailing of fleets from French ports, which it might be worth knowing, they had no information. Juſt ſo our hoſtility ſeemed to do every thing within France, to raiſe a tyrant and to pull him down, but to do nothing out of France. The depreciation of aſſignats was with him an argument of little weight. He had been accuſtomed for years to hear that the paper currency of America was depreciated, not to one half or one fourth of its nominal value, but to nothing. His information, however, differed entirely from that of the Chancellor of the Exchequer on the depreciation of aſſignats; on the ruined ſtate of French commerce it coincided; but on the ſtate of induſtry and agriculture it totally diſagreed. He was told by American gentlemen, and theſe by no means partial to French principles, that at no former period had the cultivation or the produce of the ſoil been

near so great. When he heard of the maximum and the expedients connected with it, he inferred that the misery and distress of the poor must be necessary consequences. He was assured, however, that the poorer classes of people in France had now a much greater portion of all that to them constituted the comforts of life, than had ever fallen to their lot before the revolution, or perhaps to the lot of many of the poor of this country. It might be said that his informants were inaccurate observers or false relators; but who were those from whom Ministers derived their information? The very persons who deluded themselves, had an interest in deluding Ministers into the prosecution of a hopeless contest. He depended not alone upon the accuracy of those with whom he conversed. The circumstances they stated he found confirmed by the pamphlets of French emigrants. But he did not rest his politics on the situation of France, of which his knowledge must be imperfect; he looked to the situation of England, which he had the means of knowing; he saw us involved in a war which must produce increase of debts and taxes, with no compensation even in prospect, and thought that the sooner we got out of it the better. Peace, it was said, would be insecure, we should not be able to disarm because the French could not venture to disband their numerous armies, and bring back so many men, without fixed habitations or employments, into the heart of the country. Thus were Ministers reduced to this curious argument, "We ought to continue the war, because the French have an army which they cannot disband." What the effects of peace might be in France, whether the old Government would be restored, or a better system established in its room, were speculations which, as a philosopher and philanthropist, he might indulge in, but never as a Member of Parliament, or a Counsellor of His Majesty, adopt as principles of conduct. It was pretended that our hostility had already produced a change of system for the better, but on comparing facts with dates, we should have more reason to say that our hostility produced the system, with reference to which only the present system was admitted to be better; that our invading France had made Roberspierre a tyrant, and our running away destroyed him.

In giving his vote for the amendment, he should wish to leave out the words, "transactions which have lately happened in France," because we were not to treat with any set of men on account of their good or bad characters, but on account of their possessing the power to treat. If, however, the gentlemen who moved and seconded the amendment, should object to leaving out those words, he should vote for it nevertheless. Our acquisition of Corsica, although men-

tioned in the speech, had not been once noticed in the debate.—The mode in which we had made the acquisition was curious. If it was valuable to the enemy or important to us, we might fairly have taken possession of it by right of conquest, as we had taken the West-India islands; but we had not done so. We had done it in a way that illustrated the doctrine in Dr. Price's sermon, rendered so conspicuous by the notice taken of it in the Reflections on the French Revolution, a book of such excellence, that a right honourable gentleman (Mr. Windham) had recommended reading it over again, having probably done so himself, as he had changed his first opinion of it. His Majesty was once King of North America; he was now King of Corsica—In North America he had been cashcered, in Corsica, he had been elected—so that the doctrine of electing Kings, and cashcering them for misconduct, was not matter of dangerous theory, but of approved practice. Sir Gilbert Elliot convened the primary assemblies of Corsica; they chose delegates, who met with various other persons, and all had voices that came, so that the election, by his own account, was something very like universal suffrage. But this was not all—His Majesty had previously determined not to withhold from the inhabitants of Corsica the protection which they sought for in their spirited efforts to deliver themselves from the yoke of France; and thus was made by his Ministers to avow acting upon the famous decree of the French Convention, holding out protection to the inhabitants of all countries who should make efforts to deliver themselves from the yoke of the Government under which they lived—a decree which the mere circumstance of the Convention having passed, without having ever acted upon it, was two years ago held forth as a sufficient cause of war with France. On the propriety of His Majesty's accepting the Crown of Corsica, without consulting Parliament, he should say nothing at present, but he had much doubt of its ultimately conducing to the honour of this country, or contributing to the restoration of peace. If we were never to treat with the heads of the Convention, but in such extremity, as left no room for choice, when could we look for peace? He wished the Chancellor of the Exchequer would recollect that his honour, and the honour of the country, were two distinct things; and that it was too much to wait till the hour of extremity came, merely that he might be able to say——

——Potuit quæ plurima virtus,
Esse fuit——

When he proposed treating, he held it more honourable not to wait.

till he was beaten into it. The country was already sorely beaten; it had received wounds both deep and wide, but the obstinacy of Ministers was not yet conquered. Perhaps, as they thought upon the same principle, that it would be dishonourable to restore the conquered West-India islands, they were waiting till the French should retake them. He knew not if this was their intention, but they had given the French ample opportunity.

If it were adviseable to go on with the war, let us look at the conduct of it for two campaigns, and what hope could we have of success under the auspices of those who now directed its operations? Lord Chatham had retired from the Admiralty, full of glory, covered with laurels, for his able disposition of our naval force, and the active protection he had given to our trade. If the boasts of last year on this subject were true, it was unfair to check his Lordship in the career of his glory, and unjust to deprive the country of his services at so important a crisis. But the boasts of last year were not true; his retiring was a confession of incapacity or negligence; and if he had delayed it much longer, there would have been petitions for his removal. To the West Indies such a force had been sent, as nothing but the great abilities of the officers who commanded it could have enabled to take the French islands, and, when taken, was insufficient to defend them. To Toulon such a force was sent, as was too small for defence, and too great for retreat with honour. The projected invasion of France had been kept alive from year to year, and served only to weaken our strength in quarters where it ought to have been more powerful, without even an attempt to carry it into execution. Were our cause as good as our resources were said to be inexhaustible, with such weakness, such want of system, such hesitating, wavering incapacity in the direction of our force, we could hope for no success. If the honourable gentleman who moved the amendment, and his friends, (for the honourable gentleman he felt great respect, on account of the part he had taken in the abolition of the slave trade, a measure in which he felt deeply interested) thought that, in consequence of their aiding him to obtain a speedy peace, peace might be made, without an inquiry into the causes of the war, he gave them notice that he would receive support upon no such terms. He would never forego inquiry into the causes of the war, and measures to prevent similar calamities in future. This was due to the people, least, in the enjoyment of peace, they should forget their former sufferings from war, and again yield themselves up to delusion. Both the present and the American war were owing to a Court party in this country, that [hat]ed the very name of liberty; and to an indifference, amounting

to barbarity, in the Minister, to the distresses of the people. It was some consolation to him that he had done his utmost to prevent the war, and to know that those who provoked it could not but feel, even while they were endeavouring to persuade others of the contrary, that they must, in no very long space of time, adopt the very course which he was recommending as fit to be adopted now. In the Speech, not a word was said of the navy. He should only observe, that in our present circumstances, the neglect of building a single ship that could possibly be built, was a neglect highly criminal.

Mr. JOLIFFE disapproved of continuing the war, but could not vote for the amendment; as, if adopted, it might turn out the present Administration, and thereby endanger the safety of the Constitution.

Mr. DUNDAS said, that on the subject of the West Indies, and the other matters introduced in the debate, he should be ready to give answers when they came again before the House; but at that late hour, he declined entering on them. In justification of the late Lord of the Admiralty, however, he begged leave to say a few words. At no period had our navy been increased with more rapidity and ability, or had it been more superior to that of the enemy, or more successful. During Lord Chatham's naval administration we had taken or destroyed 20 ships of the line, 20 frigates of upwards of 32 guns, 8 frigates of less force, and 28 other vessels of war; while, on the contrary, the French had only taken and destroyed of our ships, one of the line, two frigates of more than 32 guns, one smaller frigate, and 16 other ships of war. Whenever an opportunity had offered our navy had triumphed, and they could do no more; the enemy had no commerce, and therefore we could take no merchantmen; but, on the contrary, our commerce was so flourishing, that it afforded them many opportunities of making captures. Our exports and imports never were higher; and not only our commerce but our revenue and our manufactures are in a very flourishing state. He applauded Lord Chatham's conduct in the Admiralty, and did not wish Earl Spencer's to be more deserving of praise.

Mr. SHERIDAN would not trouble the House, at that late hour, on the general topics of the debate. He had attempted twice to be heard, as he was very desirous of delivering his sentiments on the important question before the House, but the last time it had been judged most proper by the House, to prefer hearing the Chancellor of the Exchequer on account of his indisposition. He would, therefore, at present only remark, that if Lord Chatham

had been so very able a minister, it was highly improper to remove him; but he thought it a public misfortune that no inquiry was instituted into his conduct, which, he was convinced, would be proved to be very different from what Mr. Dundas had represented it; and had he continued in office much longer, he had good grounds for believing that a petition would have soon been presented to the King from the commercial men in the city of London, for his removal. Certain it was, that his Lordship had felt the necessity of his retreat, as on a late meeting, where it was proposed whether he should be invited or not, on a division he could obtain but a single affirmation.

Mr. BRANDLING said a few words, on which the House divided on the amendment.

For the amendment, 75; Against it, 246.—Majority, 171.

LIST of the MINORITY on Mr. WILBERFORCE's AMENDMENT to the ADDRESS to negociate a PEACE with FRANCE.

1	Anson, Thomas	Litchfield
2	Anderson, J. W.	City of London
3	Antonie, Lee	Great Marlow
4	Aubrey, Sir John	Clitherowe
5	Bankes, Henry	Corff Castle
6	Baring, Sir Francis	Chipping Wycombe
7	Barrham, J. Forster	Stockbridge
8	Bouverie, Hon. Edward	Northampton
9	Bouverie, Hon. William	New Sarum
10	Bullock, John	Essex County
11	Burdon, Rowland	Durham County
12	Burch, J. R.	Thetford
13	Byng, George	Middlesex County
14	Church, J. B.	Wendover
15	Coke, T. W.	Norfolk County
16	Coke, Edward	Derby
17	Colhoun, William	Bedford
18	Courtenay, John	Tamworth
19	Coxe, H. Hippesley	Somersetshire
20	Curwen, C.	Carlisle
21	Davers, Sir Charles	Bury St. Edmonds
22	Duncombe, Henry	Yorkshire
23	Erskine, Hon. Thomas	Portsmouth
24	Featherston, Sir Henry	Ditto
25	Fitzpatrick, Rt. Hon. R.	Tavistock
26	Fletcher, Sir Henry	Cumberland County
27	Folkes, Sir M. B.	King's Lynn
28	Foley, Hon. Edward	Worcestershire
29	Fox, Right Hon. C. J.	Westminster
30	Francis, Philip	Blechingly
31	Garlies, Lord	Saltash
32	Grey, Charles	Northumberland

33	Hare, James	Knareſborough
34	Harcourt, John	Ilcheſter
35	Hill, Sir Richard	Shropſhire
36	Howard, Henry	Arundel
37	Hussey, William	New Sarum
38	Jekyll, Joſeph	Calne
39	St. John, St. Andrew	Bedfordſhire
40	Kempe, Thomas	Lewes
41	Langſton, John	Bridgewater
42	Lambton, William Henry	Durham City
43	Lemon, Sir William	Cornwall
44	Lechmere, Edmund	Worceſter City
45	Long, Samuel	Ilcheſter
46	Ludlow, Earl	Huntingdonſhire
47	M'Leod, Colonel N.	Inverneſsſhire
48	Mainwaring, William	Middleſex County
49	Martin, James	Tewkeſbury
50	Milner, Sir William	York City
51	Milbanke, Ralph	Durham County
52	Moſtyn, Sir R.	Flintſhire
53	North, Dudley	Great Grimſby
54	Peirſe, Henry	Northallerton
55	Plumer, William	Hertfordſhire
56	Ruſſel, Lord William	Surry County
57	Sheridan, R. B.	Stafford Town
58	Shaw, Cunliffe	Preſton
59	Smith, William	Camelford
60	Spencer, Lord Robert	Wareham
61	Sturt, Charles	Bridport
62	Taylor, M. A.	Poole
63	Taylor, Clement	Maidſtone
64	Tarleton, General	Liverpool
65	Thompſon, Thomas	Eveſham
66	Thornton, Robert	Colcheſter
67	Thornton, Henry	Southwark
68	Townſhend, Lord John	Knareſborough
69	Walwyn, James	Hereford Town
70	Weſtern, C. C.	Malden
71	Wilbraham, Roger	Bodmyn
72	Wilberforce, William	Yorkſhire
73	Wynne, R. Watkin	Denbyſhire

TELLERS.

74	Maitland, Hon. Thomas	Jedburgh, &c.
75	Whitbread, Samuel, jun.	Bedford Town

Wedneſday, 31ſt December.

Mr. SPEAKER acquainted the Houſe, that he had received, from Admiral Lord Hood, the following letter, in return to the thanks of this Houſe, ſignified to him by Mr. Speaker, in obedience to their commands of the 20th day of June, in the laſt ſeſſion of Parliament:

SIR, *Victory, off Calvi, July 30, 1794.*

I have this day received the very obliging letter you did me the honour to write me on the 21st of last month, with two Resolutions of the House of Commons.

I am most truly sensible, Sir, of the very high and distinguished honour the House has done me in thinking me deserving of its thanks; and shall not fail to make known to the several officers, seamen, marines, and soldiers, the second resolution of the House, expressive of acknowledgement and approbation of their spirited and meritorious exertions.

In doing my utmost upon all occasions against the common enemy, I did no more than I ought; all I have to boast is being fortunate in the opportunities I have had of proving my inclination to discharge my duty, as a faithful servant to my King and Country, and that, whenever I have been at the head of a squadron of His Majesty's fleet, I never experienced any other contention amongst the Admirals, Captains, officers, and men, than who should be most forward in fulfilling my wishes: This, Sir, I am, and ever shall be, proud of but whilst the Representatives of Great Britain in Parliament are so ready, not only to accept, but distinguishingly reward, honest endeavours, as substantial services, the nation will never want able and zealous officers.

To you, Sir, I feel infinitely indebted for the very polite and obliging manner in which you have conveyed to me a vote of the House of Commons so highly honourable to me, for which, to the House as well as to you, Sir, my gratitude can cease only with my life.

I have the honour to be,
With the purest sentiments of respect and esteem, Sir,
Your most faithful and obliged humble servant,

HOOD.

The Right Honourable Henry Addington,
Speaker of the House of Commons.

The Speaker said also, that a similar letter of thanks had been written by him to Sir Charles Grey, and Sir John Jervis, in the West Indies, but, owing to the expectation of their speedy return, the letter was not transmitted; which was the reason he had no acknowledgement from them.

Sir EDWARD KNATCHBULL reported from the Committee, appointed yesterday to draw an Address to be presented to His Majesty, That the Committee had drawn up an Address accordingly, which they had directed him to report to the House; and he read the same in his place, and afterwards delivered it in at the table, where the same was read and agreed to by the House.

Resolved, That the said Address be presented to His Majesty by the whole House.

Ordered, That such Members of this House as are of His Majesty's most honourable Privy Council, do humbly know His Majesty's pleasure, when he will be attended by this House.

Ordered, That His Majesty's most gracious Speech to both

Houses of Parliament be taken into consideration to-morrow morning.

Thursday, 1st January.

Lord Viscount STOPFORD reported to the House, That His Majesty having been waited upon (pursuant to the order of yesterday) humbly to know His Majesty's pleasure, when he would be pleased to be attended by this House, had been pleased to appoint to be attended this day, at three of the clock, at his Palace of Saint James.

Accordingly the Speaker, attended by several of the Members, proceeded to St. James's with the Address, of which the following is a copy:

Most Gracious Sovereign,

We, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of Great Britain, *in Parliament assembled, beg leave to return your Majesty the thanks of this House for your most gracious Speech from the Throne: To assure your Majesty, that it is equally our duty and our anxious desire to second your Majesty's views for the welfare of your People, at this important crisis, by our best advice and assistance: That, much as we must desire the restoration of peace, on safe and honourable grounds, we join with your Majesty in thinking that it is only from firmness and perseverance that we can hope for the attainment of that end, and for the preservation and permanent security of our dearest interests; and that, notwithstanding the disappointments and reverses which have been experienced in the course of the last campaign, we retain a firm conviction of the necessity of persisting in the vigorous prosecution of the just and necessary war in which we are engaged: From considering the situation of our enemies, we are persuaded that the efforts which have led to their successes, and the unexampled means by which those efforts have been supported, have produced, among themselves, the pernicious effects which were to be expected from them; and that the circumstances which have taken place in the interior of the country afford strong marks of the progressive and rapid decay of their resources, and of the instability of every part of that violent and unnatural system, which is equally ruinous to* France *and incompatible with the tranquillity of other nations.*

Although a sense of present difficulties has led the States General of the United Provinces *to enter into negociations for peace with the party now prevailing in* France, *we are fully sensible how little real security any established Government or independent State can derive, under the present circumstances, from the result of such negociations: and we are*

convinced that they could not be attempted, on our part, without sacrificing both our honour and safety to an enemy whose chief animosity is avowedly directed against these kingdoms.

We cannot but applaud your Majesty's determination to use the most effectual means for the further augmentation of your forces, and to omit no opportunity of concerting the operations of the next campaign with such of the Powers of Europe *as are impressed with the same sense of the necessity of vigour and exertion.*

We are persuaded your Majesty may, at all times, justly rely on the valour of your forces by sea and land, and on the affection and public spirit of your people, contending for their essential interests, and deeply sensible of your Majesty's parental solicitude for their happiness and welfare.

We acknowledge your Majesty's goodness in having directed the instrument by which you have accepted the crown and sovereignty of Corsica *to be laid before us; and we are sensible that the local importance of that island, and the spirited efforts of its inhabitants, naturally recommend them to your Majesty's protection.*

It gives us great pleasure to learn that your Majesty has concluded a treaty with the United States of America, *with the view of removing, as far as possible, all grounds of jealousy and misunderstanding, and of improving an intercourse beneficial to both countries; and that we shall be ready, as soon as the treaty is laid before us, to consider of the necessary provisions for carrying it into effect.*

We cannot sufficiently express the satisfaction which all your Majesty's subjects must derive from the auspicious event of the conclusion of a treaty for the marriage of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales *with the Princess* Caroline, *daughter of the Duke of* Brunswick; *and that, participating warmly in the sentiments which your Majesty must feel on an occasion not less connected with the interests of your people than with the domestic happiness of your Majesty, we shall cheerfully proceed to enable your Majesty to make provision for an establishment suitable to the rank and dignity of the heir apparent to the crown of these kingdoms.*

The considerations which prove the necessity of a vigorous prosecution of the war cannot fail to induce us to make a timely and ample provision for the several branches of the public service, and while we feel the painful necessity of imposing additional burdens on our constituents, it is a just consolation and satisfaction to us to learn, that the state of our credit, commerce, and resources, is such as might naturally be expected to result from the continued exertions of industry, under the protection of a free and well-regulated Government.

Entertaining a just sense of the blessings now so long enjoyed by this country, we feel it incumbent upon us to make every effort, which can

enable us to transmit those blessings unimpaired to our posterity; and we cordially join with your Majesty in a confident hope that, under the protection of Providence, and with constancy and perseverance on our part, the principles of social order, morality, and religion, will ultimately be successful; and that your Majesty's faithful subjects will find their present exertions and sacrifices rewarded by the secure and permanent enjoyment of tranquillity at home, and by the deliverance of Europe *from the greatest danger with which it has been threatened since the establishment of civilized society.*

Friday, 2d January.

Mr. SHERIDAN said he should take the earliest opportunity he could of submitting to that House a question, which was, whether the Habeas Corpus act, and all the advantages which the people of this country had derived under it, should or should not be restored, and whether the respect and veneration with which we had been accustomed to regard the trial by jury, and the esteem and deference which had been generally given to verdicts, should be continued, or be entirely eradicated from the public mind? He alluded to the bill for the suspension of the Habeas Corpus act, which had passed last session, under an idea of a plot existing in this country, and of the decision of a jury that no such plot existed. He therefore gave notice, that on Monday next he should move for leave to bring in a bill to repeal the act of the last session of Parliament for the suspension of the Habeas Corpus act.

Mr. ROBINSON said, he wished to enquire of any Lord of the Admiralty, if any one were present, what was the state of our navy. It was very generally believed, that the French, at present were much superior to us at sea; he should wish to know, if this were true, what were the causes of our inferiority. He thought some steps should be taken to rectify the defects in our navy, and to give the country some expectation of not being defeated in their proper element. He conceived that the loan talked of for the Emperor of Germany, had much better be applied to building vessels and raising men for the service of the navy. A silence for some short time having ensued, Mr. Robinson observed, that perhaps the Lords of the Admiralty did not think that the subject was worthy of their attention.

The SPEAKER said, he was sorry to interrupt the honourable Member; but he must observe, that the only regular mode of proceeding was, either to make a motion, or to give notice that a motion should be made on a future day.

Mr. Robinson then gave notice, that he should make a motion on the state of the navy, on Tuesday next.

Mr. SHERIDAN observed, that perhaps the House was waiting for the Minister. A question of great importance, respecting the navy of Great Britain, had been put, and no Lord of the Admiralty was present to answer it. He was in the same unpleasant situation; for he had a matter of importance, and particularly interesting to the City of London, to bring forward; but he did not see any of the Members for that city in their places: perhaps they, too, like the Lords of the Admiralty, might think it beneath their dignity to attend to it. He now however, gave notice, that on Monday he should have something to say relative to the City Militia act.

The SPEAKER then informed the House, that he should adopt, for this session, the same regulation, with regard to business, as he observed in the last, which was, that public business should commence at four o'clock.

The Order of the Day being read, the House resolved itself into a Committee of the whole House, to consider of a supply to be granted to His Majesty; Mr. Hobart in the Chair.

Mr. FOX wished the House to be informed as accurately as possible, when the subject of the loan was to be discussed, and more particularly the loan to the Emperor. It was a subject of very great importance, and it was extremely necessary that the House should have the earliest information, and the longest notice possible upon the subject, for he apprehended that it would give rise to a great deal of discussion; he said this because he was apprehensive that many gentlemen would soon be called to their public duty in the quarter sessions, all over the kingdom.

Mr. ROSE observed, that the business would soon come regularly before the House, when the Ways and Means, that was, when the Budget came to be opened, of which his right honourable friend, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, would give due notice, as he usually did; he could not now give a precise answer in the absence of his right honourable friend, who had not attended, as he did not expect that any material discussion would take place to-day. However, he would venture to say that a notice would be given of 14 or 16 days previous to the opening of the Budget. Had he been aware of this, he would have procured information of his right honourable friend, who, however, would be in the House on Monday, and would, most likely, give notice on that day when the Budget would be brought forward.

Mr. FOX said he had a notion that the subject of the loan would

have been brought forward previous to the opening of the Budget. It was exceedingly neceſſary that as early a notice as poſſible ſhould be given of this very important matter, for there were to his knowledge, as he had ſaid before, many gentlemen who would ſoon be called into the country upon public buſineſs.

Mr. ROSE ſaid he ſhould have been happy if he was able to ſatisfy the right honourable gentleman, but he had no doubt his right honourable friend would be in the Houſe on Monday, and give the neceſſary information upon that or any other ſubject that was intended to be brought before the Houſe.

Mr. SHERIDAN ſaid, that this was quite an unlucky day for information. A queſtion had been put to the Lords of the Admiralty, upon the ſtate of the navy, and they had remained ſilent; he had ſomething to aſk of the Members for the City of London, but they were not preſent; his right honourable friend wanted information upon the loan, the Miniſter was abſent, and the only anſwer was, "That there would be time between this and Monday, for the Chancellor of the Exchequer to make up his mind upon the matter. The truth was, that the Miniſter did not pay any attention to the rules and forms of the Houſe. When a queſtion concerning a ſupply, to be granted for carrying on the war, came on, the Chancellor of the Exchequer was abſent; for it was with him a mere matter of courſe: he would come at a future time, to tell the Houſe how he intended to diſpoſe of the ſupply. Moſt unqueſtionably, in point of decency, the Chancellor of the Exchequer ought to be preſent: but that was out of the queſtion; for all the proceedings of granting ſupplies were ſuch as he expected not to be debated: they were to be granted as of courſe; and no information was to be had on points to which ſuch ſupplies related.

Mr. ROSE ſaid, that the honourable gentleman choſe to miſunderſtand him. He had ſaid, in anſwer to a queſtion, that the Chancellor of the Exchequer would do in this as he had done on other occaſions of the ſame nature, give notice of it 14 or 16 days previous to his bringing the Budget forward. As to the buſineſs before the Committee at this time, namely, the Vote of Supply, it was not particularly the buſineſs of the Chancellor of the Exchequer to move it, according to the practice which had obtained in the Houſe for ſome time; for he himſelf, (Mr. Roſe ſaid) for ſome years paſt, had moved theſe reſolutions, almoſt invariably; and it was to be conſidered in ſome ſenſe as a matter of courſe; for the reſolution was nothing more than this; "Reſolved, that it is the opinion of this Committee, that a ſupply be granted to His Majeſty." Upon ſuch a reſolution he owned he did not ſee how there could be much

difference, although gentlemen might afterwards differ about the extent of that supply.

Mr. SHERIDAN said, that Mr. Rose had made the matter much worse by what he had said, for now he had accused the Chancellor of the Exchequer of never doing his duty, on an occasion, which he still must think peculiarly required his attendance. He could not agree with the honourable gentleman, that this was a mere matter of course; for it certainly was possible, that several Members might think it improper to grant a supply at all without inquiry previously made into the objects for which the supply was to be granted: and His Majesty's Ministers ought to attend for the purpose of giving satisfaction to any inquiries thought necessary to be made. He had been misunderstood as to what he had said on the forms of the House, he had asserted, and still persisted in the assertion, that no reliance could be placed on the right honourable gentleman's observance of the forms of the House, because he was notorious for a breach of them; and therefore they could not have any great security that the forms of the House, in this case, would not be broken through; especially when they had already been violated by the unconstitutional measure of negociating a loan before the sitting of Parliament, and previous to a knowledge whether the supplies for which that loan was made would meet with the approbation of the House. They had an additional reason to fear in this case, when they remarked on the unusual manner in which Parliament had been prorogued, not for the purpose of negociating a treaty, nor for the purpose of attempting to make peace, or to do any service to the country; but merely that the Minister might be able to make his loan in this unconstitutional manner.

Mr. STEELE said, he could not sit still and hear his right honourable friend mentioned in so severe and unwarrantable a manner. He begged to be informed in what respect Mr. Pitt had acted otherwise than had always been customary; he had entered into a provisional agreement for a loan, subject entirely to the discretion of Parliament; which, if it were not sanctioned by the House, would be null and void. This had always been done previous to the calling on Parliament for their vote on the supplies. He also saw no difference between this and a subsidiary treaty, which it was certainly competent for His Majesty to enter into; but it was always submitted to Parliament for their sanction.

Mr. FOX could not agree with what Mr. Steele had advanced. He saw no similitude whatever between the cases he had put, and the present one. There was no resemblance between a bargain made after the services had been voted, previous to the discussion of

the fupply, and a bargain made before the fervices were afcertained for which the fupplies would be neceffary. There was as little refemblance between the other cafe, viz. the fubfidiary treaty and this loan. How far the loan itfelf was blameable was another confideration. It was certainly unconftitutional to come here to confider the fervices after an agreement had been entered into for a loan, and before it could be known whether fupplies would be voted to the amount agreed for by the Minifter.

Mr. FRANCIS faid, that he did not know, nor was it a time to confider, whether the loan was made on favourable terms or not. One circumftance, however, in the prefent inftance, if he were not much mifinformed, would lead them to conclude, that this would not be a very favourable one. He had been informed that this was by no means an open bargain, the doors of the Minifter were not open to all who chofe to offer to fubfcribe; but every perfon was excluded, except a few perfons felected by himfelf, fo that there was no competition whatever, but the terms were agreed upon by the Minifter and his felect friends.

Mr. STEELE faid, this was not the proper time to confider whether the Minifter had acted properly or not, in his making the loan; that would be beft known when the loan came to be confidered.

Mr. SHERIDAN thought that this was not an improper time to take into confideration the queftion of the loan; on the contrary, this was the very time he fhould chufe to difcufs it, if the Minifter had been prefent. The Houfe was reduced to a moft extraordinary fituation; there were, among its Members, many opulent men; he hoped there always would be fuch men in the Houfe. Now it was a very reafonable fuppofition, that many of thefe perfons were interefted in the loan; it was therefore clear, that they did not come fairly and freely to confider the fubject, for they muft of courfe be biaffed, and would wifh, that the fupplies voted would be fufficient to give them all the advantage they expected from their bargain. It was not a fact that Parliament had ever confidered it as a light matter to break through a bargain into which the Minifter had entered for a loan; the language held in that Houfe had always been, that it was improper to break through a bargain without fome weighty and important reafon to juftify it. As to the loan to the Emperor, he faid, he could not give credit to any of the reports circulated on that fubject, becaufe he did not believe that, after the experience we had had of the faith of our allies, any man would come down to the Houfe without a mafk, and offer them fo bold.

and barefaced an impofition. He did not conceive fuch effrontery was poffible.

Mr. Chancellor PITT ftated, that not having had the good fortune to be prefent at the former part of the converfation, he was not a little furprifed on coming into the Houfe to hear what was the fubject and tone of difcuffion. There was at prefent before the Houfe no confideration of the extent of the fupply, of the means by which it was to be raifed, or the purpofes to which it was to be applied. When he recollected alfo that notwithftanding the difference of political fentiment on the firft day of the feffion, even thofe gentlemen who had fupported the amendment, had profeffed themfelves difpofed to grant a large and liberal fupply to His Majefty, and that the honourable gentleman was one of that number, he was ftill more aftonifhed at the angry tone of oppofition which he affumed on the prefent occafion. He would not enter into the fubject which had been ftarted refpecting the loan to the Emperor to-day, becaufe another period would come with more propriety for its difcuffion. The honourable gentleman had faid that no man would be barefaced enough to come forward to that Houfe, and avow fuch a tranfaction. With refpect to himfelf, he would be barefaced enough in the courfe of the prefent conteft to adopt and to avow any meafure which he confidered would be for the good of the country. It had been thought by him, as well as by others, who were impreffed with the fame views, of the neceffity of continuing the prefent conteft, that if the Emperor fhould be prevailed upon to make exertions in the way of bringing forward a large force, and if this country fhould grant him the pecuniary and neceffary means for that purpofe, it would be the moft likely method to render the prefent conteft fuccefsful, and this opinion appeared to be fanctioned both by the nature of the thing, the fituation of Europe, and the admiffion of the enemy themfelves. With refpect to the negociation for a loan, neither the extent of that loan, the fum for the ufe of the Emperor, nor the terms on which it was to be granted, were now in agitation. Nothing had been fettled on any of thefe points, which did not place Parliament in exactly the famo fituation in which it would have been, if no fuch negociation had been brought forward. The only difference was, that fuch a negociation having once been brought forward, it would not be adviseable to depart from the terms upon which it had been concerted, except upon very ftrong grounds of objection, as the deviation would be attended with very great inconvenience. The only difference then between former tranfactions of the fame fort, and the prefent, was, that in former inftances it had been ufual to concert the terms of a

loan only a few days before it was submitted to Parliament, and that in the present instance a longer space had been suffered to intervene.—Any opposition, however, from this circumstance, he did not expect to have heard in that House, as he conceived it would have died away with the few newspaper paragraphs, in which it originated. As to the time on which he should be able to discuss the subject of the loan to the Emperor, it was impossible at present to fix any precise period, as it must necessarily depend on the result of negociation, and on the circumstance how far His Majesty should be satisfied with respect to the nature of that assistance and co-operation which the Emperor might be disposed to afford. He could only state, that since he had been last in the House he had greater reason to be persuaded that the Emperor would be disposed to afford that entire co-operation, which this country should require. Before, however, the treaty could be finally concluded, it might be necessary for him to propose to Parliament the provisional supply to be made, if such a treaty should take place, of which he hoped to be able to give notice on Monday.

Mr. FOX said, the right honourable gentleman had insinuated as if all those who had voted for the amendment were pledged also to vote for the supply. No such thing was the case; they would have been pledged indeed to vote for the supply, if their amendment had been adopted, and they could have had the prospect that the money of their constituents was to be applied for the rational purpose of bringing about a peace, and not, as at present, for the desperate object of carrying on an eternal and unextinguishable war. With respect to the question of time, the terms of a loan had commonly been submitted to Parliament three or four days after they were settled, and even sometimes sooner; but when the time was extended from one day to five, and from five days to perhaps as many weeks, the case was entirely altered. He would not now discuss the terms of the loan, though he had not yet forgotten the extravagant terms of the loan for last year. But his principal objection to the measure was, as a source of corruption. He would not enquire to whom the loan was given. Many of them were necessary Members of that House, and he had no wish to exclude the monied interest from a share in their deliberations. But it was to be recollected that the interest which they had in this transaction, from an advance in the price of stocks, might influence not only their approbation of the particular measure, but even bear on every vote which they should give on the question of supply. It was a constitutional principle that the ways and means should not be voted, before the House had decided on the extent of the supply; but here

were the ways and means provided, before the House had been called to consider of the supply at all. There was another circumstance to be considered, how far, after the experience we had had of the subsidy granted to the King of Prussia, we ought to be prepared to go on with the same system, and grant a subsidy to the Emperor, under the name of a guarantee? No fresh proof was surely wanting to convince us, how little reliance we could place on the faith of continental treaties, in the prosecution of the present war. But then the right honourable gentleman had contended, that the negociation into which he had entered was only provisional, and left the point quite undecided. It surely could not be either way equal; there must be a difference of advantage in bargaining for 18, and for 24 millions, which would give to those concerned an interest in voting for the one proposition, rather than the other. If it had always been considered as a duty of the Members of that House, to be jealous of the means of increasing corrupt influence, he could not but consider the present system as entirely calculated for that purpose, and intended to give additional force to that machine, which was already but too powerful. In a financial point of view, the right honourable gentleman had contended that the House were not bound to adopt the terms for which he had bargained. Undoubtedly not; but at the same time he had admitted that it might be attended with extreme inconvenience to give them up. There were only two considerations to be attended to on this part of the question. If when Parliament should be called to sanction the loan, the price of stocks should be such as to render the bargain highly gainful to the proprietors, the necessity of keeping the faith of governments to those, who had made their terms when the price of stocks was so much lower, would then be urged, and that they would have the reflection that they were giving their sanction to stipulations much less advantageous to the Public than they might otherwise have been. If the price of stock should have fallen so as to render the transaction extremely disadvantageous to the proprietors, he did not conceive that there was any thing binding upon individuals, more than upon Parliament, to fulfil the provisional bargain; he at least knew of no law to compel them to make good the terms for which they had stipulated. And if the circumstances were peculiarly unfavourable, even though they had the will, yet they might not have the power to fulfil their engagements. The right honourable gentleman contended that he had only done what had been customary on such occasions, and the only difference was in the point of time: but in a transaction of this nature, the con-sideration of seven hours, or of seven weeks, surely formed a very

material difference. Mr. Fox then urged that the time of voting the supply was a very proper period for discussing such objections. He renewed his wish that an early notice might be given of the day on which the business of the loan to the Emperor should be agitated, and for the sake of the country gentlemen, that it might be fixed at as distant a period as possible. He was desirous that it might not be confounded with the budget, but treated as a separate question. If introduced in the budget, it would lead the attention of the House from the discussion of the particular terms to be granted to the Emperor in the present instance, to the general proposition, whether in any case it was fitting that pecuniary assistance should be granted to him from this country. He wished then that the question of the particular terms proposed might be discussed before the House should be called to decide on the subject of the loan, and that as long an interval as possible might be allowed previous to this discussion, so as to admit, if it could conveniently be done, of a call of the House.

Mr. BURDON said, that though he voted for the amendment on the first day of the session, he did not consider himself as the less bound to support the vigorous prosecution of the war, by readily granting the supplies. He was of opinion that terms of peace, even if held out to us, would not be accepted by the French, and he only wished that we might adopt a moderate and pacific language, in order to fix upon them all the crime and odium of carrying on the war.

Mr. FOX said that he also should certainly vote the supplies. The only difference was, that if the amendment for peace had been adopted, he should have done it with a good heart, and a sanguine feeling, in the view that they would be applied to a good purpose; whereas he should now, he confessed, vote away the money of his constituents under very different impressions, and with very different prospects.

Mr. SAMUEL THORNTON said, that he would have supported the Address on the first day of the session, if it had held pacific language, or even professed a readiness to adopt negociation. He was indeed of opinion, that every year during the continuance of hostilities, we should make an offer of peace to the enemy, provided they should be disposed to remove the original grounds of war. What had displeased him in the language of Ministers was, that they seemed to hold out no other termination of the war than the destruction of the present French Government, an object which he believed would never be effected by the force of arms. Now that the question was decided to carry on the war, he was ready to support it.

Every way, indeed, he ſaw danger, both in adopting negociation and perſiſting in hoſtilities; but if the war was to be carried on at all, he was ſenſible, from a view of the difficulties of our ſituation, and the force of the enemy whom we had to oppoſe, that it could only be carried on by a large and extended ſcale of operations. He declared that he had not even a ſhare of a ſhilling, directly or indirectly, in the loan; he diſapproved of any inſinuations of corrupt influence in the management of the tranſaction: the negociation reſpecting it, he believed to be ſtrictly honourable in all the parties; and concluded with giving his hearty ſupport to the motion.

Mr. FOX explained, that there had exiſted times, in which there had been juſt grounds of jealouſy with reſpect to corrupt influence; and that it became a conſtitutional duty of every Member to exerciſe ſuſpicion and vigilance with reſpect to whatever might have a tendency to introduce ſo deſtructive a principle into the Houſe of Commons, or add to the force which it might have already acquired, more eſpecially when the tranſaction aſſumed ſo queſtionable a ſhape as the preſent loan, from the particular time and circumſtances in which it was brought forward.

Mr. Chancellor PITT ſtated, that he regretted the difference of opinion which, on a former night, had taken place between himſelf and an honourable gentleman (Mr. S. Thornton), who had on this occaſion ſtated the grounds of that difference in a way very honourable to himſelf, and very fair to the Public. The honourable gentleman conſidered it as a proper meaſure to offer peace, even with a view to carrying on the war; he muſt own, that under the preſent circumſtances he entertained the directly contrary opinion. At the ſame time the honourable gentleman had given an example to thoſe who had ſupported the Amendment from ſimilar views, by ſhewing his determination to ſtrengthen the hands of the Executive Government, and to countenance every meaſure that might give effect to the exertions of the country. With reſpect to the Auſtrian loan, he had no heſitation to diſcuſs the expediency of ſuch a ſtep with any Member who was deſirous that the operation of the war ſhould be vigorouſly and effectually carried on. But, though he had no objection to diſcuſs that meaſure ſeparately, it muſt neceſſarily form a part of his budget, as, in the detail which he ſhould then ſubmit to the Houſe, he ſhould be obliged to look to the alternative of ſuch a ſum to be granted to the Emperor, and to make a ſuitable proviſion, if the treaty ſhould be carried into effect. He ſhould, in all probability, bring forward his budget on Wedneſday the 21ſt inſtant. He could not blame any Member for looking with jealouſy and ſuſpicion to any meaſure that might, in his opi-

union, have a tendency to increase the means of corrupt influence; but he defied any one to point out a single step that had been taken, in the negociation respecting the loan, that had any such tendency. For his own part, he knew not the persons who might have shares in the loan. But how could such a circumstance induce the proprietors to support the continuance of the war, from the prospect of advantage, when, on the contrary, every rumour of peace, however slight or unfounded, was found to have the effect of raising the price? He had been induced to concert the terms of the loans so much sooner than usual, because, before he could make any specific proposal to the Emperor, it was necessary to ascertain what effect the loan granted to him might have on the loan requisite for the Government of this country, and this could only be done by a provisional bargain, as in the present instance, afterwards to be submitted to Parliament. The gentlemen in Opposition ought to give them credit for believing that the co operation of the Emperor was necessary; and if so, was it desirable to meet Parliament, without stating what force they should have to bring against the enemy? He had acted on the conviction that the co-operation was necessary, and would be ready to argue it when the proper time arrived.

Mr. WILBERFORCE said, he thought it necessary, from what he had said the preceding evening being misrepresented, to state again, that though he did not say that all endeavours would be fruitless, for he rather thought they would not; but supposing they would, yet he thought they would have the effect of making it appear we had justice on our side. He did not chuse to give a decided opinion on the present occasion, but the inclination of his mind was to vote for the supply; for as the House of Commons had entered into a resolution for carrying it on, the question then was, not whether we should go on with the war, that was determined in the affirmative, but whether we should have a vigorous or languid war, and in that view of the subject, he felt himself bound to grant large supplies; this he did, because the House was determined to carry on the war, not because he himself wished the war to continue, but because he could not prevent it; and he must again protest, that the more he thought upon the subject, the more he was convinced of the necessity of peace on the part of this country.

Mr. DUNCOMBE shortly expressed his concurrence in the sentiments of the last honourable speaker, as to his approbation of peace.

Mr. FOX retained his sentiments as to the danger of corrupt influence, and the necessity there was for viewing all these things with a jealous and watchful eye. With regard to the question of

supply now before the Committee, he agreed that a supply must be had, and perhaps he might be of opinion that it ought to be granted to the extent proposed; but that was nothing to the application of it, or of the jealousy of the House as to the influence to be created by it. He took notice of the observation of the Chancellor of the Exchequer on the effect which the rumour of peace always had to raise the price of stock, and thereby render the loan more advantageous to the proprietors; but he asked how this argument applied with respect to the Imperial loan, which depended on the supposition that the war was to be continued, and which was a measure entirely without any prospect of peace. He agreed that this war, if it must be continued, should be a war of great vigour; but then as to the nature of that vigour, he might think the subsidy to the Emperor a thing entirely useless, and the whole six millions to be paid for nothing; because though the Emperor himself might co-operate, yet the Electors were for peace; and he was besides most firmly of opinion that the whole of our vigour ought to be in the navy, and if there was a place in this island, in which it was possible to build a ship, and a ship not built; if there was one man employed in the army, who could be of any service in the navy; if one shilling was bestowed to purchase any thing for the army, which might be laid out for the navy; then Ministers were proceeding upon a system, which, if followed much longer, would terminate in utter and irretrievable ruin. It was for the navy that the whole extent of our supply, be it ever so large, ought to be employed.

Mr. BARHAM also agreed that the supply should be a large one if the war was to be carried on, but he thought we ought to negociate for a peace.

Mr. MARTIN expressed his most hearty concurrence in the sentiments of Mr. Fox with regard to the navy. He deplored the hardships to which the inhabitants of that part of Europe which had so long been the seat of war, were exposed; he saw no reason why, on our part, the whole contest should not be confined to naval exertions.

Sir WILLIAM MILNER wished for a negociation for peace. Ministers had declared that the subversion of the Government of France, and the re-establishment of the Monarchy, was their object. The King's speech had confirmed the intentions of their not treating with the Republic. He dreaded the effect of sending six millions to the Emperor; he was afraid it would lessen the value of land in this country to an alarming degree; it would not only be difficult to raise money by way of mortgage on estates, but soon impossible even to sell them. He was lately with an eminent Solicitor,

who told him that he had clients who wanted to mortgage eſtates to the value of a million of money; but that if this loan to the Emperor took place, he ſhould not be able to raiſe any of it.

Mr. Chancellor PITT took an opportunity of ſaying what he intended to be underſtood as his ſentiments with regard to the Government of France, and as to what ſort of Government he thought ſafe for us to treat with, and what he truſted he had ſaid on a former night. He did not ſay that it would be impoſſible for us to treat with France in the form of a Republic, but that, under all the exiſting circumſtances, it was not ſafe for us to treat with them, and that our preſſure was not ſo great as to call for ſuch a peace as we had reaſon to expect they would offer. He ſaid that he thought a Monarchical form that with which we could treat with moſt ſafety; it was not impoſſible that a Republican form might be ſuch as to be able to give ſecurity to us for the continuance of peace, and that we might poſſibly treat with ſuch a Government, but he did not think it likely.

Mr. FOX ſaid, it was neceſſary for him and the right honourable gentleman to underſtand one another. He always underſtood the Miniſter to ſay, that it could not be ſafe for this country to treat with the Republican form of Government in France, and that we never ought to think of it but in caſe of extreme neceſſity; but now he ſaid, he did not mean to ſay that no Republican Government ſhould be treated with, for he ſaid, there might be a Republican Government which we might treat with; it was almoſt a pity to put ſuch a condition in the argument, becauſe it created confuſion, for now it was to be qualified with the words "under the preſent circumſtances;" this was doing away the effect of the King's Speech, becauſe it depended merely on the time, and not on the form of Government, as thus explained by the Miniſter. Here Mr. Fox deſired that part of the Speech, to which this argument referred, to be read, which being done, Mr. Fox begged an explanation.

Mr. Chancellor PITT ſaid, it was a little hard to ſtate nicely all the ſhades of diſtinction. The nature of every opinion, with reſpect to the conduct moſt proper to be purſued, muſt neceſſarily depend upon a compariſon of circumſtances; his opinion was, that with the preſent Government, under the preſent exiſting circumſtances, there could be no certainty, or ſecurity, and therefore no ſafety in treating; there might be a change in part, ſo as to alter the caſe. But he had no difficulty in ſaying freely, there muſt be a great change in one country or the other, or both, before he ſhould think it proper to negociate or treat. The difficulty on our part

must be much greater than it is, and their aspect must be much more formidable towards us, than at present, before any treaty with them ought to be thought of by us.

Mr. FOX said, then the question would turn entirely as to what alteration there might be in the circumstances of the two countries, and particularly in the form of the French Government. He thought he understood the right honourable gentleman, and he hoped some honourable member, fitter for it than himself, would make a motion on the subject, for in his opinion they were now fairly at issue.

Mr. JOLLIFFE said, he was anxious for peace; and if any specific motion was made on proper grounds, he should not oppose it.

Mr. SHERIDAN rose again—He had heard many things asserted in the course of the debate, which he thought open to a ready answer from the meanest understanding, but having troubled the Committee so often, he had remained silent. There had however arisen a new circumstance. The answer given by the Chancellor of the Exchequer to the doubts of a worthy Baronet (Sir William Milner), had caused a discussion of the utmost importance. Nothing could be of more importance than to ascertain from the mouth of the Minister, an explicit declaration of the real causes and objects of the war. His right honourable friend (Mr. Fox) had said, that he had understood him on this subject—Conscious of the superior quickness of intellect which his right honourable friend possessed, he had no doubt but that his right honourable friend had comprehended his meaning; but for himself he must plainly say, that after constantly watching the Minister on this subject, he had uniformly found him giving an *apparently* plain opinion; and then, when pressed for a little explanation, cloathing that opinion in such a multiplicity of words, that in proportion as he professed himself to be intelligible, he had found him utterly obscure. The point now to be ascertained was, What was the prospect of the Minister's present deliberate declaration as to the object of the war? Mr. Sheridan quoted all Mr. Pitt's different declarations and explanations on this subject, which he shewed went to establish these points—1st, that no treaty could be had with the present Government of France—then, that no negociation could be entered into with them till a Government of our choice was imposed upon them—or until we were justified in treating with them, by being wholly subdued and completely at their mercy. In short, he would put Mr. Pitt's declarations, which had been detailed in many sentences, in a very few words—The present Ministers would give peace to England whenever we should conquer France, or whenever France should conquer us—it was a declaration of insanity; and if the House of

Commons or the country supported him after this declaration, they must be as mad as the maniac that deluded them.

The Resolution, that a supply be granted to His Majesty, was then put and carried, and the report was ordered to be received to-morrow.

Mr. SPEAKER reported to the House, that the House attended His Majesty yesterday, with their Address; to which His Majesty was pleased to give this most gracious Answer:

Gentlemen,

I return you my most cordial thanks for this loyal and dutiful Address, and for the affectionate sentiments which you express on the approaching marriage of my son the Prince of Wales.

The assurances of your continued and zealous support in the important contest in which we are engaged afford me the greatest satisfaction. Your firmness and perseverance, and the spirit and exertions of my people, can alone lead to a successful and honourable termination of the war, and to the firm establishment of general tranquillity.

Saturday, 3d January.

The Resolution of the Committee of the whole House, to grant a supply to His Majesty, was reported and agreed to.

The following accounts, by His Majesty's command, were presented by Mr. Rose, viz.

An account of all additions which have been made to the annual charge of the public debt.

An account of the nett produce of the additional duties on horses and carriages, from the 5th of July 1789, and also an account of the nett income of the tax of ten per cent. charged upon the assessed taxes by an act of 31st Geo. III. for one year, from Oct. 10, 1793, to Oct. 10, 1794.

An account of the additional duties 1780, on newspapers, advertisements, cards, dice, legacies, and probates of wills, for the same time.

An account of the nett produce of the duties on British spirits, and on foreign spirits, granted in the year 1791, for the same time.

An account of the nett produce of the duties on sugar, for one year, for the same time.

An account of the nett produce of the duties on additional game certificates, for the same time.

An account of the nett produce of the duties on bills and receipts, for the same time.

An account of the nett produce of the duties on British spirits, granted anno 1794, to the 10th of October the same year.

An account of the nett produce of the stamp duty on indentures of clerks to attornies and solicitors, 1794, to the 10th of October the same year.

An account of the nett produce of the additional duties on bricks and tiles, from the 28th of March to the 10th of October, 1794.

An account of the nett produce of the duty on paper, from the 28th of March to the 10th of October, 1794.

An account of the nett produce of the duties on glass, from the 17th of April to the 10th of October, 1794.

An account of the nett produce of the duties on slates, stones, and marble, from the 5th of July to the 10th of October, 1794.

An account of the nett produce of the duties on distilleries, and licences granted to distillers in Scotland, from the 5th of April to the 10th of October, 1794, made perpetual 5th of April, 1794.

The titles of all these accounts were read, and ordered to be laid on the table.

Mr. Rose also presented—

An account of the total produce of the customs, excise, stamps, and incidents for one year.

An account of the total produce of the duties of customs in England and Scotland, for the four quarters, ending Oct. 10, 1794.

An account of the total produce of the excise in England and Scotland, for the four quarters, ending at the same time.

The following accounts were ordered:

Ordinary of the navy, extraordinary of the navy, guards, and garrisons, ordnance land services, reduced officers, Chelsea out-pensioners, services incurred not provided for, disposition of grants, and navy debt.

An Address to be presented to His Majesty by Privy Counsellors, that His Majesty be pleased to give orders to the proper officers to lay the last-above several accounts before the House.

Account of the amount of Exchequer bills made out by virtue of an act of last session for raising a certain sum thereby.

An account of the total produce of the revenue on stamps in England and Scotland, for the four quarters, ending the same time.

An account of the total produce paid into the Exchequer, under the head incidents, for the four quarters, ending at the same time.

The titles were read, and the accounts ordered to lie on the table.

Also an account of the amount of the *further* Exchequer bills.

And an account of the amount of Exchequer bills *made forth* in pursuance of an act of the last session of Parliament, for enabling His Majesty to raise the sum of 3,500,000l.

Mr. Hobart brought up the Resolution of the Committee of Supply, which was agreed to *nemine contradicente*.

Mr. ROSE moved, that the House do resolve itself into a Committee of Supply on Monday next.

The House adjourned.

Monday, 5th January.

Lord Viſcount PARKER reported to the Houſe, that their Addreſs of Saturday laſt (that His Majeſty would be graciouſly pleaſed to give directions to the proper officers, that the eſtimates, liſts, and accounts, therein mentioned, might be laid before this Houſe) had been preſented to His Majeſty; and that His Majeſty had commanded him to acquaint this Houſe, that he will give directions accordingly.

Ordered, That the order of the day, for the Houſe to reſolve itſelf into a Committee of the whole Houſe, to conſider of the Supply granted to His Majeſty, be now read.

And the ſaid order being read accordingly;

Ordered, That the account of the amount of the Exchequer bills, made out by virtue of an act, paſſed in the laſt ſeſſion of Parliament, intituled, "An act for raiſing a certain ſum of money, by loans or Exchequer bills, for the ſervice of the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and ninety-four," be referred to the ſaid Committee.

Ordered, That the account of the amount of the Exchequer bills, made out by virtue of an act, paſſed in the laſt ſeſſion of Parliament, intituled, "An act for raiſing a further ſum of money, by loans or Exchequer bills, for the ſervice of the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and ninety-four," be referred to the ſaid Committee.

Ordered, That the account of the amount of the Exchequer bills, made forth in purſuance of an act, paſſed in the laſt ſeſſion of Parliament, intituled, "An act for enabling His Majeſty to raiſe the ſum of two millions five hundred thouſand pounds, for the uſes and purpoſes therein mentioned," be referred to the ſaid Committee.

Then the Houſe reſolved itſelf into the ſaid Committee; and, after ſome time ſpent therein, Mr. Speaker reſumed the chair; and Mr. Hobart reported from the Committee, that they had come to ſeveral reſolutions, which they had directed him to report, when the Houſe will pleaſe to receive the ſame.

Ordered, That the report be received to-morrow morning.

Mr. JEKYLL ſaid, he wiſhed to aſk a queſtion of an honourable gentleman, whom he ſaw in his place, upon a ſubject of the greateſt importance. Upon an anſwer being given, would depend whether he ſhould make any motion or not. Since the ſubſidy to the Emperor of Germany was ſo ſoon to be diſcuſſed in the Houſe, it was peculiarly neceſſary for them to inquire into the nature of the reliance we could place on our allies as ſoon as poſſible; he thought no period ſo fit as the preſent to obtain an account of the

ſums diſburſed to the King of Pruſſia when the laſt inſtallment had been advanced, whether any had been paid ſince the King of Pruſſia had turned his arms againſt Poland, and what number of troops had co-operated with ours ſince the commencement of the ſubſidy.

Mr. Chancellor PITT ſaid, the laſt inſtalment was made in the month of September laſt.

Mr. JEKYL wiſhed to know what the amount was in all of money given to the King of Pruſſia?

Mr. Chancellor PITT ſaid, he had not the leaſt objection to the accounts on that ſubject being laid on the table of the Houſe. The amount of the whole ſum which had been ſent to his Pruſſian Majeſty from this country amounted to twelve hundred thouſand pounds.

Mr. GREY obſerved, that as gentlemen were about to leave town for a ſhort time, in order to attend their public duty in various parts of the country, he wiſhed to defer for a while, a motion which he intended to make. As the ſubject was of great importance, he thought it was proper, at the time he gave notice of it, to ſtate preciſely what the motion was. It related to what had partly been already before the Houſe. He was one of thoſe who thought, that propoſals for peace might, at this time, be made with advantage to this country; the Miniſter had declared himſelf to be of a contrary opinion. He thought he underſtood the right honourable gentleman, at laſt, upon that ſubject—He believed him to ſay in effect this, "That the form of Government in France, with which this country could with the greateſt ſafety, and advantage, treat and negociate, was that of a monarchical form, eſtabliſhed on ſomething like the old form of the Conſtitution of that country—That he could conceive, however, intermediate circumſtances, in which it might be prudent for us even to treat with a Republican form of Government in that country, but that under the preſent circumſtances we could not, conſiſtently with the dignity of the Crown, or the ſafety of the country, negociate with the preſent Government of France. Now he, for one, was well perſuaded that we could, conſiſtently with the dignity of the Crown, and the ſafety of the Public, enter at this time into negociation, and he wiſhed to bring on the diſcuſſion of that ſubject, and therefore he now gave notice, that on the 20th of this month, he ſhould move "That it is the opinion of that Houſe, that the exiſtence of the preſent Government of France ought not to be conſidered as precluding a negociation for peace." Theſe were the words of the motion, as he intended to make it; if there was any Member in the Houſe who thought that the ſame idea might

be better expressed, he should be glad now to hear what was to be said upon that point, if not, he should bring it forward as it stood.

Mr. Chancellor PITT said, he should not attempt to discuss the subject now, because another season would arrive for that purpose; he wished it to be understood, however, that he wished the matter to be discussed fully, fairly and freely, whether from the internal situation of France, it would be wise, discreet, or prudent, on the part of this country, to enter into any negociation at this time.

Mr. SHERIDAN then alluded to the City Militia bill. He observed, that the bill was hurried through the House with unexampled and indecent precipitancy, and when he opposed it as an infringement of the chartered rights of the citizens of London, he was told he was interfering in a matter for which the citizens of London would not be obliged to him, for that they had considered the principle of the bill and approved of it. The fact, however, was the reverse, the citizens had not then an opportunity of understanding the bill completely, and when they did understand it, they disapproved of it highly. It was not his view to catch at temporary popularity, by affecting to feel for the rights of persons, for whom he had no real concern; the truth was, that he considered the bill in question as a gross violation of the rights of a very respectable body of men, whom it was the common duty of all the members of that House to esteem and respect—But to shew that he had no desire of thrusting himself forward in this business, he would decline it altogether, if he should find that the Members for the city were disposed to do their duty to their constituents upon the subject. What he wished to know at this moment was, Whether it was the intention of these honourable gentlemen to bring forward a motion for the repeal of the City Militia bill, or to propose some regulation of it? He desired an answer to that question.

Mr. Alderman CURTIS said, that a Committee had been appointed in the city to examine into this subject, and they had not yet made their report, and, therefore, he could not give all the information he could wish. But with regard to the principle of the bill, he would venture to say that it was approved of by a large majority of the Citizens of London. This he collected from the meetings which had taken place upon this subject.

Mr. Alderman ANDERSON said, that many attempts had been made to impose on the understandings of the Citizens of London upon this subject, but they would not swallow the poison, however palatable the dose was made up; the majority of the citizens were decidedly in favour of the bill. He observed that Mr. Sheri-

dan had faid the Members for London were not prefent on Friday, Mr. Anderfon faid he was in the Houfe at a quarter of an hour after four o'clock, and he begged leave to fay he attended the Houfe, he believed, as frequently as any Member did, and he trufted that none of thefe reflections would be thrown out again. He underftood the honourable gentleman had faid, in the hearing of fome perfons, that he fhould have fome obfervations to make to-day, if the Members for the city attended their duty.

Mr. SHERIDAN faid, that he did not wifh to difpute with the honourable Member, whether or not the avocations which he had to fill, were, or were not, of a nature fuperior to the attendance of his duty in Parliament. He did not, he faid, make a merit of his own attendance, as he conceived that every man who afpired to a feat in that Houfe, muft at leaft know that attendance was a part of his duty. With regard to his having promifed to make fome obfervations upon this fubject to-day, in the hearing of any body in that Houfe, he certainly did not make that promife in the hearing of any body, for he did not make it at all. As to the popularity of the bill, the gentlemen who had afferted that, would do well to revife that opinion; he infifted the bill was difrelifhed; a proof of which was, they had fufpended it, and not acted upon it; and in the populous Ward of Farringdon they had bound their Common Council to endeavour by all means to get it repealed.

Mr. Alderman LE MESURIER contended, that if the voice of the citizens were properly and fairly collected, they would be found greatly in favour of the bill. It did not, he faid, originate in any of the perfons in the intereft of adminiftration, nor had he for one any fhare in framing it. When the plan of a voluntary fubfcription, univerfal throughout the country, was propofed in London, fome gentlemen, adverfe to the politics of the ruling Miniftry, thought it would be better to regulate their own militia, fo as to put it on as good and refpectable a footing as would fuperfede the neceffity of adopting the meafures of the Minifters. The plan was afterwards drawn out, and generally received with merited approbation, but that perhaps the honourable gentleman, who infifted on the contrary, did not know this, for the citizens of London were not in the habit of publifhing their proceedings in Republican newfpapers.

Mr. FOX faid he had a motion to make, which was not unufual on fimilar occafions, if a fimilar occafion to the prefent could be recollected in the hiftory of this country. In a fhort time the Minifter was to call for a loan, unexampled in point of magnitude, as well as under peculiar circumftances, a large part of which was

intended to be for the affiftance of a foreign Prince. On the day previous to the difcuffion of that fubject, an honourable friend of his (Mr. Grey) was to bring forward a very important motion. Now under the prefent alarming afpect of our affairs, they could not proceed with too much folemnity, and therefore he fhould now move that the Houfe be called over on the 20th of this month.

The queftion was put and carried, to which was added the ufual order in fuch cafes—that fuch Members as do not anfwer to the call be taken into the cuftody of the Serjeant at Arms.

Mr. JEKYL obferved, that as the Minifter had not given him an anfwer to the latter part of his queftion, relative to our fubfidy to the King of Pruffia, he fhould be obliged to make a motion, which he did to the following effect: "That there be laid before the Houfe an account of the money iffued and received by the King of Pruffia, and what time the inftallments were made, in confequence of a treaty entered into between him and His Majefty, in the month of April 1794; together with an account of the number of troops which have been employed in concert with His Majefty's troops in purfuance of the faid treaty."

Mr. Chancellor PITT faid, he did not mean to object to the account of the inftallments; the amount of the whole he had ftated already to be twelve hundred thoufand pounds; but as to the number of troops employed by the King of Pruffia in concert with His Majefty's troops, it was fuch as he could not affent to, becaufe Government had received no official returns of their number.

M. FOX confidered this conduct as more dangerous and alarming than any that had occurred fince the beginning of the war. He infifted that had fuch an obfervation been ufed in the Houfe when the treaty was under difcuffion, it would have been impoffible for them, confiftently with their duty, to have agreed to it. In contracting with his Pruffian Majefty for the payment of thefe fums, it was ftipulated on his part, that he fhould furnifh a certain number of troops to co-operate with thofe of the allies, and though their ardour for military glory was given amongft the reafons for leaving the army under the command of Pruffian officers, yet it was underftood that it was to receive its direction in a great degree, from commiffaries fent by Great Britain and the United Provinces, to fuperintend its operations. What the ufe of fuch commiffioners could be he was yet to learn, unlefs it was a part of their duty to fee that the agreements entered into with the two fubfidizing powers fhould be duly executed. He did not know how this queftion could become a fubject of debate in the Houfe, unlefs they had that neceffary information. Until that was obtained they muft

be equally at a loss to know why the instalments had been suspended in the month of September, and why they were continued so long? When the extravagance of the terms was formerly objected to, a distinction was taken between this and the other treaties to which it was compared; because, without some such distinction, it would appear twenty times more disavantageous than any other treaty which the country had ever made. In the debate of a former night, the dereliction of some of our allies was stated as one great cause of the reverses of the war; and yet it should seem that we were still to pay the King of Prussia for that conduct which was productive of our disappointments.

Mr. Chancellor PITT considered the words "twenty times more disavantageous" as random inconsiderate language, when a reference was made to the subsidiary treaty by which, in the war before last, we granted to the late King of Prussia 670,000l. in a year. Yet in that we had no stipulation whatever that the command should either be given to British officers, or that it should be applied in any way to our particular advantage. He could not, therefore, well account for the inaccuracy of counting 670,000l. as only a twentieth part of 1,800,000l. which the King of Prussia was to have received by the late treaty had the instalments been continued. He was far, however, from being ready to assert that the stipulations of the treaty had been fulfilled by his Prussian Majesty in a manner satisfactory to this country, or with all the advantage that we had reason to expect. But that the application of his arms was of no small advantage, notwithstanding, in the course of the campaign, he would certainly contend for. He also maintained that the British Ministers had acted wisely in having advised the treaty: that they also acted for the best, in continuing the instalments up to last September; and that the cause of the allies was more benefited by the manner in which the Prussians were employed, than it would have been if we had saved the money. To say that no regular returns of the Prussian troops had been transmitted officially to this country in the same manner as monthly returns were made of our own force, was by no means saying that the commissaries had neglected to send any account whatever; such as had been transmitted should be laid before the House; but that the treaty contained no stipulations for our receiving regular official returns, was a circumstance as open to Mr. Fox's observation when it was formerly discussed as it was at present. Yet, at that time no such observation had been made by him. He concluded with moving, by way of amendment to this motion, that the words, "together, with an account of the number of troops which have been em-

ployed concert with His Majesty's troops, pursuance of the said treaty," be left out.

Mr. FOX observed that the calculation he had hastily made was too high when he stated this treaty to be more to our disavantage, than others in the proportion of 20 to 1; but it was not less, after all, than 15 to 1. By the treaty with the late King of Prussia, there were 150,000 men allowed for 670,000l., and in the treaty with the King of Sardinia, 50,000 men were subsidived for 200,000l., so that the three-fifths of the present treaty were as 120,000 men, and bear the exact proportion of one to fifteen. That, said Mr. Fox, is the calculation, and I beg pardon for my former incorrectness. He then observed that it was now too late to recall the 1,200,000l. and as it appeared necessary to have some excuse for having paid that sum, the success of these foreign mercenaries was talked of, when the whole series of the campaign consisted of disaster and disgrace. Mr. Fox thought it particularly hard for the country that the goods should not be remitted when the money was paid. The Minister was pleased to say he had general information upon the subject; would he condescend to convey to the House a little of that general information? if he did, it would then be a question for the House to consider what ought to be their conduct upon such a subject; and in judging of that, they ought to reflect that they were the guardians of the public purse, and ought not to suffer the public treasure to be thus wantonly wasted. He concluded with saying that this business, in the present stage of it, was so extraordinary and alarming, that he should think he did not do his duty if he did not take the sense of the House upon the subject.

Mr. WINDHAM found the right honourable gentleman had deemed it necessary to eke out his argument with a mis-statement. When his right honourable friend mentioned the success derived from the assistance of these subsidiaries, he was perfectly consistent, although their endeavours had been attended with disaster; for, such was the connexion the one had with the other, that when they acted up to success, and if they failed unitedly, the failure would have been much greater without such assistance. The failure was of a different sort to that of which the complaint was made. If the failure proceeded from a deficiency of number, according to the stipulation, then blame was to be attached; but if it proceeded from situation and from circumstance, or any other remote cause, the treaty was successful as far as their assistance tended; and though much more might have been hoped for, there was nothing farther to be required. There was then no real opposition between

the two questions, that the efforts of our allies had been beneficial; and that our failure had been caused by their dereliction: the latter, indeed, prove the former to be true; for it appeared that the treaty, while acted up to, had produced the desired success, but when our allies ceased to act conformably to it, then our failure commenced. There was a misrepresentation in stating that Mr. Pitt had asserted he had no information at all; he had merely stated he had nothing but general information, which was not sufficient to lay before the House. The stoppage of payment in September, certainly tended to shew that we had the controul contended for by administration over the Prussian forces.

Mr. Fox did not think that any person, except a gentleman of such acute reasoning as Mr. Windham, could have made a division in the disasters of the war.

Mr. THOMPSON said, as he found the Prussian troops had been instrumental in the successes of last campaign, it might be proper to move for an account of the men which the King of Prussia employed in the reduction of the French West India Islands.

Mr. JEKYLL wished that the Minister would at least consent to have copies of the correspondence in which he received his intelligence, laid before the House.

After a few more observations, Mr. Fox persisting to oppose the Minister's amendment, the House divided, when the amendment was carried, the numbers being

For it, 110; against it, 33. Majority, 77.

Mr. SHERIDAN said, that in addressing the House upon a subject of the most important consideration, he by no means wished to mix his own opinions with what he should lay before them, but simply to bring forward what was the real state of facts. He was perfectly well aware, that in the present calamitous situation of the country, it might have been expected that he should direct their attention to the war rather than to any other topic, and, that to bring forward another subject, might appear to have a tendency to divert their attention from that which was the principal object of discussion. He was also aware, that there was something risqued by the motion which he was now to submit to the House, as it probably would not meet with the concurrence of all those who, on the first night of the session, had expressed their disapprobation of the war, and that now while an appearance of strength was gathering to the party in opposition to the present war, the effect might be to produce a degree of public discouragement, and to diminish the hopes that were entertained of bringing it to a speedy conclusion. But there were some questions of essential and deep importance, which no

ground of expedience, no consideration of a nature merely temporary, should induce him to forego. Such was the question which he should to-night bring forward. The original oppofers of the war, who had encountered so much unpopularity at its outset would stand on the same ground on the present occasion, in supporting the principles which they had uniformly avowed, whatever they might hazard by the discussion with respect to the appearance of the strength of their party. Those who had joined them in the opposition to war would consider how far it was incumbent upon them to support the same principles. But he should affirm that the present was the very first question which those who wished for peace were bound to support. The first consideration which had been held out by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, with respect to the necessity of the war, was the internal situation of the country. A view of that situation was certainly in every respect the most important. Whether we now looked to the continuance of the war or to the event of peace, it was of consequence to ascertain whether the subjects of this country were actuated by a loyal attachment to the King, and an unshaken zeal for the Constitution, or were under the influence of opposite sentiments. The right honourable gentleman (Mr. Pitt) had asked, if we should make peace, What would be the consequence of the inundation of French principles into this country? He, for one, did not dread the consequence. But the right honourable gentleman had rightly taken his ground, if he supposed the people of England actuated by seditious and treasonable sentiments, and ready on the first opportunity to sacrifice all the blessings which they enjoyed from the admirable form of their Constitution, and madly to destroy themselves. This was the point on which he was prepared to meet him. The question was not whether the Habeas Corpus should remain suspended till February, though an honourable gentleman (Mr. Dundas) had thought proper to declare, by anticipation, that in the present situation of things, he should be of opinion that the suspension ought to be renewed; if he, (Mr. Sheridan) thought that there remained no ground for suspending it, no consideration of the shortness of time would induce him to withdraw his motion, he would say, with the father of the right honourable gentleman (the Earl of Chatham,) who, when he was asked whether he would submit to a tyranny of forty days, answered, No; he would not consent that the people of England should be fettered and shackled even for an hour: but the question now was, Whether the Habeas Corpus should remain suspended for ever? Another consideration connected with his motion, was, Whether the reverence and respect for the decisions of juries, so

intimately interwoven with the principles of the British Constitution, and hitherto so sacredly observed, should, or should not be eradicated from the minds of the people of England? In conducting the present discussion, he should argue from circumstances as they really existed. He would appeal to the gentlemen on the other side, with respect to the situation in which this country was now placed; and he would ask them, Whether they would not accept of the compromise, that the sentiments, numbers and force of the societies, who had been held up as dangerous to the Constitution, should remain exactly as they were at present? But there was no situation of things in which those gentlemen were not provided with an answer. If it was urged that the designs of those societies had been checked, they would ask, Whether they ought to withdraw the security at the moment they had succeeded in repelling the danger? If the influence of the societies was said to be increased, they would contend that the force, which it had been found necessary to oppose to an inferior danger, became still more indispensable when the danger was increased. If they were called upon in a time of war, they would alledge, that was not the proper time to judge of the degree of power to be granted to the Executive Government; if during the interval of peace, they would enlarge upon the necessity of guarding against the consequences of an intercourse with the daring Republicans of France. There was no situation in which they wou'd not be provided with some argument for suspending this chief bulwark of the rights and liberties of Englishmen. The suspension would be justified, not merely as a guard against the crime of treason; but, according to the new phrase, against any disposition to moral guilt which might be productive of dangers. On such pretences would the suspension be justified, and the act itself never again restored? He would remind gentlemen of the grounds on which the suspension had been voted: the preamble of the act stated, that—"Whereas a traitorous and detestable conspiracy has been formed for subverting the existing laws and Constitution, and for introducing the system of anarchy and confusion which has so fatally prevailed in France," &c.

He now came to facts. Did this traitorous detestable conspiracy exist, if, indeed, it had ever existed at all? It would be necessary to prove not only that it once existed, but that the same danger still continued. Were they prepared to go to the length of these assertions? He would not shrink from what he had said on a former occasion, that he considered Ministers as the sole fabricators of these plots. What he had then declared from strong surmise and deep suspicion he was now enabled to repeat from the evidence of facts.

He had, at his back, the verdicts of repeated juries, who had negatived the existence of any such plot. But the opinion of juries had been lately treated in such a manner, that he was almost afraid to quote their authority: but he would remind a learned gentleman (Sir John Mitford,) that for language much less unconstitutional than he had employed, with respect to the verdicts of these juries, a learned Serjeant had formerly been committed to prison by the House of Commons. That learned gentleman had told them, that the acquittal of a jury did not declare the man innocent, it only exempted him from being tried again upon the same charge. He had always understood, that it was a maxim of the law of England, that every man was presumed to be innocent, till he was found guilty. But so far from this being the case, he was now told, that not even the acquittal of a jury established his innocence, or restored him to his former place in society. Much stress was laid upon the decision of a grand jury. He did not rest much upon that, more especially as he understood that some degree of management had been employed in forming that grand jury. Letters were sent round, one of which he now held in his hand, dispensing with the attendance of some who might otherwise have sat on that grand jury; and so far as that went, had the effect of packing them.— But he could not certainly regard the authority of any grand jury as of much weight, if after the prisoner was put upon his trial, by their finding a bill against him, he was still, by the liberal spirit of the law of England, to be considered innocent till he was found guilty by a verdict of his peers. An honourable gentleman (Mr. Windham,) had gone even farther than the learned character to whom he had alluded; he had thrown down the gauntlet to his right honourable friend (Mr. Fox). — How far it was prudent or proper in that gentleman so to do, he would not take upon him to determine, especially when he recollected that on a former occasion, he had declared that he would not give up the title of his friend till his right honourable friend had first given him a hint for that purpose. The neighbourhood into which the honourable gentleman had lately got, had, perhaps, impaired his memory. He had not waited for the hint; he had now renounced the title.— Nor was such a hint to be expected from his right honourable friend by those who knew with what strength of attachment he clung to all those of whom he had been accustomed to think favourably, and how unwilling he was to give up any who had once formed claims upon his friendship. Now, however, that the honourable gentleman had voluntarily disclaimed the connection, he had no hesitation to declare that he should henceforth meet him on the ground of

fair and avowed hoftility. That honourable gentleman, next to another perfon, had been the principal inftrument of bringing the country into the calamitous fituation in which it was now placed. He trufted that he had abilities to extricate it from the difficulties of that fituation. At any rate he knew that he had boldnefs to wait the refponfibility which would ultimately attach to all the authors of the prefent war. Except indeed, there was fomething in the fupport of the war that corrupted and degraded the human heart, he fhould have thought that the honourable gentleman would have been the laft of all men to apply to perfons acquitted by juries of their country, the opprobrious epithet of acquitted felons. There might have been fome ground for this epithet, if thofe perfons had owed their efcape to any flaw in the indictment, or to any deficiency of technical forms; it might then have been urged that they were not entitled by the verdict of a jury to a regeneration of character, and were ftill to be confidered in the light in which the honourable gentleman had placed them, as men branded with guilt and outcafts from fociety. He would not fay that every man acquitted was therefore innocent; there could be no rule of that fort without an exception; a criminal might owe his acquittal to a flaw in the indictment or a failure of the evidence. It had been ftated the other night that a perfon might be charged with murder who had only been guilty of houfe-breaking, and becaufe he was not found guilty upon the firft charge, was he therefore to be confidered as a pure and honourable character. But did the men who had lately been acquitted ftand in that fituation? If there was any cafe in which the verdict of a jury went completely to eftablifh the innocence of the party accufed, it ought to be with refpect to the charge of high treafon. That charge, it was to be recollected, came with the higheft authority, and with a degree of influence which it was difficult for any individual to refift. It was to be recollected too, that with refpect to the crime of high treafon the country itfelf was both party and judge, fince he who confpires againft the life of the King, confpires at the fame time againft the peace of the country.

With refpect to the charge of levying war, it was poffible that the party accufed might efcape from the incompetency of the evidence; but with refpect to the charge of compaffing and imagining the King's death, the intention itfelf conftituted the crime; and if the jury had in their own minds a conviction of the criminal intention, and there was fufficient proof of the overt act, they were bound to find their verdict Guilty. Mr. Sheridan faid, he would now put it, whether in the courfe of the late trials, any thing that could have been brought forward againft the

prisoners was omitted from any want of time or attention? He had heard, indeed, a learned gentleman (the Solicitor General) say, that the jury, if they had known all that he did, would have found their verdict differently. But he conceived that he must have been asleep at the time, otherwise it must be inferred that he had neglected to state to the jury all that he knew, and had thereby shewn himself disqualified for the place which he held, a confession which he surely would not wish to make to the gentlemen along with whom he sat, far less to those on the other side. He could not mean that any thing farther had since come to his knowledge, since he had himself admitted that the effect of those acquittals went to prevent the parties from being again tried on the same charge. No pains had surely been spared to being those persons to a conviction, if they had been really guilty. A Report of that House was brought forward, containing almost every thing that was afterwards brought out in evidence, and that was followed by the decision of the grand jury. Neither could it be contended that there was any want of time; some of the persons tried were taken up in May; the six months previous to their trial were employed in collecting and arranging evidence; a task in which many respectable persons, urged by a sense of what they conceived to be their duty to their country, were induced to take an active part. Neither was there any deficiency of legal ability; twelve gentlemen of the greatest professional eminence, whose talents were adequate to any cause, were retained on the side of the Crown, at an expence of upwards of eight thousand pounds, independently of the bill of the Solicitor to the Treasury. [Mr. Sheridan here read the list of the names of the Counsel for the prosecution—the Attorney General, the Solicitor General, Mr. Anstruther, Mr. Serjeant Adair, Mr. Bearcroft, Messrs. Bower, Law, and Garrow, King's Counsel; Mr. Wood, Mr. Baidwin, and Mr. Percival.] The Attorney General, continued he, assures me that he exerted his abilities gratuitously; an example which, I trust, will be imitated, and for which I give him credit, though I cannot approve of his doctrines of high treason; doctrines which, if they were once to be admitted, no man could, in my opinion, be safe; nor yet of the detestable evidence of spies, so much resorted to in the conduct of the prosecution. Such an array could only indeed have been encountered by the abilities and eloquence of my honourable friend (Mr. Erskine), who, by his conduct on that occasion, acquired the highest honour, but to whom all professional honour was become superfluous, and therefore he may deem it fortunate that he was associated with Mr. Gibbs, who deservedly comes in for a share of credit in the transaction. No exertions less vigo-

rous, no abilities lefs fplendid, would have been fufficient to withftand the weight of authority and of evidence with which it was attempted to crufh and overwhelm the prifoners. But perhaps the gentlemen engaged in the profecution will contend that they did not bring a fufficient number of witneffes; that they were willing to fpare the trouble of perfons engaged in different occupations, and refiding in diftant parts of the country. How far this is the cafe, faid Mr. Sheridan, will appear from a paper which I fhall now read, the lift of the witneffes fummoned in the cafe of Mr. Joyce, who was never tried. [Here Mr. Sheridan read an abftract of the lift; it confifted of 22 perfons from the Secretary of State's Office, and underftrappers; 45 Jailors, Juftices, and Conftables; 23 people in prifon; 28 Lawyers and Lawyers' clerks; 17 Scotchmen, who never faw Mr. Joyce; 13 Printers and Bookfellers; 49 common informers, &c. amounting, in all, to 207 witneffes]—There was one circumftance to be noticed; many of thofe who were brought forward to give evidence, were kept in prifon for a confiderable time, till they were wanted for that purpofe; there they were cooped up, half witneffes and half principals, till the day of trial; and yet, to the men who had been placed in this fituation, many of whom had loft their bufinefs, and been hurt in their character, not the fmalleft compenfation had been given; he would not fay, becaufe they had failed in giving an evidence which might have been favourable to the views of the profecution; fome of them had been fent back to Sheffield, with three pounds to defray their expences. With regard to the manner in which the proceedings had been conducted, at leaft no labour had been fpared. The firft fpeech on the trials took up no lefs a fpace than nine hours. Had he been in the fituation of a juryman, the very circumftance of an Attorney General taking nine hours to tell him of an overt act of high treafon, would have been a reafon why he fhould have given as his opinion, that he could not believe it, and that it could not poffibly be true. The whole procedure on the profecution, was a piece of delicate clock-work, a fort of filigree net, too flight to hold a robuft traitor, and yet fo contrived as to let all the leffer cafes of libel and fedition efcape. The very intricacy and labour of the proceeding was, to his mind, the moft fatisfactory teftimony that the cafe could not be fupported on the grounds of fubftantial evidence and conftitutional principles. If he was afked, Did there not appear, from thefe trials, inftances of fedition? He had no hefitation to fay, that they exhibited inftances of many grofs and fcandalous libels. He was ready to admit that there were in the Societies mifchievous men intent on mifchievous purpofes. There were others actuated

by enthusiasm, whom he could not consider in the same light, because it was that sort of enthusiasm which had actuated men of the purest minds. As to the phrases Convention, &c., in which they had affected an imitation and approbation of the proceedings of the French, the worst that could be said of them was, that they were contemptibly foolish.

He had attended the trials, he said, from a principle of duty.—He was of opinion that every man who loved the Constitution, and who thought that it was endangered by false alarms, would feel it incumbent on such an occasion to attend trials which he considered as originating from ministerial artifice; and to watch the conduct of the Crown lawyers, and of the judges, in order to avert those calamities from the country, in which, at former times, it had been involved, to prevent that most dreadful of all wars—a war of plots and conspiracies; wars in which the purest blood had been shed by the most destructive of all weapons, the perjured tongues of spies and informers. That there was no real danger appeared from the declaration of the Chief Justice Eyre, who, in summing up on one of the trials, stated, that it was an ostentatious and boasting conspiracy, and that it was much in favour of the accused, that they had neither men, money, nor zeal to effect the purposes with which they were charged. On the first trial one pike was produced; that was afterwards withdrawn from mere shame. A formidable instrument was talked of to be employed against the cavalry; it appeared upon evidence to be a te-totum in a window at Sheffield. There was a camp in a back shop, an arsenal provided with nine muskets, and an exchequer containing nine pounds and one bad shilling; all to be directed against the whole armed force and established Government of Great Britain. Mr. Sheridan said, that he, in the first instance, had shewn the most obstinate incredulity with respect to all the rumours of a plot. He endeavoured to call to mind whether the present Ministry had, in any former instance, availed themselves of a similar artifice. He recollected that in the year 1783, at the period when the coalition took place, they represented those who were engaged in that measure as setting up a fourth party in the State, as wishing to supercede the authority of the King, and to destroy the Constitution, and had actually persuaded many well-meaning people at the time to be of that opinion, and to regard the authors of the measure as enemies to their country, whose destruction was necessary for the preservation of the established Government. He recollected too, that the very men who had set up the coalirion were now in the Cabinet, and that the charge brought against them must therefore

have been false, and an instance of successful deception. He was more confirmed in his persuasion of the trick when he looked to the conduct of the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Pitt) who had adopted the policy of keeping open the door of reform, that he might get himself out by it, and whose system it had uniformly been on that question, to do just as much as might nourish hope, and yet discourage effort. He recollected that the Society of the Friends of the People had been instituted by one whom he could name only to honour, that it originally consisted of a hundred persons, of whose characters it would not become him to speak, since he himself had the honour to be one of the number. That Society had at its first formation been represented as more pernicious than any of the others; they had been held out both in that and in the other House as men, whose existence was incompatible with the safety of the Constitution. Their first institution had been followed by a Royal proclamation, in order to secure the country from the infection of their principles. In what light had that Society been held out on the late trials? That very Society had been represented as the saviours of the country, as the standards of political orthodoxy, and it had been represented as the blackest aggravation of the guilt of other Societies, that they had not suffered themselves to be guided by them, that they had not implicitly adopted their principles, or concurred in their proceedings. This he could not help regarding as the second instance of successful deception. The proclamation afterwards issued previous to the calling out of the militia, and the assembling of Parliament put into the mouth of His Majesty an expression which was not true, namely, that there existed insurrections in the country. It might be urged that at that time there was great appearance of danger, and that it was better to prevent the meditated mischief than to wait for its arrival. In such a case Ministers too would have done better to have taken the responsibility to themselves, and applied to Parliament for a Bill of Indemnity. He had on a former occasion taken notice of all the arts which were at that time employed to propagate alarm; of the Duke of Richmond throwing himself into the Tower in the middle of the night; of the mail-coach being retarded, and carrying with it the most dismal reports of the state of the metropolis, so that every person who arrived in a post-chaise expected to find that all London was in a flame. He had then surmised that all this was the effect of mere political artifice; he now found his suspicion confirmed by facts. During the course of the trials, he had heard the evidence of the spies of Government, no part of which went to sanction the alarm which had been so industriously propagated. It followed therefore,

either that Ministers were deceived by their own spies, and had thereby shewed themselves unfit for the situation which they held, or that they had acted upon an alarm, which they did not feel, to answer the infamous purposes of their own ambition, and to delude the people into a wicked and a ruinous war. At the time every body admitted that the measures of Ministry were extraordinary; but something they said must come out. Papers notoriously in the pay of Ministers, even took upon them to mention the particulars of the plot, and to name the persons concerned. He had then moved for a Committee of the House to enquire into the subject: his motion was negatived because Ministers knew that no such plot had ever existed. If a Government wanted a plot, plots, like other commodities, would be brought to the market. Had his motion been adopted when it was first proposed, it would have then refuted the libel on the character of the people of England. The right honourable gentleman, in a more advanced stage of the business, had come forward with a motion for a Secret Committee. It did not become him to say that the Members who composed that Committee were not highly respectable, they were chosen by ballot, and therefore, no doubt, perfectly independent; but it was well known that every such election by ballot was determined by previous agreement; and he had himself previously read the names of 13 or 14 Members who were to be in that Committee, and he must say, that it was a circumstance of suspicion that they resorted to this mode of chusing a Secret Committee, rather than that of naming the Members over the table, as had been done on another important occasion. A Report was presented to that Committee, cut and dry, and by some of them, he would venture to say, adopted without much examination. In speaking of the gentlemen who composed that Committee, he felt some degree of delicacy; they were not now all here; they were so much alarmed that they did not consider that House as a place of sufficient security, and had taken refuge in the Upper House. A Coronet, the reward of their seasonable apprehensions, would, they thought, be most likely to secure the head of the owner from future danger. While the Committee were sitting upon this Report, which had been in preparation for five or six months, two notes were sent, one to his right honourable friend, (Mr. Fox) and another to him, informing them that something important was to take place in the House of Commons. This was all the intimation which was thought necessary to precede a suspension of the chief bulwark of the rights and liberties of Englishmen. Upon hearing only a moiety of the Report from the Minister, the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act was proposed. Seventeen divisions had on

that occasion, taken place on his side of the House; and he should ever regard the share which he had taken in that measure as the most meritorious part of his parliamentary conduct. In the House of Lords the business was not conducted so hastily: their Lordships were presented with pikes, with drawings, with male and female screws: their noble natures were not so easily to be roused: it was necessary that they should be presented with some ocular demonstration of the danger.—

> "*Segnius irritant animos dimissa per aurem,*
> *Quam quæ sunt oculis subjecta fidelibus.*"

He was almost ashamed to say, that the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act was not a matter of slight or trivial consideration. He here quoted the opinion of Sir Edward Coke on the importance of the Habeas Corpus, which concludes "that without the enjoyment of this privilege we are no longer any thing more than bondsmen. There remains no distinction between the freeman and the slave—the living and the dead." He then proceeded to quote the more recent opinions of Judge Blackstone, in the following extract from his chapter on the rights of persons. Sect. II.

"Of great importance to the Public is the preservation of this personal liberty: for if once it were left in the power of any the highest magistrate to imprison arbitrarily whomever he or his officers thought proper, (as in France it is daily practised by the Crown) there would soon be an end of all other rights and immunities. Some have thought, that unjust attacks, even upon life, or property, at the arbitrary will of the magistrate, are less dangerous to the commonwealth, than such as are made upon the personal liberty of the subject. To bereave a man of life, or by violence to confiscate his estate, without accusation or trial, would be so gross and notorious an act of despotism, as must at once convey the alarm of tyranny throughout the whole kingdom: but confinement of the person, by secretly hurrying him to gaol, where his sufferings are unknown or forgotten, is a less public, a less striking, and therefore a more dangerous engine of arbitrary Government. And yet sometimes, when the State is in real danger, even this may be a necessary measure. But the happiness of our Constitution is, that it is not left to the Executive Power to determine when the danger of the State is so great, as to render this measure expedient: for it is the Parliament only, or Legislative Power, that, whenever it sees proper, can authorize the Crown, by suspending the *Habeas Corpus* act for a short and limited time, to imprison suspected persons without giving any reason for so doing, as the Senate of Rome was wont to have recourse to a dictator, a magistrate of absolute authority, when they judged the Republic in any imminent danger. The decree of the Senate, which usually preceded the nomination of this magistrate, *dent operam consules, ne quid respublica detrimenti capiat*, was called the *senatus consultum ultimae necessitatis*. In like manner this experiment ought only to be tried in cases of extreme emergency, and in these the nation parts with its liberty for a while, in order to preserve it for ever."

If the position of this famous lawyer be true, if a suspension of the Habeas Corpus can be compared to nothing but a measure which suspends the whole of the Constitution, it ought surely only to take place in cases of the most urgent and absolute necessity. He would ask whether the present was a case of such extreme emergency. If any man believed that the people of this country were infected with treasonable principles, and disposed to overturn the Government, he might then be justified in holding such an opinion; but if any man believed that the characteristic feature of the English nation was a sober, settled, and steady attachment to the Constitution, it was incumbent on him to call for an immediate repeal of the act suspending the Habeas Corpus. Such was the opinion, which had been confirmed by repeated verdicts of a jury, verdicts which went completely to do away the idea of any conspiracy having ever existed in the country. He, for one, would not wait till Ministers should exercise their ingenuity in the fabrication of new plots, or should have time to propagate fresh alarms; he would call upon them immediately to restore to the people those rights, without which they could neither respect themselves, nor the Government under which they lived.

I feel myself, said Mr. Sheridan, as if contending for a melancholy truth with Ministers, when I assure them that such is the state of the country, and such is the loyalty of the people, that they are firmly attached to the Constitution, and disposed quietly to enjoy its blessings, without any idea of either attempting the person of His Majesty, or cutting the throats of one another. I shall hear then not of a plot, but of the evidence of a propensity to moral guilt, as justifying a continuance of the suspension of the Habeas Corpus. I will not say that there have been no instances of sedition; but I will affirm even that the evidence of these appears in so questionable a shape as ought to excite your suspicion. It is supported by a system of spies and informers, a system which has been carried to a greater extent under the present Administration, than in any former period of the history of the country. I will not say that there is no Government in Europe which does not stand in need of the assistance of spies; but I will affirm, that the Government which avails itself of such support does not exist for the happiness of the people. It is a system which is calculated to engender suspicion, and to beget hostility; it not only destroys all confidence between man and man, but between the governors and the governed; where it does not find sedition, it creates it.—It resembles in its operations the conduct of the father of all spies and informers, the Devil, who introduced himself into Paradise not only to inform his own Pande-

monium of the ſtate of that region, but to deceive and betray the inhabitants. The ſpy, in order to avoid ſuſpicion, is obliged to aſſume an appearance of zeal and activity; he is the firſt to diſſeminate the doctrines of ſedition, or to countenance the deſigns of violence; he deludes the weak by the ſpeciouſneſs of his arguments, and enflames the turbulent by the fury of his zeal. It muſt have made a man's heart burn, to hear the ſort of evidence brought forward by theſe ſpies on the late trials. A wretch of the name of Lynam ſaid, that in his capacity of delegate to one of the ſocieties, he had incurred ſuſpicion, had been tried by the other delegates, and honourably acquitted. The counſel for the proſecution, could hear ſuch a declaration with unbluſhing countenances. By what means had he been acquitted, but by pretences of ſuperior zeal, and more furious exertion. I wiſh the honourable gentleman, who called the perſons who had been tried, acquitted felons, had been preſent when ſuch witneſſes were examined againſt them; I wiſh he had been preſent when the Chief Baron (Macdonald) addreſſed Mr. Thelwall, not as an acquitted felon, but as having obtained a verdict, which was honourable to his character, and exhorted him in a tone of the utmoſt gentleneſs, to employ his talents in future, for purpoſes uſeful to his country. The manner in which that addreſs was made, was fit and becoming the character of the judge by whom it was delivered, as well as reſpectful to the perſon to whom it was directed. Of whatever indiſcretion the perſons who had been tried had been guilty, it will not be diſputed by thoſe who have attended to their caſe, that they have feeling hearts, that they are alive to every ſenſe of indignity, and that they muſt have been deeply wounded by the opprobrious epithet applied to them by the honourable gentleman. I truſt this is ſufficient to induce him to make the only reparation now in his power, by the ſpeedieſt recantation of his haſty and ill-judged expreſſion. There was another witneſs of the name of Taylor, not an acquitted, but a convicted felon, who had been tried for a crime, into the moral demerit of which I will not enter, but which had been attended with the aggravation of perjury, but ſentenced only to a ſlight puniſhment, on account, as was alledged, of ſome favourable circumſtances in his caſe; though, upon my word, I could find none, except that he had aſſiſted to hang his brother ſpy (Watts); yet this man was thought a proper character to be brought forward as an evidence into a Court of Juſtice, and allowed to hunt after the blood of Engliſhmen. If Miniſtry had been duped and deluded by their ſpies, ought they not to admit the deception that had been played upon them? But, ſaid Mr. Sheridan, I can ſuppoſe the caſe

of a haughty and stiff-necked Minister, who never mixed in a popular assembly, who had therefore no common feeling with the mass of the people, no knowledge of the mode in which their intercourse is conducted, who was not a month in the ranks in this House before he was raised to the first situation, and though on a footing of equality with any other Member, elevated with the idea of fancied superiority, such a Minister can have no communication with the people of England, except through the medium of spies and informers, he is unacquainted with the mode in which their sentiments are expressed, and cannot make allowance for the language of toasts and resolutions adopted in an unguarded and convivial hour. Such a Minister, if he lose their confidence, he will bribe their hate; if he disgust them by arbitrary measures, he will not leave them till they are completely bound and shackled, above all, he will gratify the vindictive resentment of apostacy, by prosecuting all those who dare to espouse the cause which he has betrayed, and he will not desist from the gratification of his malignant propensities, and the prosecution of his arbitrary schemes, till he has buried in one grave, the peace, the happiness, the glory, and the independence of England. Such a Minister must be disqualified to judge of the real state of the country, and must be eternally the dupe of those vile spies, whose interest it is to deceive him as well as to betray others. In what county, or from what quarter of the community, are we to apprehend the effects of those principles of insubordination, with which we have been so often threatened? The characteristic feature of the English nation is entirely different; they testify on every occasion the utmost respect for superiority (I am sorry to use the phrase) wherever the advantages of rank or fortune are exercised by those who enjoy them, with any tolerable decency or regard to the welfare of their dependents. What nobleman or gentleman finds in his tenants or servants, as long as he treats them with propriety and kindness, a hostile and envious disposition? What merchant or great manufacturer finds in those whom he employs, so long as he treats them well, a sullen and uncomplying temper, instead of a prompt and chearful obedience? This tendency to insubordination, forms no part of the temper or character of the people, the contrary disposition is even carried to an extreme. If I am asked whether there is any danger in the present moment, I say yes. But it is not a danger of that sort which is to be remedied by suspending the rights, or abridging the privileges of the people. The danger arises from a contempt being produced among the lower orders of all public men and all public principles.

A circumstance occurs to me, which took place during the late trials, where the Friends of the People were praised from the Bench. When one of the Sheffield witnesses (Broomhead) was asked why his Society declined communicating with the Friends of the People, he answered that he would tell them very plainly, that they did not believe them to be honest; that there were several of them Members of Parliament; that they had some of them been in place; and that they conceived the ins and the outs, however they might vary in their professions, to be actuated by the same motives of interest. I, who might be as little implicated in such a charge as any man, felt rebuked and subdued by the answer. What is it that tends to produce this contempt of public men? The conduct of those who ought to hold out an example of public principle. I heard an honourable gentleman, (Mr. Windham) the other day, and on this subject I will pursue him with professed and unabating hostility, complain of the indifference and languor of the country in the present contest, and call upon them to greater displays of vigour and exertion, while at the same time he affirmed, that no man in the country felt any distress from the pressure and calamities of war.—Will he say this to the starving manufacturers of Norwich? Will he say it to the slavering poor of the metropolis, obliged to purchase a loaf at ninepence, and unable to supply themselves with coals at this inclement season, from the enormous price of that necessary article? Will he say it to the landholders, whose property, since the commencement of the war, has been reduced half its value? What can this language of the honourable gentleman mean, except he means to drive the great body of the people to desperation? When I heard the honourable gentleman call upon the country for increased exertions, I concluded that he would have proposed to throw in his salary to the aid of the public fund, and to live contented on his own splendid income. I supposed he would have persuaded his right honourable friend (Mr. Pitt) to relinquish the revenue which he derives from the Cinque Ports, and to live on the 6000l. a year attached to his other appointments, that he would have persuaded another honourable gentleman (Mr. Dundas) to give up one of his numerous salaries; and a noble Marquis, in another House, to give up some of the emolument which he derives from the Tellership of the Exchequer, which would this year amount to 15,000l. As the noble Marquis, on a former occasion, professed himself ready to abandon part of those emoluments, and take the office at a more moderate salary, he had now an excellent opportunity to prove the sincerity of his declaration. I expected all this, and that they would not have failed to assist their own arguments by the operation

of their generosity. The honourable gentleman shakes his head, as if I had said something which I did not mean, or would not stand by. When formerly, in conjunction with him and others, I attacked the corruption of Ministers, I thought I was speaking the sentiments of men who were sincere in recommending the doctrine of public economy, and not persons secretly bargaining for a share of the wages of corruption. Little did I think that the opposition which they then expressed, was only an envious admiration of the honours and emoluments of Ministers, and an impatient desire of participation; little did I conceive that the first act of a noble person (Duke of Portland) would have been to arrest from a gallant man a token of honour, which he had merited by his public services; a man, to whom, indeed, that token could add no honour, but who might wish to introduce into his own profession such a badge of distinction. In Ireland, ever since the period of their arrangement, they have experienced the utmost difficulty and embarrassment, from a dispute which has subsisted about patronage, and which has at last been compromised, how far honourably, I will leave to those who are best acquainted with the transaction to determine. In the present war, Ministers have been obliged to have recourse to allies both at home and abroad, both have been procured by the same means, bargain and subsidy. Among the members of the present Cabinet, there subsists a sort of Dutch amity, and they hate one another more cordially than even they do us who are in opposition to their measures. The question is, Has the Duke of Portland a majority in the Cabinet? No; Mr. Pitt constrains him by an additional vote. It was curious to observe the changes which had lately taken place; from a Lord Privy Seal, to be First Lord of the Admiralty, and vice versa, from President of the Council, to be Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and from the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, to be Master of the Horse. A noble Earl (Mansfield) came at first into the Cabinet without any emolument; I was at first disposed to give him credit for his disinterestedness; but whether it was conceived by his colleagues to be a foolish thing, or that it might operate as a bad example, he was soon induced to accept the situation of President of the Council, with a large salary. While all Europe is in a flame, they seem to be engaged at boy's play; to be scrambling for places and pensions, for ribbands and titles, and amusing themselves with puss in the corner of the Cabinet room. When such is a picture of the conduct of public men, I am not surprised at the declaration of the witness from Sheffield, that he gives no man of that description credit for being honest. Willingly, would I throw a veil over such transactions for the sake of the country, were it possible either to

conceal their exiſtence, or to extenuate their diſgrace. Mr. Sheridan ſaid that he had now ſtated almoſt all that he had to ſay: there was nothing, in his mind, which would be more calculated to remove the danger of ſedition than to abandon the ſyſtem of corruption which now prevailed. To reform the conduct of Government, and to correct abuſes, would be the ſureſt way to remedy diſcontent, and render a farther ſuſpenſion of the Habeas Corpus unneceſſary. He proceeded to ſtate that many of the acts of the Societies, which had ſo much excited alarm, were only imitations of what had been done by the Societies in 1780. If the Miniſter at that time had been diſpoſed to proſecute, he might have made out a much better caſe of treaſon than had been brought forward by the preſent Miniſters. Was the memorable expreſſion of the illuſtrious Earl of Chatham forgotten, "that he rejoiced that America had reſiſted!" Could none of the Members recollect the ſtrong language adopted by Mr. Burke on the ſame occaſion, and the ſentiments that had been avowed in that Houſe by the oppoſers of that war, "that they wept over the fall of Montgomery, and did not exult in the deſertion of Arnold." He produced a paper, with the inſcription, "Lenox, the friend to Equality," which, had the then Miniſter been diſpoſed to proſecute, contained matter more inflammatory than any paper that had been brought forward on the late trials. If approbation of the progreſs of the enemy, implied by toaſts and reſolutions; if an unqualified claim of univerſal repreſentation; if diſreſpectful expreſſions, ſuch as "What care I for the King's birthday!" were to be conſtrued as treaſonable matter, all theſe would be found to apply to the Aſſociations in 1780, in a greater degree than to the preſent Societies. Nay, a Convention of the ſame nature with that, which theſe Societies had been charged as having conſpired to hold, was then actually held. Theſe men only trod in the ſame path in which they had ſeen others go before them, not only without impeachment but without reproach. If, ſays Mr. Sheridan, we make a boaſt of equal laws, if theſe men are to be conſidered as guilty of high treaſon, let us have ſome retroſpective hanging, and whatever in that caſe may happen to me, His Majeſty will at leaſt derive ſome benefit, ſince he will thereby get rid of a majority of his preſent Cabinet. Mr. Sheridan ſaid, that when he recollected that his ſpeaking and writing might have been inſtrumental in inducing thoſe men to eſpouſe the views which they had adopted, he could not ſeparate his own cauſe from theirs, and he did not know what other men's conſciences were made of, who could proſecute, and even bring to condign puniſhment and infamy perſons who had been guilty of no other crime than having taken up

the same side of the question of which they themselves had formerly been the advocates and supporters. He then reprobated the arguments drawn from the difference of times, and the necessity of terrible examples, an argument to be found in every body's mouth, and which he contended to be false and mischievous. It was re-echoed from every quarter, and by every description of persons in office, from the Prime Minister to the Exciseman—"Look to the example of France." The implication was a libel upon the character of Great Britain. The characters of nations arose not from the difference of soil and climate, but from the invariable and eternal decrees of Providence. Government was the school and seminary of the soul.

He proceeded to press the distinction in the characters and minds of the mass of the inhabitants of different countries, according to their different Governments. "I will not, therefore, said Mr. Sheridan, admit the inference or the argument, that because a people, bred under a proud, insolent, and grinding despotism, maddened by the recollection of former injuries, and made savage by the observation of former cruelties, a people, in whose minds no sincere respect for property or law ever could have existed, because property had never been secured to them, and law had never protected them, a people separated and divided into classes by the strongest and harshest lines of distinction, generating envy and smothered malice in the lower ranks, and pride and insolence in the higher: that the actions of such a people at any time, much less in the hour of frenzy and of fury, provoked and goaded by the arms and menaces of the surrounding despots that assailed them, should furnish an inference or ground, on which to estimate the temper, character or feelings, of the people of Great Britain, of a people, who, though sensible of many abuses which disfigure the Constitution, were yet not insensible to its many and invaluable blessings; a people, who reverenced the laws of their country because those laws shielded and protected all alike; a people, among whom all that was advantageous in private acquisition, all that was honourable in public ambition, was equally open to the efforts, the industry and the abilities of all, among whom progress and rise in society and public estimation, was one ascending slope, as it were, without a break or landing place, among whom no sullen line of demarkation separated and cut off the several orders from each other, but all was one blended tint, from the deepest shade that veiled the meanest occupation of laborious industry, to the brightest hue that glittered in the luxurious pageantry of title, wealth and power: he would not, therefore, look to the example of France, for between the

feelings, the tempers, and social disposition towards each other, much less towards the Governments which they obeyed, of nations so differently constituted, and of such different habits, he would assert, that no comparison could be made which reason and philosophy ought not to spurn at with contempt and indignation." If pressed farther for an illustration on this subject, he would ask what answer would those gentlemen give, if a person affectedly or sincerely anxious for the preservation of British liberty, were to say, "Britons, abridge the power of your Monarch, restrain the exercise of his just prerogative, withhold all power and resources from his Government, or even send him to his Electorate from whence your voice exalted him—for mark what has been doing on the Continent!—*Look to the example of Kings!!* Kings, believe me, are the same in nature and in temper everywhere; trust yours no longer: —see how that shameless and perfidious despot of Prussia, that trickster and tyrant, has violated every principle of truth, honour and humanity, in his murderous, though impotent attempt, at plunder and robbery in Poland! He, who had encouraged and even guaranteed to them their Constitution:—See him with a scandalous profanation of the resources which he had wrung by fraud from the credulity of Great Britain, trampling on the independence he was pledged to maintain, and seizing for himself the countries he had sworn to protect. Mark the still more sanguinary efforts of the despot of Russia, faithless not to us only and the cause of Europe, as it is called, but craftily outwitting her perjured coadjutor, profiting by his disgrace, and grasping to herself the victim which had been destined to glut their joint rapacity. See her thanking her favourite General Suarrow, and, still more impious, thanking heaven for the opportunity; thanking him for the most iniquitous act of cruelty the bloody page of history recorded—the murderous scene at Praga, where, not in the heat and fury of action, not in the first impatience of revenge, but after a cold deliberate pause of ten hours, with temperate barbarity, he ordered a considerate, methodical massacre of 10,000 women and children. These are the actions of Monarchs—*Look to the example of Kings!*" What those gentlemen would reply to such an argument or exhortation I know not. My answer should be, I treat your inference and comparison with the same abhorrence and indignation with which I turn from those who would libel and traduce the character and principles of the people of England, and upon the same grounds and principles. I will not look to the example of the Princes you point out, and justly, perhaps, stigmatize, in order to measure my allegiance and opinion of the King of Great Britain. I am not to be misled by names; I re-

gard not that the four letters are the same which form the title of the Despot of Bradenburgh, and of the first magistrate of this free country. I will not look to the principles or practice of a man born and bred in flattery, falsehood, and faithlessness—of a Prince accustomed to look to fear only for obedience, and to arms only for security, of one used to consider his people as his property, their lives and limbs his traffic, of one instructed to make his will the law, and the law his tool; of one finally whose heart must be perverted and corrupted by that which ever did and ever will deprave and corrupt the human heart, the possession of despotic power. I will not borrow from such an example a rule to estimate the principles, acts, or wishes of a Monarch, where it must be as palpably his wish as his interest to reign in the hearts of his people; of a Prince whom a love of liberty alone in the people exalted to his present situation, and who must therefore regard and cherish that love of liberty in his subjects, as the real body guard of his person; of a King, who, not seated on a solitary eminence of power, sees in the co-existing branches of the Legislature his equals—in the law his superior, who, taught by the awful examples of our history, knows he is accountable for the sacred trust reposed in him, and, owing his title to the people's choice, feels the true security of his Throne to be the people's love. Thus would I reply, and thus would I remain—though disclaiming the servile cant of adulation, with sentiments of unabated attachment to the person of our present Monarch, and with unshaken adherence to the principle of hereditary Government in this country, while limited, and directed to the objects for which that and all other power on earth is created—the benefit and happiness of the people, who confer the trust.

Mr. Sheridan concluded that, if he were to look to the example of France, he would look to the prodigality, the corruption, the detestable system of spies and informers, the insolence of the higher and the oppression of the lower orders, which had distinguished the old Government of France, and which, he contended, had produced all the evils of the present system. He would thence be taught to avoid introducing into this country a system of terror and corruption, and to give back to the people those rights and privileges which riveted their affection and secured their obedience, and placed the order of stability of the Government upon their best foundation, the protection and happiness of the subject. The object of his present motion went only to bring back that which ought never to have been taken away. He should therefore now move for leave to bring in a bill, to repeal an act, passed in the last session of Parliament, empowering His Majesty to secure and detain such

persons as shall be suspected of conspiring against his person and Government.

The right honourable W. WINDHAM, Secretary at War, said that there were so many of his honourable friends more capable than he could presume to be, of answering the various topics which had been brought into argument by the honourable gentleman who had just sat down, that he would not have troubled the House with any observations at that early period of the debate, were it not that personal allusion had been frequently made to himself in the course of that Gentleman's elaborate declamation.—The first topic which he would notice, was the honourable gentleman's remark upon some words which fell from him respecting a right honourable gentleman on the other side of the House (Mr. Fox), whom, whether he called or not, he certainly would consider as a friend. This was a subject which he had long remarked the honourable gentleman had a great propensity to bring into discussion; he had before been obliged to make animadversions upon it, as it was, to say no worse of it, extremely officious, and, however the honourable gentleman might flatter himself that it conduced to his views, he would hazard an assertion, that such intermeddling did not give satisfaction to either party. As the matter, however, had been brought on the tapis, he would fully explain that which he had already, as he thought, explained before. What he had said on a former day, and what he would then repeat was, that for mutual accommodation he would, though he retained the sentiment, discontinue the usual form of address, and had given for his reason, that, standing with each other on a different footing from what they had formerly done, he might, by persisting in it, force his right honourable friend into restraint or embarrassment. This he avowed to be the real meaning of his expressions, and this he fancied must still be in the recollection of every one present; he put it to the honourable gentleman himself to declare whether it was not the handsomest mode of deporting himself; had he done otherwise, Mr. Sheridan himself was the very man who would take advantage of it, and say that he acted with the insidious intention of promoting that restraint and embarrassment which, in truth, he wished to avoid. If this was an error, he confessed it to be an error of deliberation, and one in which he certainly meant to persist. The honourable gentleman had endeavoured to persuade the House, that the conduct of the persons who promoted the war was criminal; and that he (Mr. Windham) was more criminal than any of its abettors. He was desirous to avow, that, on the footing on which the honourable gentleman had stated it, he was indeed criminal. If, to have seen, at a very early pe-

riod, but not so early as he could wish he had, that the conduct of the French was likely to involve Great Britain in warfare and confusion, and to be convinced that, in her own defence, as well as from principles of justice and policy, she should have declared war before she did, was criminal, he was most highly so. But that, he hoped, was the very utmost extent of his criminality; and of his firmness and resolution, to which the honourable gentleman had alluded, he would answer for it, that he never would be found to shrink from any charges that might be brought against him, nor be deterred by the empty menace of any set of men, from the constant and zealous discharge of the trust reposed in him, and of that which he conceived to be his duty, and the most unremitting vigilance against every thing that had the face of hostility to his country or himself, and particularly the politics of the honourable gentleman.

The honourable gentleman had said, that in discussing the subject in agitation, he would deal with him with the utmost frankness. He wished, for the honourable gentleman's own sake, as well as that of the House, the subject, and himself, that he had coupled another thing along with it, and used him with fairness as well as with frankness. He had however done quite the reverse, and given the most unfair and unaccountable construction to all that he had said. Had there been any thing in his mode of expressing himself at all ambiguous, candour would have taken it rather upon the favourable side, whereas the honourable gentleman had made use of a supposed ambiguity to pervert his meaning, and substituted his own suppositions in the place of facts. He declared, and called for the House to bear witness for him, that he had not, in using the word *acquitted felon*, at all alluded to the persons lately acquitted. On this point, it was to be lamented by the honourable gentleman's admirers and advocates, that all his tragic declamations, all his deep-toned, fine-spun periods, fell at once to ruin, the foundation itself being thus withdrawn from under them. For himself, he declared what he had said was this—When the honourable gentleman had endeavoured, with so little judgement and so little effect, to demonstrate that the acquittal of those men (whether they are called felons or culprits, for he was almost afraid to call them by any name, lest he should be misinterpreted) had entirely proved the non-existence of a conspiracy to overthrow the Government, as well as their own individual innocence, he had said, that they were proved innocent to no greater an extent than numberless other persons who were discharged from the Old Bailey, not from their innocence being established in a moral point of view, but from want of legal proof of their guilt. This exultation of the

honourable gentleman and the persons acquitted, they shared with many culprits who, though absolutely guilty, are discharged from failure of prosecution, from a flaw in the indictment, or from any other of those various legal points, under cover of which the guilty sometimes skulk away from the arm of justice, and strut about afterwards, talk of remedy by actions at law, and plume themselves upon their accidental escape, as if their integrity and uprightness had been positively proved and established in the opinion of their country. Here, he said, he would rest the point for the present, and hoped that the honourable gentleman would not oblige him to revive it again, nor do as he had often done before, that is to say, make a watch-word of it, and by the most unfair and insidious means propagate and pass it current throughout the world, as if it had never been contradicted, the most unjust and unmanly way of sapping fair fame and reputation that any one could devise. The honourable gentleman had said much of spies and informers. It was a melancholy consideration to reflect, that such men were often necessary, and he feared they would be more wanting than ever in the situation in which the politics of the honourable gentleman and his friends were likely to plunge the country. The honourable gentleman who, in all things, was more than commonly shrewd and acute, had the most extraordinary faculties he ever knew any one to possess for the purpose of raising groundless charges, and the most extraordinary industry and art in giving them circulation: one, he said, he would particularly mention,—one originating in falsehood, and afterwards circulated with a wicked industry, which spoke too plainly to be misunderstood, what their drift was who managed it. The expression was the well-known hackneyed "*Perish Commerce.*" It was necessary, he thought, to refer to the many revivals of it, which the malignity and wicked designs of some men had occasioned—after being made a handle of in various quarters, all of which he suffered to pass in contemptuous silence; he again found it revived in a letter published a few days ago by a person of too great rank to be overlooked (Lord Lauderdale). Two years ago, Mr. Windham observed, this falsehood was first circulated, and what would tend to develope the intentions of the calumniators, it was most carefully disseminated where it was supposed to be most likely to do him injury: it was in short reprinted, and stuck up in the workshops of Norwich, to alineate the affections of the people from him, and persuade them that he was their worst enemy; again it was brought up in the House against him by those who well knew in their hearts that the expression was not his. But he was silent, and that silence was taken for an admission of the

fact.—" Now, Sir, said he, what will you think, if you shall see that this has been brought up again in this volume which I hold in my hand, stamped with the authority of a noble Peer? (Vide letters to the Peers of Scotland, by the Earl of Lauderdale, page 81). Did not the noble writer know, that the charge was publicly and unjustly attributed to me? and did he not intend, by the way he puts it here, that it should be applied to me, and considered as my words—if not, what did he mean?"

Major MAITLAND rose and said, he should not have troubled the House, and most particularly to interrupt the right honourable gentleman, did he not believe he could save some time to the House by explaining the case; the noble Earl, a relation of his, had asked him, if it was that right honourable gentleman who had made use of that expression which was reported to have come from authority; he informed his noble relation it was not, and the expression had never been applied to that right honourable gentleman. The Colonel said, he trusted that the character of that noble Earl for candour, sincerity, and honour, was such as not to entitle any man in that House, or this country, to suspect him of doing any thing that was illiberal.

Mr. Windham continued—" I am rather surprised at the explanation, as it confirms the full extent of my charge, which is, that the noble author of the work knew that the sentiment had been falsely imputed to me, and yet sent it forth to the world under the authority of his name uncontradicted. In the same work there is another passage to the same effect, which, noticing the Rockingham party, says, that the Duke of Portland, Earl Fitzwilliam, Mr. Burke, Mr. Windham, and some others, attended meetings for a Parliamentary Reform; which, as far as relates to myself, I deny, and believe unfounded as to the rest. I challenge any one to assert that I ever, either in or out of Parliament, contended for that object, which I cannot but regard as a degeneration instead of a reform of Parliament. In this House I have uniformly opposed it; and before I had the honour of a seat here, I refused to stand for the city of Westminster, though I might have been returned, because I knew the inhabitants at that time were attached to ideas of reform. These facts being notorious, I am at a loss to perceive the candour and fairness of the noble Lord in circulating reports which he must know to be unfounded. This system of misrepresentation is in my mind much more injurious, than that so much complained of about spies and informers. There is no calculating the evil which it may produce in times of trouble and commotion. It was thus, that early in the French Revolution, Foulon was mas-

fered, becaufe it was reported that he had faid, " he would make the people eat grafs." The influence and dangerous tendency of thefe *party catch-words* could not be ftronger exemplified than in the hackneied phrafe of " Swinifh Multitude," the fenfe of which expreffion was completly diftorted from that in which it was applied, in the beautiful paffage where it was originally made ufe of. Can any one doubt what was intended by this grofs and unmanly perverfion of its meaning, if, unfortunately for this country, the party that perverted it had obtained their ends, and fully feated themfelves in power? On one point of the honourable gentleman's main argument I cannot forbear fome remarks. He fays, that the perfons tried are completely innocent, becaufe they are acquitted. Does he mean then totally to difregard the prefumption of guilt which was caft on them by the finding of the Grand or Accufing Jury? Setting this afide, is there any doubt but that the verdict of a jury pronounces only that the parties were not in a legal fenfe guilty? But there is a vaft medium between legal guilt and moral innocence; and befide, there might be various ftages even of legal guilt fhort of the fpecific charge brought againft them. As a legiflative body, however, we are not to feek the verdict of a jury to guide us, we muft look to prefumption and probability, and govern our conduct by their evidence. The honourable gentleman, in the fame fpirit of mifreprefentation, has made me deny the diftreffes of the poor, and fympathifed himfelf as ufual in an extraordinary degree with the poor of Norwich, whereas, I appeal to the recollection of the Houfe, whether I did not bar and anticipate this mifconception and application to the poor of that town. I faid, that the diftreffes of the war were not great, and that thofe who moft loudly complained of them had not felt their preffure at all, not fo much as in the relinquifhment of the moft trifling luxury, and between the rich and poor there is an indiffoluble bond and mutual dependance. They are not feparate interefts, but one, neither of which can be affected without operating in the fame proportion on the other. My affertions are thus anfwered. I faid, that a certain defcription of people had not felt the burden of which they had complained. He anfwers me, that others do. I faid, that no burdens were at prefent felt. He anfwers me, that they will be felt. What courfe of candour and fair reafoning is a match for this fhifting fubtlety; is it, I afk, a culpable degree of ariftocracy, to deny the competence of the lower orders of fociety in queftions of peace and war? The direct object of any war muft be allowed trifling, compared to the expence of men and treafure, which the moft fuccefsful termination could be eftimated at. It is the remote and complicated

objects of war that form the justification of the measure, and neither the ability nor information of the poor enable them to be fit judges of these subjects. It was the great art of people who pretended to think otherwise, to rouse the passions of the people, and not to inform or exercise their judegments, for which they had in fact the most sovereign contempt. In any war which those gentlemen might or ever had approved, would they consult those opinions which they now thought proper to exalt into consequence for purposes of their own? They ask where is the conspiracy, and deny its existence, because there is not legal and technical proof. They contend that there is no danger, because the danger happens not to fall within the precise line of former example. Whereas the danger now is entirely of the novel kind. A new order of things is looked for, and every previous right and established law is regarded as antiquated prejudice, and inimical to the interests of the people. But can gentlemen, after expatiating on the precise limits of ancient treason, turn short round and say, that there is no danger, because it is not precisely of that kind which ancient experience pointed out, and guarded against? In those days, the life of the Monarch was in danger directly, and that offence was dreaded, and guarded against. Now we have to look to the base and insidious incitement of the lower orders, as the prevailing vice. Every bad and restless passion is called forth under pretence of right and reason. The natural and inevitable distress, which is inherent under all Governments, is made the ground of accusation against that Constitution which secures to us the least proportion of those evils which ever existed in one community. I mean not to impute any censure to the jurymen who acquitted the persons accused, as the charge was apparently remote from the death of His Majesty; and plain and honest men are not always possessed of that strength and search of understanding which is necessary to detect cunning and concerted fraud. Many shades of distinction might reasonably be supposed to occur to them from the length and intricacy of the case, and wherever doubt occurs a jury is universally inclined to acquit. It is curious, however, to remark, that when the Report of the Secret Committee was brought forward, it was said, what is your proof, where is your evidence of the facts? And from the silence on these heads it was inferred, that no proof existed. Now the facts, however, are established upon oath, yet fresh objections are instantly stated. On my part, I cannot wish for a more complete refutation of all these patriotic doubts and surmises relative to the plots, than the bare and simple reading of the documents produced in evidence. In this much-vaunted respect for the verdict of a jury, I think that

I perceive something of a confined view; for this verdict seems only immaculate and conclusive when it acquits, and instantly that it convicts, its whole nature is changed; *eo instanti* the jury become, as by the touch of a magic wand, transformed into a packed set of hirelings. Who can forbear this observation, who sees the same man celebrate the jury who acquitted Hardy, Tooke, and Thelwall, who had before thought so little of the jury that had condemned Watt and Downie, though their verdict was backed by the confession of the convict, in a state when every man's word was taken, namely, on the point of death. In all the praises of verdicts, this verdict had, by some strange accident, been kept out of sight. We state that there have been plans and views, call them conspiracies, or by any other name, of the most mischievous nature, to stir up and incite the poor to dissatisfaction and tumult, and finally to insurrection and plunder. But who shall want converts, who tell the poor that the rich are usurpers, and that they have a right to reprisals? Should this be said only to exist in theory, we recur to the practice of a great nation, who had more than realised the most terrible expectations of the most timid. These modern engineers know better than to attack the life of a king directly, and therefore think to elude the provisions of the statutes of treason; they, on the contrary, approach the walls of the town by regular siege, and the honourable gentleman contends that we are from the walls to see them, without molestation, complete their works and prepare their mines. To satisfy us of the great prudence and propriety of this conduct, he adverts to a novel and extravagant philosophical doctrine of national character, which he thinks totally unconnected with soil and situation, but did it never occur to him, whatever influence Government may have on character, character originally modifies Government, and is therefore the prime cause of the ultimate effect. Among other paradoxes he seems to have found out, that nations have no character in common, and are not to take any example from each other.

In speaking of the present corruption and depravity of France, he refers all to the effect of the old Government; whereas we find that these effects increase in the exact proportion as the new Government recedes from the old, and becomes distinctly established. This paradox, however, is not new with the honourable gentleman of attributing all the errors and excesses of the present state of France to the ancient Government, and he seems to adhere to it with all the frenzy and fondness which men usually shew to their most extravagant opinions. If, indeed, this deplorable effect were owing to the old Government of France, we should see its effect follow up

closely the destruction of that system; whereas nothing could be greater than the exit of that Government which now lies buried under the ruins of all that was excellent in the country. The honourable gentleman has another solution also for this difficulty, namely, the war. The war, he says, has conduced to this state of savage desperation in which we find France. But why, it might be asked, have not other wars and similar difficulties produced the same effect in other nations? Because they were not debased and corrupted by the Governments which directed them. This is, however, the poor and common resort of all empirics. If the case does not succeed, it is from this thing or that, and every thing but their own ignorance and want of skill. They were called in too late, the previous treatment was bad, and killed the patient before they came. Mean, paltry, and unworthy argument!

The honourable gentleman asks if the example of the people of France is more to be dreaded here than that of Kings in Europe, whom with him we might have been induced to call despots, if the liberty of France had not buried all former despotism in the excess of its cruelty and oppression. Triumphant as this argument may seem, nothing is more easily answered. If you reduce the people of this country to the miserable state of the people of France, they will act the same, from the operation of the paramount and leading features of our nature. So, if you reduce a King of England to the state of the Monarchs of Europe, he will act the same. What we deplore and deprecate is, the attempt by sly and insidious means to seduce the people of this country from the noble and honest character they had for ages possessed. The main question between us now is, whether these Associations honestly and really proposed, however erroneously, a parliamentary reform, as it is called, or, under that pretence, the utter subversion of the constitution? Let any man look to the evidence on the late trials, and say honestly from his heart which was in view. There was another object of the honourable gentleman's animadversion and censure, which however was so general and loose, that I find not so much a difficulty in answering it as to understand it. Some charges can no more be replied to, than the scolding of a fishwoman in Billingsgate. Does the honourable gentleman mean to say that it is dishonourable to accept of office?—[No, from the other side.] No! Then if he gives up that, he gives up all that he has advanced on that subject. The calumnies cast on such things are only to be resisted by the shield of character; to that my noble friends and I resort. I am truly sorry the honourable gentleman is not ashamed of such low, mean traffic. I defy him to shew a single circumstance that can tend to cast the shadow

of doubt on our conduct. The malice of the design is so corrected by the impotency of the effort, that I will not sacrifice a word in answering it. The honourable gentleman has asked why we did not continue, as at first, to give honourable support to Ministers, without joining them? Would not support, without responsibility annexed to it, be mean, be dishonest? In fact, if I had not come into an ostensible office, where would the honourable gentleman have found that responsible character with which he threatens me in future. Of these personal allusions I can only recollect one more, namely, that if I took an ostensible office, I should have resigned the emolument of it. Does he mean this as a general principle; and if not, why is the exception to be made? As often as this idea has been agitated, it has as often been rejected by the best and wisest of men, and all attempts to reduce it to practice have been regarded as a mean and paltry lure to popularity. He is called upon, therefore, to explain himself more fully on this head, and should disdain to come forward with dark assertions, which he dare not openly avow. I think I have now noticed all the parts of the honourable gentleman's speech, which had a personal allusion, either to me or the eminent characters who came into office at the same time. The more general topics of his speech I shall leave to the refutation, as I promised in my outset, of those who are equally ready and more able than I am.

Mr. HARDINGE said, that in justice to the right honourable gentleman who spoke last, and to himself, he was anxious to declare, that the sentiment alluded to, relating to the commerce and constitution of the country, had come from him, and not from Mr. Windham; nor was he ashamed now to repeat, that if the unfortunate difficulty should ever arrive when he must sacrifice either one or the other, he would say, "Perish commerce, live the constitution." This he should have openly avowed before, if he had not thought that it was generally known and needless, as, however, a farther misunderstanding seemed to have gone abroad, he conceived it incumbent on him not to delay the most explicit avowal.

Colonel MAITLAND observed, that he had, in his opinion, fully disclaimed all intention of alluding to the right honourable gentleman, on the part of his noble relation, and he would fain ask, whether the assertion, "that the sentiment had been asserted by authority in the House of Commons," was more likely to allude to the Member for Norwich, who had then no office in Administration, or Her Majesty's Solicitor General?

So much for the first point, as to the second, relating to the anecdote of the Rockingham party, that he knew had been taken

from the most authoritative registers of the times. And sure he was that no man in or out of that House would scorn more an insidious or unfounded attack than the noble Lord alluded to. It was a fact well known, whether the right honourable gentleman went or not, that the Duke of Portland did attend meetings for a parliamentary reform, and at one of them preferred a complaint of some transaction in the House of Lords.

Mr. WINDHAM said, that he spoke with certainty only to himself; as to the other characters named, he spoke as to his sincere belief; though if being present by accident or for a particular and distinct purpose, was to be construed into an attendance for the radical purposes of the meeting, he might, for ought he knew, be implicated like the noble Duke.

The Marquis of TITCHFIELD declared, that to his knowledge his noble relation did never attend any meeting, to partake in or countenance any measure of parliamentary reform, though he had attended many to procure economical reforms; and in confirmation of this, he ventured to appeal to the recollection of his right honourable friend (Mr. Fox).

Mr. FOX declared, that it was certainly his opinion that the Duke of Portland had always been an enemy to parliamentary reform, but that it was also equally true, that at the period alluded to, there were meetings which the Duke of Portland attended, and in which the idea of a reform in Parliament was not discouraged.—There was a meeting in Westminster, which met several times, and recommended as a proper object of reform a reform in Parliament. That meeting the Duke did attend. His Grace stated to that meeting what had passed in the House of Lords on the speech of the late Marquis of Downshire, and the Committee came to a resolution in consequence of that statement. These remarks were material to prove that his Grace not only considered the principle of public meetings as not improper, but as laudable. With respect to the other persons alluded to in the note in the Earl of Lauderdale's letters, it was not true of them, that they were inimical to the principles of Parliamentary reform. Of this principle they invariably approved; and if it were necessary he would state the precise opinion which the Marquis of Rockingham entertained upon the subject.

Mr. ERSKINE said, that, in order to discuss with precision the expediency of repealing the act which the motion sought to repeal, it was necessary to consider upon what principles, and under what circumstances, it had passed in the former session; because the question ultimately would be, Whether a necessity for passing it ever existed? and, if it did, whether it still continued to exist? The act

which the motion fought to repeal was, an act introduced upon the fpur of a neceffity affumed to be imminent, to fufpend the operation of a law which no Minifter that ever fhall exift in England would dare to abrogate; a law, without which England has no conftitution; a law which the people obtained by the virtue and firmnefs of their anceftors, after a great crifis in the Government, and which they could not, and would not, fubmit to part with. To do juftice to the Minifter, for he would mifreprefent no man, this truth was fully admitted by him, when the Sufpenfion bill was prepared. The fufpenfion of any law was admitted to be the higheft act of authority, which the Legiflature of this country never delegates to the higheft Magiftrates, even the moft infignificant law under which the fubject lives and is protected; *a fortiori*, a law upon which the very being of public liberty depended. But it was faid, and truly faid, for he admitted the propofition, though he denied the application, that there are conjunctures in all States, in which laws made for univerfal protection muft yield to a paramount neceffity, and that, as Blackftone fays, the nation, in fuch cafe of imminent neceffity, parts with its liberty for a fhort feafon to fecure it for ever. The exiftence of this paramount neceffity was, therefore, affumed by the Minifter in the laft feffion of Parliament, when, after having advifed His Majefty to arreft the perfons and to feize the papers of many of his fubjects, he further advifed him to fend a meffage to that Houfe upon the fubject, which was brought by the Secretary of State on the 12th of May laft. This meffage informed the Houfe, that His Majefty had difcovered the exiftence of a traitorous confpiracy to hold a Convention, which was to fubvert the Government, and affume to itfelf all the functions of Parliament. He faid, that he read the terms of the meffage, to fhew that the Houfe did not fufpend the Habeas Corpus act upon a vague undefined fufpicion of a conjectural confpiracy, but upon what appeared to it to amount to fufficient evidence of a diftinct fpecific treafonable confpiracy againft the Government: not, as Mr. Windham had ftated it, a general fufpicion of undefined danger from feditious libellers or difturbers of the peace, but a pofitive, accurately delineated and defined confpiracy, to hold the Convention, which was to fufpend the functions of Parliament. His Majefty's meffage, and the papers it referred to, were, in confequence of it, referred to a Secret Committee; that Secret Committee, by its Report, publifhed the evidence, and declared the exiftence of the fame defined fpecific confpiracy: The Chancellor of the Exchequer then moved for the fufpenfion of the Habeas Corpus, on the fame fpecific ground, and the preamble of the act itfelf recited its exiftence.

The Habeas Corpus act then stood suspended to the 1st of February, not as to a day that had any thing particular in it; not as an epoch in the country; but as to a period within which the House expected that what had happened would take place; viz. that the matter contained in the Reports *on ex parte evidence* would be confirmed or negatived, and explained in the judicial proceedings set in motion by the House in consequence of its answer to the Crown. The Attorney General's duty, therefore, under all these circumstances, was to set the criminal law in motion—to point it to the charges made by the House—judiciously to prepare the charge, judiciously to select the most proper criminals upon the evidence, and so to arrange the evidence, that the grand jury, and afterwards the petty jury, should have the full view of all that the two Houses had prepared. The indictment was therefore prepared, and ably prepared, to meet the whole case, and accurately pursued the views of Parliament; and it charged, therefore, as the crime, the conspiracy to hold this specific Convention for the traitorous purposes assumed by the Reports. The questions of fact, therefore, submitted to the jury, were, whether the defendants compassed and imagined the King's death? and, whether, in pursuance of that traitorous purpose, they conspired to hold a Convention, which Convention should assume the functions of Parliament? and, whether they conspired to provide arms for that traitorous purpose? and, whether they published the various papers published in the Reports, with the traitorous purpose, *i. e.* either to hold a Convention for the traitorous purposes charged, or, to levy war and rebellion, generally against the King? The Grand Jury, which sat, like the House of Commons, on *ex parte* evidence only, found the bill. Indeed they were differently circumstanced from every other Grand Jury: for they had before found the bill by their representatives in Parliament. And, independently of that legal fiction, they were bending beneath the authority of the King, and the two Houses of Parliament; whose pre-judgment had loaded the press for months together. And upon this charge, with greater difficulties to struggle with than he ever recollected in his private practice, the parties were put upon their trials. They severed in their defences, and the Crown had its election, whom it would try first; and Hardy was fixed upon, on every principle which could guide professional men in the exercise of a great public duty. for he might be said to be privy to what he called the whole body of the evidence. The case of Hardy was opened by the Attorney General, who had been an active Member of the House during the conjuncture which led to the trials, and a Member of the Secret Committee; who, be-

ſides, attended the King's Miniſters aſſembled in Council; who was preſent at all examinations; and who, added to theſe advantages, had, he believed, inſpected and ſtudied every paper the moſt remotely connected with the cauſe; and who was more maſter of all their bearings, than he could have ſuppoſed the human mind capable of containing, above all learned and intelligent men, upon ſuch traſh as this Houſe had ſet it to work on. Mr. Erſkine then ſaid, that he was prepared to ſhew, by the ſequel of the proceedings, that the juries by their verdicts had, not merely by probable inference, but almoſt directly and technically, negatived the exiſtence of the conſpiracy, upon which the ſuſpenſion of the Habeas Corpus avowedly was founded. In order to eſtabliſh this, he ſaid, that the Attorney General had divided the cauſe into three branches: Firſt, Whether the treaſonable conſpiracy charged by the Reports, and which was made the foundation of the indictment, exiſted at all in any body? Secondly, Whether the priſoner, Hardy, had a ſhare in it? Thirdly, What was the legal conſequence of the eſtabliſhment of theſe two propoſitions of fact? On offering the firſt branch of the evidence, he (Mr. Erſkine) had objected to reading the writings, and proving the acts of a great number of perſons ſcattered throughout the kingdom; moſt of whom, indeed moſt of whoſe exiſtences, were unknown to Mr. Hardy. He had inſiſted, that the connection between the actors and writers with the priſoner ſhould firſt have been eſtabliſhed, before the minds of the jury ſhould have been affected by their actions or their writings. He did not, he ſaid, mean to argue that point, or to conſider its legality: It was enough for him, which was every thing to the preſent purpoſe, that it was over-ruled by the Court, becauſe it let in the whole evidence which the Houſe had collected—every thing in both Reports, and a hundred times more: All that any man in any ſociety in England or Scotland, profeſſing the objects of reform, had done, or written, or ſaid, even the whole, or the moſt material part of the evidence againſt Watt, at Edinburgh; Watt, the ſpy of Government, who was hanged to ſet the thing a-going. If the priſoner's counſel had prevailed in their objection, it might have been ſaid, with ſome air of truth, that the jury had not before them all the materials for judgment, which had been before the Houſe: or, if any technical legal objection had been ſucceſsfully made, to the relevancy or admiſſibility of any part of the Report, the ſame thing might have been ſaid: Or if it had been ſaid before the jury *alio intuitu*; if it had been offered as proof of a criminal diſpoſition in the priſoner Hardy, and not of a general conſpiracy, the ſame plauſible argument might have been employed, but he undertook to

ſhew, firſt, that the whole Report, or as much of it as the Attorney General thought ſuitable to the purpoſe, was received in evidence at the trial, that no objection prevailed againſt it, and that it was given in evidence directly and technically to eſtabliſh the very propoſition predicated by the Houſe in its Report; ſo much ſo, that the Chief Juſtice, following the arrangement of the Attorney General, expreſsly and repeatedly ſtated to the counſel and the jury, that the general evidence was not evidence which could affect the priſoner, unleſs afterwards brought home to him; but that it was received to eſtabliſh the exiſtence of a conſpiracy, without which he could not have conſpired, viz. A conſpiracy to hold a Convention for the ſubverſion of the Conſtitution, which the indictment charged; the identical ſpecific conſpiracy aſſerted in the preamble of the ſuſpending ſtatute, founded upon the Reports of the two Houſes of Parliament. It was plain from this view of the trials, which no man could deny, that the major propoſition of fact, without which neither any ſecondary matter of fact, as affecting the individual, or any matter of law for the Court to conſider of, could ariſe, was the belief of the jury, that a general conſpiracy, ſuch as the indictment charged, exiſted ſomewhere. The Lord Chief Juſtice had expreſsly put the cauſe in that way in ruling the admiſſibility of the general evidence on Hardy's trial. He ſaid, that there were two queſtions of fact, and a legal concluſion, if the facts rendered any legal concluſion neceſſary: Firſt, whether the conſpiracy, as charged, exiſted at all; and ſecondly, whether Hardy was party to it; and thirdly, what was the legal conſequence if the two propoſitions of fact were eſtabliſhed. If, ſaid the Court, addreſſing the priſoner's counſel, the jury are not convinced of the firſt, *cadet queſtio*, your client is not reſponſible, there is no matter of fact for application to the priſoner, and no law for me to deliver. This ſtatement was undoubtedly correct, ſince the only way that the debated queſtion of treaſon could ariſe was, whether the exiſtence of the conſpiracy, charged by the indictment, if found by the jury, did amount, either by inference of law, or irreſiſtible concluſion from fact, to a compaſſing of the King's death? Mr. Erſkine ſaid, he built this argument upon the foundation of juſtice to the Attorney General, which he willingly rendered; for he never contended that a thouſand libels on Parliament put together, could amount to the crime charged, nor the moſt ſeditious intention of approaching Parliament by ſeditious, riotous, tumultuous aſſemblies; but only that if the priſoners contemplated utterly to ſubvert the whole conſtitutional authorities, including the King's prerogative, thereby deſtroying the regal office, which no King was likely to ſurvive, that this

was a compaſſing the King's death, without any evidence of a direct conſpiracy againſt his perſon. Whether this be law or not, is luckily wholly and abſolutely irrelevant to the view he meant to take of this queſtion; and therefore he proteſted againſt giving the Houſe any juriſdiction upon it in this poſture of debate, for very obvious reaſons. He had already delivered his opinion on the ſubject; and though he by no means agreed that an advocate was bound in his own perſon for any ſtatement of the law as counſel at the bar (a curious and a dangerous propoſition for the country), yet he did voluntarily and ſolemnly now declare that his opinion did go along with all that he delivered upon the trial on the ſubject, and that he believed it was an opinion which no argument nor any length of time would change. This, he ſaid, was a mere digreſſion, as it would be folly to ſuppoſe that the Houſe ſhould ſupport his opinion in oppoſition to that on which it had ſtaked its character with the country; and he was therefore ready, for argument's ſake, to ſuppoſe the law to be as the Houſe had declared it; and that upon the matter before the Houſe, when viewed *ex parte* only, that there was a reaſonable ground for believing in the ſuppoſed conſpiracy; becauſe ſtill the queſtion before the Houſe returned back in its genuine ſhape, viz. Whether, after the judicial inquiry, which the Houſe always intended ſhould decide the queſtion, and which could alone decide it, the conſpiracy which the Houſe had believed, and, for argument's ſake, had reaſonably believed, on viewing one ſide of the evidence, could now be conſtitutionally believed and acted upon, after deciſions founded upon the view of both? To decide this queſtion with incontrovertible force, he ſaid, that it was clear to demonſtration that the jury could not have acquitted Hardy upon any other principle upon earth, conſiſtently with common honeſty and common ſenſe, than upon the utter diſbelief of the exiſtence of the major propoſition of fact, *i. e.* of a conſpiracy, ſuch as the indictment charged, exiſting at all. Whoever would read the Attorney General's opening, which was publiſhed by Mr. Gurney, would ſee this illuſtrated with great force. The Houſe could not complain that its cauſe was not wholly and entirely laid before the jury; for the Attorney General, purſuing the views of the Houſe, maintained, and with great ability, firſt, that a conſpiracy, ſuch as was charged, to ſubvert the Government, actually exiſted, and that the whole body of the evidence manifeſted that ſpecific conſpiracy; ſecondly, that Hardy was a party to it; and laſtly the concluſion of law, which, as he had obſerved already, could not ariſe, till both the facts ſtood eſtabliſhed as a foundation for it.

The Attorney General having maintained the major propoſition,

by laying before the jury the whole mafs of the Reports, with a variety of other matter, the benevolent invention of fpies, felons, and mifcreants, next proceeded to maintain that to which, he confeffed, he faw then, and faw now, no poffible anfwer, viz. that, if the confpiracy exifted, Hardy was neceffarily involved in it; and he never fhould forget, if he were to live for ages, the emotion of his mind upon this part of the argument, which he always confidered to be invulnerable. He had faid at the moment, to his worthy and learned affociate Mr. Gibbs, that if, ftooping under the preffure of prejudice, or diftracted by the extent of the materials, the jury fhould be led to fuppofe that a general confpiracy exifted, for which undoubtedly there was not the fmalleft foundation, the guilt of Hardy was a mere corollary, and certainly it was; for, take out the correfpondence of Hardy from the evidence, and the whole fabric vanifhed like an enchantment. He was fecretary of the moft active and bold fociety; he was, in fact, its founder; he compofed its original inftitution; he was the firft mover to the Convention in Scotland; he was the firft mover, alfo, to the holding of that fecond Convention, the confpiracy to hold which was the charge in the indictment. Whatever was done, he did; whatever was known, he knew: whatever was in contemplation, he contemplated. If there was a confpiracy, he unqueftionably confpired. Mr. Erfkine faid, it fell to his lot to open the cafe of this unfortunate man, and, if he had known what he fhould have then felt, he would have fhrunk back from it; not from the difficulty of the cafe, for he thought that nothing, but from the load of prejudice that hung about it. His learned coadjutor and himfelf having the fame opinions, and being refolved to purfue the fame courfe, they had indeed but one, and that was, to grapple with the exiftence of the confpiracy; for although he did not rafhly and madly admit, that the eftablifhment of the confpiracies neceffarily involved Hardy, yet he never fet about the denial of it, becaufe there were fome propofitions which no prudent advocate would urge: if he urged it, he muft have loft all credit with the honeft and judicious men who were to decide upon his client's life and death. This was fo much the cafe, that the Chief Juftice, in fumming up, divided the caufe into two branches, as it had been before divided upon the arguments for admitting the evidence; and told the jury, that the principal queftion, and which was a mere unmixed matter of fact, was the confpiracy as charged, and Hardy's fhare in it; and after having fummed up the general evidence, he faid, he was forry to fay, that, if that evidence fatiffied them that a Convention was intended to be held for the purpofes charged, the prifoner ftood in an awful predicament; for he not

only ſtood implicated in the larger part of it, but that it had been but feebly urged by his counſel that he was not. The judge ſaid true: We forbore to urge it, becauſe we knew that it was not tenable ground. As little reliance had we upon the law as we ſtated it; for, though we were firmly convinced that the defence was invulnerable in point of law, not only by the ſtatute, but even by all the authorities, yet we did not expect that the jury would prefer our ſtatement as advocates to the judgment of the Court, whether well or ill founded, but we looked to the great ſheet-anchor of the cauſe, viz. The groſs falſehood and abſurdity of the ſuppoſed conſpiracy, on which we replied, and on which we prevailed. The jury, after retiring a very ſhort time, pronounced Mr. Hardy not guilty, to the very general ſatisfaction of the Public, as it was at leaſt generally underſtood, and the Court adjourned for ſome days. On the trial of Mr. Horne Tooke, the Chief Juſtice, ſo far from bringing into doubt or queſtion the propriety of the former verdict, reminded us that, in point of technical form, the verdict ſhould be proved; and nothing was hinted from Bar or Bench, that there was the ſmalleſt cauſe of diſſatisfaction. Mr. Horne Tooke being of the Conſtitutional Society, moſt of the addreſſes to Paine, relative to France, were brought home to him; yet they were found to be perfectly conſiſtent with an attachment to the forms of our Government: And why were they not? How can it be inconſiſtent with the ſubject of a free Government, to congratulate another nation for aſſerting its freedom, though in a diſſimilar form? When ſhall we get rid of bugbears, which are conjured up for our diſgrace and our deſtruction? The acquittal of Mr. Tooke, he next ſaid, was a moſt important place to reſt in the matter before the Houſe; it was a great æra in the proceedings, in his own opinion, quite deciſive of what the Houſe ought to do that day. In order to ſtate what was done with preciſion, they muſt look firſt to ſee who the perſons indicted were, and what was the direct evidence againſt them. The Attorney General had properly fixed on, as defendants, thoſe who had taken active ſteps as Members, conferring and co-operating towards the holding the Convention; for the only perſons comprehended in the conſpiracy were the Members above mentioned, and Mr. Hardy, the Secretary to the Correſponding Society.

On Mr. Tooke's acquittal, Mr. Joyce, Mr. Holcroft, Mr. Kydd, and Mr. Bonney, the only indicted members of the Conſtitutional Society, were diſcharged by conſent; and at that period that their evidence might be given for the next priſoner. On what principle were theſe four gentlemen diſcharged? Upon two principles only: by two, he meant two uniting together. Firſt, that Mr. Horne

Tooke was honestly and justly acquitted; else his acquittal generated no conclusion in favour of others, who stood in a similar predicament. Secondly, that he being innocent, they could not be guilty. And the reason was obvious, for they were engaged in the same object, be it good or evil. The only remaining prisoners under this indictment, were Mr Thelwall, and the other five members of the Corresponding Society, who were members of the same committee of co operation. And on the trial of Mr. Thelwall, the chief justice found the acquittal of Mr. Hardy and Mr. Tooke, and the others acquitted by consent, directly in his way: he said, the chief justice—for none of the jury, nor any of the audience, ever entertained a moment's doubt on any part of the case. And to be sure, the consequence of the acquittals was irresistible: for how could one individual be conspiring with others acquitted? And how could their innocence and his guilt stand consistent? How could the two societies be innocent, who appointed traitorous committees for traitorous purposes, and who received traitorous reports, if they were traitorous? And how could twelve persons meet for the express purpose of subverting the Government, and yet six of them should not know what five of the others contemplated? And yet this shameful farce was kept up at an expence ruinous to individuals, until it was fairly beat down by the honest enthusiasm and indignation of a people, which it, in a manner, roused as from a deep sleep. It only remained to see how all these proceedings affected the case before the House. They had suspended the Habeas Corpus act on the assumed existence, on *ex parte evidence*, of a specific conspiracy detailed with the greatest accuracy; and they had suspended it for the purpose of judicial trials. They had not convicted one man in England, and they had made the country a scene of triumph at their defeat.---Did they mean to state to the House to go on with the new prosecutions to establish this conspiracy to hold a Convention? If they said yes, let them state the progress: who were the criminals? What were their numbers? and why are they not now ready for trial? But supposing they meant to go on, and were still unprepared for trial, the Habeas Corpus act had no operations on treason which would affect the case; they might postpone the trial, under the wise exception provided in the Habeas Corpus act, that the prisoner shall not be bailed or discharged, though not brought to trial in the ordinary course, provided it appears upon oath that the witnesses for the crown are absent. Supposing, therefore, that individuals were still suspected of or charged with treason, or even with this specific treason, now that the matter has been so fully and fairly investigated, why could they not be pro-

ceeded upon according to law, without a total suspension of the liberties of the whole nation? Why cannot individuals be brought in this as in any other case to justice, without arming the crown with a dangerous authority, which its ministers, in some of the stages of subordination, would, in the nature of things, abuse, and which could not be vindicated upon any principle of general utility or safety? He could not help thinking that this argument pressed more than is conceded, when, notwithstanding the acquiescence of the crown, the verdicts, without being constitutionally questioned, were sought to be discredited; and because that could not be done with effect, the very trial by jury itself was to be brought into disrepute. The honourable gentleman who had spoke last (Mr. Windham), instead of speaking to the question, had deliberately defended himself against the attacks of Mr. Sheridan, and seemed to think every body bound to subscribe to his acquittal upon his bare word: for he had called no witnesses, not even to his character, which was his principal defence. He did not wish to question the honourable gentleman's defence, even under these circumstances. How much more then should he respect the cases of men who had called witnesses, and who had been acquitted by their country! He was sorry, he said, to see these peevish observations in that place, not because they affected the trial by jury, the value of which was too deeply rooted in the hearts of every Englishman to be impaired by any observations, but because it brought the House of Commons into disrepute, which was already but too much sunk in the estimation of the people. This consideration, he said, led to the only remaining topic, the policy of rejecting the motion. Was this a time, he said, for us to affront and teaze the people with groundless jealousies? We, their servants and their representatives—if we, instead of sitting here, the popular branch of Government, to protect them, charge them with vague, unfounded conspiracies, take care that the charge is not reverberated on us. Above all, let us attend with prudence to the present calamitous conjuncture. If in consequence your enemies, whom you affect to despise, with whom you will not, whom, it seems, you cannot treat with—if they should, as perhaps they may be in a short season upon our coasts to invade us—if the present system continues, who is to defend the country? Who but this insulted people whom you calumniate? The people only can do it, and they only will do it, as they feel an interest worth the exertion. Let the right honourable gentleman attend to the maxim happily expressed by the poet, and no less happily applied by his great father to the case of alienated America:

"Be to their virtues very kind,
Be to their faults a little blind;
Let all their ways be unconfin'd,
And clap a padlock on their mind."

Mr. Serjeant ADAIR said, that before he entered into the general question which had been brought under the consideration of the House, he wished to guard them against a fallacy and misapprehension which had arisen from the popular description of the act in question, and of other acts of a similar nature. They had been called *Suspensions of the Habeas Corpus Act*, but that title was by no means applicable to them, in the extent in which it had been applied, and he hoped the House was sensible that, while certain gentlemen were stating that the palladium of English liberty was destroyed by the suspension of the Habeas Corpus act, that only one single clause of that most excellent act, that was applicable to the offence of high treason, had been in fact suspended; all the rest of that valuable act was left untouched, and in the full possession of the people of this country, as much as if no such act as that of the last session had ever taken place. The act of last session suspended that clause by which persons indicted for high treason were entitled to be tried within a limited and precise time. If Ministers had used the power conferred upon them by that act illegally and wantonly, and had deprived the subjects of this country of their liberty without any probable cause, he had no difficulty to state, as a lawyer, that the persons so treated would have an action of false imprisonment. Whoever abused that power, and maliciously and without probable cause deprived a subject of this country of his liberty on a charge of high treason, was amenable to the laws of England. The remedy provided by those laws was not affected by any thing in the present act, and on the contrary, it would appear to be a great aggravation for any Minister, acting under the power conferred by this bill, to violate the trust reposed in him, and maliciously, and without any probable cause, to deprive a subject of England of his liberty. It had been most industriously stated out of doors, that by the Habeas Corpus suspension bill, all the rights and liberties of Englishmen had been surrendered into the hands of Ministers. For what purpose those misrepresentations had been made, was best known to those who had made them. He fully and entirely acquitted his honourable and learned friend (Mr. Erskine) of every thing of that sort. The question for their consideration was, whether there was any thing now before the House to induce them to repeal that act before the time assigned for its expiration. That must depend on one or other of these two que-

stions—Whether there was any thing to satisfy that House, that they had originally passed the act under any mistake of the then existing circumstances, or whether any thing had passed since that time that had removed the original ground upon which the act was founded. With respect to the first point, so little had been attempted to impeach it, that it seemed there was nothing to answer upon that. Many circumstances clearly shewed, that when the suspension act passed, there did exist an urgent and weighty necessity which was stated, and which he agreed ought to take place before any part of the Habeas Corpus act ought to be repealed. An urgent and weighty necessity actually did exist, and there had no argument been advanced to shew that it did not. It remained, therefore, to enquire whether there had any thing occurred which had done away that ground, which had been decided upon by the wisdom of Parliament. Upon that, hardly any thing more was to be said than upon the former point. It was necessary for those gentlemen who moved for the repeal of the suspension bill, to shew to the satisfaction of the House, either that no conspiracy existed at all, or if it had existed, that it had now been completely done away, and ceased to exist at that moment. The gentlemen on the other side of the House, and particularly his honourable and learned friend, had boldly stated, that the late trials at the Old Bailey had disproved the existence of a conspiracy. He said he was very much surprised at the language he had heard respecting the effect of the verdicts of Juries. He believed that no man who heard him had an higher respect than he for that institution, but he was very far from thinking that the institution of Juries would either be advantageous to individuals or to the general administration of justice, if the verdicts of Juries were to be attended with those effects which had been stated by some gentlemen.—It came to this general proposition, that by the verdict of acquittal of a Jury, the innocence of a party acquitted was completely and for ever, and in all cases, established beyond all doubt and controversy. That was a proposition to which he could not agree; and notwithstanding the high language of his honourable and learned friend (Mr. Erskine), notwithstanding the supposed insult to the prisoners that had been acquitted, notwithstanding the surprize expressed by some persons, he could never agree with his honourable and learned friend that it was not constitutional, that it was not decent, that it was not proper, whenever the occasion should occur, even to arraign the verdict of a Jury, *in that House*, whenever the truth and justice of the case should warrant it, and whenever that enquiry became necessary, for the decision of the question under deliberation. If that was

so, what was to become of the superintending power of Parliament, of that power which, by the Constitution, was lodged in them for correcting the abuses of every part of the administration of justice from the highest to the lowest? What was to become of the controul of Parliament over corrupt judges, to impeach them, if the verdict of a jury was to weigh down the rights of Parliament? The controul of Parliament was the only remedy provided by the Constitution for suppressing the corruption of judges, as well as for removing, as much as possible, every defect in every part of the administration of justice. If it was done on just grounds, and with decency, it was the duty of every Member of Parliament to point out all such abuses. At the same time the learned Serjeant admitted, that if it was done on frivolous and weak grounds, a man must expose himself. But to say that it was not orderly, that it was not proper, that it was not constitutional to arraign in that House, the improper conduct of any person, from the highest to the lowest, who was concerned in the executive or judicial Government in the country, excited his surprize. He said he held himself perfectly at liberty, and he laid in his claim without the least reserve, that if he thought the verdicts in question were reprehensible in any respect, if he thought they were corrupt, he held himself perfectly at liberty to say so to that House; there was nothing in the case that called on him for that, there was nothing before the House that called on him to arraign the verdicts of the late juries at the Old Bailey, because the principles of the administration of criminal justice gave the fullest reputation to all the consequences which had been attempted to be drawn from those verdicts. His honourable and learned friend had very properly stated, that it was the duty of the grand jury to interpose between the Sovereign and the subject, to prevent the subject being vexed and harrassed with a frivolous prosecution.—What was the duty of a Grand Jury? In the first place, they ought to be clearly satisfied, that the *charge* stated in the indictment preferred to them, *existed*. On that point, it was the duty of the Grand Jury to have clear and satisfactory evidence, otherwise they were not faithful to their oaths. They ought not to present any criminal to be tried, till they were satisfied the *offence* charged *actually existed*, and had been committed by *some body*. Another thing of which they ought to be satisfied, was *not* that the person charged was *guilty*, but that the existence of the offence being established, there was a probable ground laid for charging the particular person with it, against whom the indictment was preferred, that there was such a reasonable presumption of his guilt as to make it fit and proper to put him on his trial, in order to account for the

conduct before a Jury of his country. The business, therefore, of a Grand Jury, was to see that the crime described in the indictment, had an existence in the country, and there must also be a probable presumption of the guilt of the person named in the indictment. The finding, therefore, of the Grand Jury, established two propositions, (as far as the authority of their opinion could decide) that the *conspiracy* which was the subject of the indictment, had an actual existence, and that there was probable cause for imputing that conspiracy to the persons accused. The next consideration was the Petty Jury in contra-distinction to the Grand Jury. When in a civil case, a question of property between man and man came to be decided by a Jury in a Court of Justice, they must decide one way or another. They must either give their verdict for the plaintiff or the defendant. They must form a judgment on the evidence, and according to its preponderancy, give the property either to the one or the other. But if the Jury were so to decide in a criminal case, they would neither do justice to the prisoner nor the public. It is they duty to be clearly satisfied he is guilty of the charge against him, otherwise they ought to acquit him. It was not enough that there was a preponderancy of evidence against him. He did not mean there should be demonstration, because the affairs of human life did not admit of that species of evidence. But if there was a sound and well-weighed doubt, that ought to weigh in the mind of sober and discreet men, their duty in such case is to acquit the prisoner. Such a verdict was not founded, as in a civil case, on the preponderancy of the evidence, but on a reasonable doubt of the guilt of the defendant. This, he said, was not only the general law, but that was the explanation of the law given to the Jury, who found the verdicts in question, by the learned Judge, Chief Justice Eyre, who presided at the late State Trials. But there was another principle in the criminal law of England, to wit, HUMANITY, and according to that principle, it was held to be better for the administration of justice, that twenty guilty persons should escape the punishment of the law, than that one innocent person should be punished. Did not that very principle presume, that twenty guilty persons might be properly, honourably, and judicially acquitted? The proposition itself implies it; and he admitted it was better for the public and for humanity, as well as for the administration of criminal justice. This was a maxim of the law of England, and every man of generous and honourable feelings went along with it.

This, then, being the nature of criminal proceedings, and this being the principle of the criminal law of England, was it possible to contend as a general principle, consistent with common sense,

that a verdict of acquittal was, in the mind and conscience, a proof of the innocence of the party acquitted. It was inconsistent with the rules of criminal law, and of criminal justice. But the result of the verdict of acquittal was, the restoring the party acquitted to all legal purposes, in all legal consequences, to the condition of an innocent man. From the circumstance of being acquitted, the party, in the eye of the law, was innocent, as to life, liberty, and property. As far as the law could protect him, he was exempt from all the legal consequences of guilt. That, and that only, was the general effect of a verdict of acquittal.

His honourable and learned friend had stated, that there were three propositions for the consideration of the Court and Jury, at the late trial. 1st, The existence of the conspiracy, 2d, Whether the persons indicted were guilty of it, and, 3d, The law on the subject. His honourable and learned friend (Mr. Erskine) had contended, that the Gentlemen of the Jury must have given their verdict on the first of these propositions, on finding that no conspiracy existed. The learned Serjeant, however, did not see very clearly how his honourable and learned friend could know that the Jury drew their inference from one proposition, which might have been equally drawn from all the three propositions. Unless the Jury themselves had explained from which of the three propositions they had drawn the conclusion, the learned Serjeant thought he was better authorised to argue, that the Jury founded their verdict on the proposition that, in their minds, the evidence was not brought home to the different prisoners. His honourable and learned friend had stated, with a considerable degree of confidence, that on the first trial, in his judgement, it was impossible to acquit on any other ground than a doubt of the existence of that conspiracy. If that had been so, they would not, he conceived, have been entering on that discussion that day. He begged the House to attend to what would have been the probable consequence, if his learned friend had distinctly stated that before the Jury. It was stated both by the Bar and the Bench, that there was first the general evidence to prove the existence of a conspiracy, but that was not sufficient, unless it was brought home to the prisoners. That being the ground stated to the Jury, the existence of the conspiracy was a preliminary question. If it had been the opinion of the learned Judge, that the existence of the conspiracy was not proved, would he have suffered the time of the Court and the Public, for weeks after it was established, to be wasted, if there were no grounds of a conspiracy against any body? If there had been any doubt of its existence, the Jury would not have been kept day after day, and night after night

from their families, till they had gone through the whole body of the evidence, if no ground for a conspiracy had existed. It would have been absurd to have made a long inquiry, whether Mr. Hardy was guilty of a conspiracy, if no conspiracy ever existed. If it had been the opinion of the Jury that no conspiracy had existed after the evidence was gone through on two of the trials, would they have considered for upwards of two hours, whether the defendants were guilty or not? If they had been satisfied the conspiracy did not exist, they would not have spent a moment on such a consideration. If, on the trial of Mr. Hardy, they had found no conspiracy existed, that would have been an answer to the indictment brought against Mr. Tooke, and yet he was five days on his trial; which proved, to a demonstration, that the Jury believed in the existence of a conspiracy somewhere, since they had spent so long a time in investigating whether Mr. Tooke was guilty of it. With respect to all the arguments that had been advanced by his honourable and learned friend, to shew the prisoners could not have been *properly* acquitted, unless the Jury were satisfied that there was no conspiracy, they had made a very strong impression indeed upon his mind. He had treated that point very ably; and, notwithstanding the verdicts of three Juries in favour of the innocence of these gentlemen, his honourable and learned friend had gone a great way to convince him of their guilt. Though it was not his inclination, (because it did not appear to be a necessary part of his duty) to arraign the verdicts of the Juries, he by no means felt himself bound to support them, if, by the arguments of other gentlemen, they were proved to be erroneous. Had his learned friend, in his zeal for disproving the existence of a treasonable conspiracy, succeeded in proving to the House, that, if such a conspiracy did exist, it was impossible, consistent with the evidence, to have acquitted his clients from having had a principal share in the guilt?—had (said the learned Serjeant) his friend who spoke last, successfully established that proposition?—And should it happen, that the House, judging from undisputed facts, and written evidence which could not deceive, should still remain clearly convinced of the truth of the conspiracy in question—Whatever conclusion might be drawn from these two propositions, so stated, against the verdicts of the Juries, his learned friend, and not himself, must be answerable for that conclusion. The House must decide for itself, whether it would abide by, or renounce the opinion declared in its own Reports: Whether, acting in its deliberative capacity, and possessing an equal knowledge of the facts, it would give up its own judgement to that of any Jury, however respectable it might be.

It was not an immaterial circumstance that it was now admitted by the counsel for the prisoners, who, though few in number, were great and respectable, that all the facts on which the two Houses of Parliament had grounded their Reports had been fully established by legal evidence, and he would venture to say, by evidence which had been uncontradicted. His honourable and learned friend had observed, although the facts stated in the Reports were admitted, that the jury had negatived the conclusion. This, the learned Serjeant, for the reasons he had before given, utterly denied. But supposing for a moment that it were so, suppose a jury, admitting all the facts on which Parliament had formed a deliberate judgement, should have thought fit to draw an opposite conclusion, was the House quite prepared to bend to that decision, and surrender to the verdict of a jury the deliberate opinion of the whole Legislature of the kingdom? Could this mode of argument be supported on the principles of common decency or common sense?

The learned Serjeant here, in opposition to Mr. Erskine's statement of the law of high treason, contended, that the law on that subject, as laid down at the late trials, was that which had been held to be the law of the country from the time of Lord Coke down to Lord Chief Justice Eyre.—Every elementary writer that had written on the subject, every Judge who had sat upon the Bench, had uniformly laid down the same principles upon this point.

The King, in his *political*, still more than in his *natural* capacity, was the object of protection in the laws respecting treason, because it was in his political existence, that the stability of the Government, the public tranquillity, and the safety of the State, were most immediately and essentially involved. A direct and express design against the *natural life* of the King, was therefore not necessary to be presumed, to convict of high treason, under the clause of the statute of Edward the Third, for *compassing the King's death*; but every conspiracy to overturn the established Government and *depose* the King, every measure taken to effectuate that purpose, was as much a treason of that description, as a direct attempt to assassinate the Sovereign, in short, it was, in contemplation of law, an *overt act of compassing the King's death*. He forbore, he said, at present, to trouble the House with citing the particular authorities upon this subject, because no authorities had been cited, nor any arguments adduced, in direct support of the contrary proposition. Whenever gentlemen should choose to come forward, he was ready, on any proper occasion, to meet them upon that point.

The eloquent gentleman who introduced the motion for the re-

peal of the Suspension Act, asked if it was high treason for a number of men to meet together *bona fide* for the sake of a Parliamentary Reform?—God forbid, said the learned Serjeant, that any such doctrine should ever be maintained by him, or any Member of that House. He would not say that those persons who had really met for that purpose were either guilty of high treason, or of any other offence; for men, conscientiously acting on the conviction of their own minds, to pursue a temperate reform, by legal and constitutional means, might be innocent, might even be laudable; but thus much he would say, that no means could be legal or constitutional, but such as were sanctioned by the Legislature, as established by the existing laws, acting in the manner, and according to the forms, prescribed by the Constitution. And it was not by the use of the words legal and constitutional, and the flimsy pretext of a Parliamentary Reform, that such measures as these men had dared to adopt, whom an honourable gentleman had been pleased to represent merely as innocent enthusiasts, could escape the indignation of all good men, or ought to be protected from the punishment of the law.

Here the learned Serjeant insisted, that to satisfy every unprejudiced man, that the professed object of a Parliamentary Reform was merely a coloured pretext, and that the real purpose of the popular societies lately established, or at least of those men who directed their operations, was a total subversion of the Constitution of the country, he need only recall the attention of the House to some leading facts already within their knowledge.

The first mode of judging of their intentions which he pointed out was, the books which they disseminated with so much industry, and recommended with so much zeal, to the perusal of their countrymen. That men engaged in the prosecution of any favourite design, would recommend those publications which appeared best adapted to their views, and most likely to persuade others to concur in the same objects, as a general proposition, was too plain to be denied. That, as applied to the case in question, and to the views of those conspirators, which gentlemen on the other side had so strenuously endeavoured to palliate or excuse, it was a fair and candid rule of judging, and no refinement of the Crown lawyers, he would appeal to their own associates, to men of the same description with themselves.

The Revolution Society at Norwich, in a letter of the 4th of May, 1792, to the Constitutional Society in London, expressly say, "The opinions and principles of this Society are *best explained* "by an appeal to their *literary representatives*." Now, Sir, (said the

learned Serjeant) who are those literary representatives? Here, again, they shall speak for themselves—"The Rights of Man, by Thomas "Paine, and the Advice to the Privileged Order, by Joel Barlow, "have been read with attention, and circulated with avidity." Whoever will read the proceedings of the different Societies in London, Southwark, Manchester, Stockport, Leeds, Derby, Leicester, Birmingham, Warwick, Bristol;—in short, of all the popular *affiliated* Societies, formed on the same Jacobin model, throughout the kingdom, will find, that they too have made the same election of literary representatives; and that no representatives could more faithfully have spoken the language, or maintained the principles, of their constituents. Is it not, then, somewhat singular, that, in all the works of these literary representatives of men, who have been boldly stated to pursue no other object but a Parliamentary Reform, there should *not* be found one single word recommending *that* as a desirable or practicable object. But, that it should be uniformly treated as a measure impracticable and absurd; not only, not to be expected from the Legislature, but which that Legislature was absolutely incompetent, in point of authority, to effect?

Having now seen, Sir, (continued the Serjeant) that the doctrine of Parliamentary Reform *is not* that inculcated by these literary representatives, to whom the Societies have so distinctly appealed, for an explanation of their own principles, let us see what *are* their doctrines.

They are, "That the boasted constitution of England is a jumble of absurdities and contradictions, a mere delusion upon the people, equally repugnant to liberty and common sense. That England has no constitution; and that nothing can deserve that name, or be consistent with the freedom or happiness of mankind, where Aristocracy is tolerated, or Monarchy suffered to exist." Accordingly, we find the same good people of Norwich, in the same letter, deliberately asking the question, "Whether the generality of the Societies mean to rest satisfied with the Duke of Richmond's plan *only*, or whether it is *their* PRIVATE *design to rip up Monarchy by the roots, and plant Democracy in its stead?*"

The learned Serjeant then observed, that having seen what were the tenets of these Societies, as expressed by their literary *representatives*; the next mode of judging of their designs was, by the *allies* with whom they chose to associate. What had the Jacobin Club at Paris, what had the National Convention of France, to do with a reform of the Parliament of England? Yet these were the models whom our popular Societies chose to imitate, and these the allies with whom they were most eager to be connected,

On the 11th of May, 1792, the Constitutional Society in London voted an address *to the Jacobins*, by the style of "Brothers, "and fellow-citizens of the World!" The language and sentiments of that address were worthy of the persons who used them, and of the persons to whom they were addressed. "We cannot "conceive," say they, "a more *diabolical* system of Government "than that which has hitherto been generally practised over the "world." They tell the Jacobins, "that it would have given an "additional triumph to their congratulations, if the *equal rights of* "*man* had been recognised by the Governments around them, and "tranquillity *established in all*," and that they "can see *no mode of* "*defence* equal to that of *establishing the general freedom of Europe*." These, Sir, are the terms in which these friends of Parliamentary Reform exhort the Jacobins of France to that system of proselytism and conquests, which has deluged the face of Europe with blood, and shaken her Governments to the foundations.

And here, said he, it is worthy of remark, that they did not *yet* think fit to address the National Convention. And why, Sir, did they not then address it? Because the Convention had not yet ripped up Monarchy by the roots. There was yet *a King* in France. The Monarch formed, as yet, at least a nominal branch of the constitution of that unhappy country. But, when the revolution of the 10th of August had done away the miserable remnant of Royalty, when they had deposed and imprisoned their King, when the hands of the Jacobin party, which then domineered in the Convention, were yet reeking with the massacres of September, and the instrument of death was thirsting for the blood of their Sovereign; *then*, and *not till then*, the Convention became an object of the admiration of our *innocent enthusiasts*, and, on the 11th of October, the London Corresponding Society resolved on an Address to the National Convention of France. *Then*, and *not till then*, our English reformers tell them, "that the oppressed part of man-"kind, forgetting for a while their own sufferings, feel only for "theirs, and with an anxious eye watch the event, fervently sup-"plicating the Almighty ruler of the Universe to be favourable to "their cause, so *intimately blended with their own*." *Then*, for *the first time*, it is found out "to be the duty of Britons to countenance "and assist, to the utmost of their power, the champions of human "happiness, and to swear to a nation, proceeding on the plan they "had adopted, an inviolable friendship." "We feel ourselves," say they, "the victims of a restless and all-consuming Aristocracy, "hitherto the bane of every nation under the sun. *Wisely have you* "*acted in expelling it* from France;" and again, "If you succeed,

"as we ardently wish, the triple alliance, *not of Crowns*, but of *the* "*people* of America, France, and *Britain*, will give *freedom to Eu*-"*rope*, and peace to the whole world. Dear friends, you combat "for the advantage of the human race. How well purchased will "be, though *at the expence of much blood*, the glorious privilege of "saying *Mankind is free! Tyrants* and *tyranny* are no more!"

These, Sir, soon after the deposition of the King, and the ever-memorable massacres of September, were the sentiments of the London Corresponding Society, "instituted," as we are told, "for the *sole purpose* of promoting a Parliamentary Reform."

Glowing as is the language of affection and fraternity contained in this Address, the House cannot but have observed, that it is not from the mere dictates of pure philanthropy, and disinterested benevolence to all men, that they "supplicate the Almighty to be favourable to *the cause* of the French Convention," but because they consider it, to use their own words, as "*intimately blended* with *their own*." Now, Sir, if we suppose, as it is plain some of their own associates did suppose, that the *private* design of these addressers was to "rip up Monarchy by the roots, and plant Democracy in "its stead;" to depose their King, to abolish Monarchy, to annihilate the Peers, and to establish in England a representative Government, on the broad basis of liberty and equality, as explained and practised in France, it is not difficult to conceive that they *might* consider *the cause of the French Convention* as *intimately blended with their own*. But if the *professed* object of a reform, by legal and constitutional means in the mode of Parliamentary representation, was the *true* and *only* purpose of their hearts, what the National Convention had to do with that object, or how the cause of the one could be blended with the cause of the other, I must leave (said the learned Serjeant) to men of more refined ingenuity than myself, to make out to the satisfaction of the House.

Be that, however, as it may, the fact is certain, that this measure of addressing the National Convention, (so totally irreconcileable with the professed object of these Societies, but so perfectly consonant with the existence of that conspiracy for which I am contending) appeared to themselves of such importance to their own views, whatever those views might be, that it was immediately adopted by the other leading Society in London, the Society for Constitutional Information, and made the subject of *circular letters* to all the popular Societies in Great Britain, recommending it to their imitation as a measure most essential to their cause. Soon after, on the 21st of December, a Committee of *Foreign Correspondence* is appointed; their proceedings are directed to be entered in a

ſeparate book; and the Deputies ſent to the French Convention, in a language not liable to be miſunderſtood, and incapable of being explained away, but in a language fully recogniſed and adopted by the Societies from whom they were deputed, declare "that they "conſider the example of France as having *made revolutions eaſy*;" and "that it would not be extraordinary, if in a ſhort time the "French ſhould ſend addreſſes of congratulation to a *National Con-* "*vention of England*."

As a farther proof that the real object of theſe popular Societies, (notwithſtanding they profeſſed to be inſtituted for the purpoſe of promoting a Parliamentary Reform) was what he imputed to them, Mr. Serjeant Adair next adverted to the declaration of the Southwark Society, inſtituted chiefly by Mr. Thelwall, in which, he contended, there was not a word referable to a reform of the Houſe of Commons, but a direct avowal of Mr. Paine's principles of a repreſentative Government, in theſe reſolutions, which he ſtated:

"That *equal, active citizenſhip* is the *unalienable right* of *all* men, "minors, criminals, and inſane perſons excepted," and

"That the *exerciſe* of this right, in *appointing* an adequate *re-* "*preſentative Government*, is the wiſeſt device of human policy, and "the *only ſecurity* of national freedom."

He argued farther in ſupport of the ſame propoſition, from the proceedings of the Britiſh Convention at Edinburgh. He ſaid he would not treſpaſs on the patience of the Houſe, to whoſe indulgence he was already ſo much indebted, by entering into a minute detail of thoſe proceedings. He inſtanced, however, ſeveral of them, all which, he contended, accorded with the idea of the conſpiracy and deſign, for the exiſtence of which he had been arguing, but none of them with the idea of a real, *bona fide* purſuit of the object of a reform in Parliament, eſpecially, when the Houſe would recollect, that one of their earlieſt reſolutions was, to renounce all future applications to the Legiſlature, on the ſubject of ſuch a reform. They uniformly imitated the ſtyle and manner of the French Convention; their language was the ſame; their forms of proceeding were the ſame; their committees the ſame; of all which he ſtated inſtances; and above all, he contended, their principles were the ſame. However impotent, however inſolent, however even ridiculous the inſtances of their aſſuming a *legiſlative ſtyle* in their proceedings might appear, yet that they *had* aſſumed it, nobody who read their proceedings could deny. But, of all their acts, that which moſt ſtrongly developed their principles and deſigns was, the memorable reſolution ordered to be inſerted at the end of their minutes, whereby they ſolemnly pledged themſelves to each other, "declaring, before

"God and the world, that they would follow the wholesome example "of former times, by *paying no regard to any act* which should militate against the constitution of their country, and should continue "to assemble and consider of the best means by which they could "accomplish a *real representation of the people*, and annual elections, "until compelled to desist by superior force," and they resolved, "That the first notice given for the introduction of a Convention "bill, &c. or any *bill for the suspension of the Habeas Corpus act*; or "*in case of an* INVASION, or the *admission of any foreign troops* whatever into Great Britain or Ireland, all, or *any one* of these calamitous circumstances," say they, "shall be *a signal* to the several "delegates to repair to *such place as* the *Secret Committee* of this "Convention *shall appoint*. The first seven members shall have "power to declare the *sittings permanent*, shall constitute a *Convention*, and twenty-one proceed to business."

These, then, are declared to be the occasions, and this the manner of assembling the intended Convention, which was to meet for the *sole* purpose of effecting a Parliamentary Reform, by legal and constitutional means. A hostile invasion of the bitterest enemies of England, the declared enemies of all order and government, was selected as the happy opportunity for arranging the representation in Parliament, for reforming the constitution of the kingdom. Such was the favourite moment, to be eagerly seized on, as best calculated to promote the views, and facilitate the designs, of these legal and constitutional reformers.

That some design, supposed by the conspirators themselves to be *dangerous*, was meditating about this time, or even earlier, in England, is manifest from the whole of their correspondence. In a letter of the 25th of July, 1793, from the London Corresponding Society to the Societies at Norwich, the latter are exhorted to activity, but above all, "orderly and *courageously preparing* themselves *for the event*, for (say they) it is natural to suppose that "those who now prey upon the Public, will not willingly *yield up* "*their enjoyments*, nor re-possess us of our rights, without *a struggle*. "It may be advantageous to humanity to shew them, that their "opponents are neither mob nor rabble, but an *indignant*, oppressed "people, in whom is not yet entirely extinct *the valour of their fore*-"*fathers*."

Here then we see plainly, that some persons, however unwilling, were to be *forced* to *yield up their enjoyments*, that some awful *event* was looked to, for which they must be *courageously prepared*; and *a struggle* was to be expected, in which they might have occasion to exert the *valour of their forefathers*.

Need I ſay more, Sir? (continued the Serjeant) Are theſe expreſſions adapted even to the wildeſt plans of Parliamentary Reform? What *courage* is required in the exerciſe of the ſuppoſed rights of univerſal ſuffrage or annual election, or in any lawful and legal means that could be taken to obtain them? Is there a man who hears me, who can doubt that ſomething more, and ſomething elſe, was intended?

But, Sir, in what followed, theſe Societies, exaſperated and diſappointed, by the prudence and vigour of Government, in the diſperſion of the Scotch Convention, were led by precipitancy and loſs of temper, ſtill farther to throw off the maſk, which at times they had continued to aſſume. *Reſiſtance* to the laws became now their *avowed doctrine*; a *Convention, choſen by them* and their aſſociates, *claiming to act* as the *Repreſentatives of the Nation*, and *aſſuming the power* to redreſs their grievances, and *alter the conſtitution*, by the ſovereign authority of the People, was now their profeſſed object. On the 17th of January, 1794, the Conſtitutional Society reſolve, "That *law ceaſes to be an object of obedience*, when it "becomes an inſtrument of oppreſſion." "That we ſee with re- "gret, but we ſee *without fear*, that the period is faſt approaching, "when the *liberties of Britons* muſt *depend* NOT UPON REASON, to "which they have long appealed, nor on their powers of expreſſing "it, but on their *firm and undaunted* reſolution to oppoſe tyranny *by "the ſame means by which it is exerciſed.*"

Thus, Sir, the *Government* of this happy country is repreſented as a *tyranny*, and the *laws*, handed down by our anceſtors, are ſtated to be mere inſtruments of oppreſſion, *no longer the objects of obedience;* and thoſe *liberties* of Britons, which have ſo long been the envy of the world, are boldly affirmed to depend *not upon reaſon*, but upon the reſolution to *oppoſe tyranny*, by the ſame means by which it is exerciſed—by *force*.

At a meeting on the 20th of January, at the Globe Tavern, ſaid to conſiſt of near 2000 people, ſuch doctrines as theſe are addreſſed to the people of Great Britain and Ireland:—

"The Iriſh Parliament, and the Scotch Judges, actuated by "the ſame Engliſh influence, have brought us directly to the point. "There is no farther ſtep beyond that which they have taken.— "*We are at iſſue. We muſt now chuſe at once either liberty or ſla- "very* for ourſelves and our poſterity. Will you wait till barracks "are erected in every village, and till ſubſidized Heſſians and Ha- "noverians are upon us?—You may aſk, perhaps, by what means "ſhall we ſeek redreſs?—We anſwer, that men in a ſtate of civilized ſociety are bound to ſeek redreſs of the grievances from

"the laws; as long as any redress can be obtained by the laws. But our common Master whom we serve, (whose law is a law of liberty, and whose service is perfect freedom) has taught us not to expect to gather grapes from thorns, nor figs from thistles.—*We must have redress from* OUR OWN LAWS, *and not from the laws of our plunderers, enemies, and oppressors.*"

Can words contain a more explicit avowal of the *means* by which their purposes were to be effected? They must have redress from their OWN LAWS, laws made by the usurped authority of their Delegates in that Convention which, *for that purpose*, they were treasonably attempting to convene; and not from the laws made by the Legislature of their country, as by law established, in the King, Lords, and Commons, whom they so decently and respectfully describe, as their *plunderers, enemies*, and *oppressors*.

The resolutions founded on these doctrines, are adapted to the doctrines themselves. They appoint a Committee, "to watch the "proceedings of Parliament, and the administration of the Go- "vernment of the country," and they resolve, that on any of the emergencies there stated (similar to those stated by the Scotch Convention, except only the case of invasion, which is omitted) "the "General Committee shall issue summonses to the Delegates of "each division, and also to the Secretaries of the different Socie- "ties affiliated and corresponding with this Society, forthwith to "call *a General Convention of the People*, to be held at such place, "and in such a manner, as shall be specified in the summonses, for "the purpose of taking such measures into their consideration."

On the 27th of March, 1794, the Corresponding Society declares the immediate necessity of calling a Convention of the People, which is acceded to by the Society for Constitutional Information.

A Committee of co-operation and correspondence is appointed by both Societies for carrying that object into effect, and *circular letters* are directed to be sent to all the popular Societies in the kingdom, inviting them to concur in the measure.

These letters contain the following remarkable passage—"Rouse "then to one exertion more, and let us shew our consciousness of "this important truth——if we are to be beaten down with threats, "prosecutions, and illegal sentences, we are unworthy—we are "incapable of liberty. *We must however be expeditious*, Hessians "and Austrians are already among us; and *if we tamely submit, a* "*cloud of these armed Barbarians may shortly be poured in upon us.* "Let us *form* then *another British Convention*. We have a central "situation in our view, which we believe would be most convenient "for the whole island, but which we forbear to mention, (entreat-

"ing your confidence in this particular) till we have the anſwer of "the Societies with which we are in correſpondence."

Theſe expreſſions the learned Serjeant ſtated, as too plain to need a comment. And he ſaid, the laſt proceeding of theſe dangerous and infatuated men, to which he ſhould at that time call the particular attention of the Houſe, was the meeting at Chalk Farm, on the 14th of April, 1794.

At that meeting, among other things ſcarce leſs reprehenſible, it was reſolved, "That any attempt to violate thoſe yet remaining "laws, which were intended for the ſecurity of Engliſhmen, againſt "the tyranny of Courts and Miniſters, and the corruption of de-"pendent Judges, by veſting in ſuch Judges a legiſlative or arbi-"trary power (ſuch as has been lately exerciſed by the Courts of "Juſticiary in Scotland) ought to be conſidered as *diſſolving entirely* "*the ſocial compact* between the Engliſh nation and their Gover-"nors, and drawing them to an *immediate appeal* to that inconto-"vertible maxim of eternal juſtice, that the *ſafety of the people* is "the ſupreme, and, in caſes of neceſſity, the *only law*.

"That the arming and diſciplining in this country, either *with* "or without the *conſent of Parliament*, any bands of emigrants and "foreigners, driven from their own country for their known attach-"ment to an infamous deſpotiſm, is an outrageous attempt to over "awe and intimidate the free ſpirit of Britons, to *ſubjugate them to* "*an army of mercenary cut-throats*, whoſe views and intereſts muſt "of neceſſity be in direct oppoſition to thoſe of the nation, and that "no pretence whatever ought to induce the people to ſubmit to ſo "unconſtitutional a meaſure.

"That the unconſtitutional project of raiſing money and troops, "by forced benevolences, (and no benevolences, collected upon "requiſition from the King or his Miniſters, can ever in reality "be voluntary) and the equally unjuſtifiable meaſure of arming one "part of the people againſt the other, brought Charles the Firſt to "the block, and drove James the Second from the Throne."

Here, Sir, (ſaid the learned gentleman) the principles of anarchy and confuſion, the diſſolution of Government, the doctrine of reſiſtance to all lawful authority, are expreſſed in terms too plain for the dulleſt to miſtake, or for the moſt ſubtle to explain away. The people of England are told, that by the meaſures, alledged to have been taken, "*The ſocial compact is entirely diſſolved.*" Thoſe meaſures are repreſented as an attempt to overawe the free ſpirit of Britons, and *ſubjugate them to an army of mercenary cut-throats;* they are exhorted to diſregard the authority of Parliament, and urged to an immediate appeal to that maxim of eternal juſtice, "that the

"safety of the people is the only law." And the example of the execution of Charles the First, and the expulsion of James the Second, are falsely, wickedly, and treasonably held forth, as referable to circumstances existing at the present moment.

The House of Lords, too, have their share in this audacious attack upon every thing connected with the Government and Constitution of the country; and after alluding to a proceeding in that House, they state, with an insolent irony, their conviction, "that, "when properly detailed, it will have a considerable effect in *con-* "*vincing* the country of the true *dignity* and *utility* of *that branch of* "*His Majesty's Parliament.*"

Thus is it, Sir, that these *innocent enthusiasts*, these reformers of the Constitution, who meant *nothing but a Parliamentary Reform*, and *only pursued a laudable object*, with a *little*, *perhaps*, *of indiscretion*. Thus is it, Sir, that they express their own views and opinions. Thus is it that they endeavour, by inflaming the minds of others, to lead them to concur in measures which their cool judgment would abhor, and to urge them (under pretence of asserting rights which they never possessed, and regaining that liberty which, thank God, they have never lost) to resist the laws, and overturn the Constitution of their country. And shall we again be told, Sir, not only that no treason has been committed, but that there existed no dangerous or criminal conspiracy of any kind, nor any thing but harmless associations, for the purpose of Parliamentary Reform?

The honourable gentleman who introduced the motion, had arraigned with some asperity the conduct of those, who, as he alledged, were for ever introducing exaggerated pictures of the disorders that had attended the French revolution, and had reprobated, in an unusual style of eloquent declamation, the use of the words "*look to the example of France!*" which, he said, were never brought forward but to inflame or mislead. Whether it was possible for any eloquence to draw an exaggerated picture of the disorders and calamities of that wretched kingdom, the learned Serjeant *doubted;* but he doubted *still more* the wisdom of rejecting the lessons of prudence, of foresight, and of prevention, which were so strongly afforded by the miserable experience of our neighbours, or of overlooking the awful warnings held forth by the scenes of ruin and desolation, daily passing, as it were, before our eyes, the alternate effects of the wildest anarchy and most ferocious despotism.

But if it could be said, that we were not to *look to the example* of France, even in that point of view; What, said the learned gentleman, must be the understanding, what must be the principles, what must be the feelings, of those men, who can look to the ex

ample, as an object of *imitation* and of *envy*. The *cause* of the Jacobins of France has been a continued warfare against law and property, order and Government, morality and religion. The massacre of September, the destruction of Lyons, the drownings of the Loire, the complicated horrors of La Vendee, are a few only of *their measures*, uniformly marked with the character of rapine and of blood. The annihilation of commerce, the destruction of agriculture and manufactures, the depopulation of the country, and the misery of its surviving inhabitants, are the natural effects of the Jacobin system, which has prevailed. Yet the very model of the Jacobin Club of Paris, and of its affiliated societies, was that pursued by the corresponding popular societies in Great Britain, and from which they borrowed their Constitution, their forms of proceeding, and in many instances, their very language. These men, such as I have described them, and the Convention over which they ruled, and which they made at once the instrument and accomplice of their crimes, are addressed as "brothers and fellow citizens of "the world!" "The champions of human happiness," to whom "Britons are to *swear an inviolable friendship*;" and their cause is that, to which the framers of the address I have mentioned, have impiously dared to "supplicate the Almighty ruler of the universe to "be favourable," and which they have chosen to consider as "in-"timately blended with their own."

Well, therefore, Sir, may we *look to the example of France*, as a warning to put us upon our guard, so long as there is a man to be found in this country, who looks to it as an object of imitation.

Having stated these observations, the learned Serjeant alledged that the motion of the honourable gentleman for the repeal of the Suspension bill, could only be supported on one or other of these two grounds—either that the House had been deceived or mistaken, as to the original foundation of the act, or that such foundation had been done away by something that had happened since.

On the first ground, he had not only the decided opinion of the House itself, founded on the Reports of most respectable Committees of both branches of the Legislature, but all the *facts* of these Reports had since been verified by legal evidence, and remained to this moment uncontradicted; and he trusted that, independent of authority, the recapitulation of a few only of these facts had convinced every unprejudiced mind, beyond a possibility of doubt, of the real existence of the conspiracy stated in the bill. He had already given his reasons, why the verdicts on the late trials did not appear to him in the least degree to affect that part of the question; if, therefore, the Parliament had deemed the existence of the con-

ſpiracy ſtated in the bill a juſt and ſufficient ground to ſupport the meaſure, when firſt agreed to, how could they, conſiſtently, vote for a repeal of that bill, before the time of its expiration, unleſs ſome new facts were ſtated, or arguments adduced to prove that the conſpiracy has ceaſed to exiſt. The learned Serjeant inſiſted he had heard no ſuch facts ſtated, nor any ſatisfactory arguments to that point. Had theſe Societies diſſolved themſelves? Had they even diſcontinued their meetings? Had they altered their conſtitutions? Had they renounced or diſavowed the principles they before profeſſed? He had heard none of theſe things alledged, nor did he think ſuch motions as the preſent were likely to produce thoſe effects.

If, indeed, theſe verdicts had been ſuffered to produce their proper effect; if the priſoners who had been tried for their lives, had taken warning from the danger they had eſcaped, to diſclaim the principles, and avoid the conduct, which had led them into it, and exhorted others to the ſame by their own example; had they expreſſed gratitude and veneration for theſe laws they had before traduced, the benignity and candour both of the principles and adminiſtration of which they had themſelves ſo eminently experienced; had they told their fellow-citizens, as with truth they might have told them, that they had nothing to fear for their liberties, while under the protection of ſuch laws, and while theſe laws were impartially adminiſtered. Had this, ſaid he, been the conduct or language of themſelves and their friends, inſtead of triumph and exultation, then Parliament might have been led to think that the neceſſity which had originally induced them to conſent to the ſuſpenſion of the Habeas, was beginning to be leſs cogent, and might have liſtened with a very favourable ear to the motion which was then before the Houſe. But none of all theſe things having been ever alledged in the debate, he thought himſelf bound, by every principle of public duty, to negative the motion at the preſent juncture.

Mr. FOX ſaid, that, if a perſon, unacquainted with the rules of proceeding in that Houſe, had liſtened to the ſpeech juſt delivered, he would have thought he had heard a learned Serjeant pleading for a new trial; an inflammatory orator exciting to war, by a declamation on the ſtate of France; or, an admirer of the Conſtitution oppoſing ſome motion for altering the Government: but it would never have come into his head, that the ſpeaker was attempting to prove the neceſſity or the uſe of continuing the ſuſpenſion of the Habeas Corpus act. On this, which was in fact the whole queſtion in diſpute, not one word had been ſaid by his learned friend. Whenever the repeal of that ſuſpenſion was propoſed, the proof lay all on the ſide of Miniſters, for, if they could not prove,

that to continue the fuſpenſion was abſolutely neceſſary, it ought not to be continued for a moment. They were bound to do more:—they were bound to prove that it was uſeful. But, of what uſe could they now prove it to be; or what good purpoſe could they ſhew to be anſwered by it? Had they diſcovered a new treaſonable conſpiracy; or, having failed in their firſt attempt to prove treaſon, did they know of any new perſons fit to be taken up on the old plot, and on whom a ſecond experiment might be made, with better hope of ſucceſs? It was aſked, Wherein the difference conſiſted, between the ſtate of the country when the Suſpenſion Act was paſſed, and its preſent ſtate?—It conſiſted in this, that Miniſters had proſecuted the perſons whom they conſidered as the principals in the alledged conſpiracy; that, with reſpect to ſome, they had failed in eſtabliſhing the charge, and, with reſpect to others, declined proceeding. They were now called upon to ſay what object they expected to obtain, by continuing the ſuſpenſion; for their old object was gone. Would they ſay, that they had proſecuted the wrong perſons;—that the conſpiracy exiſted, although they had been miſtaken as to who were the conſpirators; and that they meant ſtill to go on proſecuting? They could not ſay ſo, for the effect of the verdicts of not guilty, at leaſt the prudential effect, as appeared by their own conduct, was, that not a ſingle perſon was now under proſecution on account of the ſuppoſed conſpiracy. It was unworthy of the talents of the learned Serjeant to attempt influencing the Houſe by arguing as if it were intended to ſet up the deciſion of a jury as paramount to the authority of Parliament. Was the ſuſpenſion of the Habeas Corpus act a queſtion of general legiſlation?—He feared it was; for from what he had heard there was too apparent an intention to render it perpetual. But on a particular caſe, which Parliament, by what ſome thought ſufficient ground for a temporary meaſure, had been induced to adopt, would it at all derogate from their dignity to yield to the deciſion of juries, perhaps more in the habit, and better fitted for the inveſtigation of evidence, and with more evidence before them? With the learned Serjeant he did not, in one point of view, love to contend, becauſe there was no man for whom perſonally, and on account of conſtitutional principles on moſt ſubjects, he felt more reſpect, and few men poſſeſſed greater powers of reaſoning. But in another point of view he loved to contend with him, becauſe in general he ſtated his adverſary's argument fairly. Hence the argument of the learned Serjeant, and that of his learned friend (Mr. Erſkine) as ſtated by him, were by no means incompatible, and both went in fact to ſupport the motion. The jury acquitted Hardy, either becauſe they

did not find a treasonable conspiracy made out by the evidence, or because they did not find that Hardy was implicated in the conspiracy. Now he contended with Mr. Erskine, that they acquitted him on the former reason? Why? Because all the papers alluded to by the learned Serjeant were signed by Hardy, or brought home to him as a party, and if the jury believed that those papers contained proofs of treason, they could be under no difficulty in finding that Hardy was an accomplice in that treason. Which was it more easy to imagine, that the jury did not think the papers amounted to proof of treason, or that they could not read Hardy's name at the bottom of them? The learned Serjeant in a speech chiefly dedicated to shew the treason contained in those papers, appealed from the Jury to the House—"Here," said Mr. Fox, "let me adore the trial by jury; when this speech was made to another jury (Thelwall's), a speech which has been to-night received with such plaudits, that we seemed ready *ire pedibus in sententiam*, it was answered with a cold *Not Guilty*. Such would have been my verdict had I been in their place; such will ever be the judgement of men consulting their conscience and not their passions. But such is the partiality of the learned gentleman for his own chain of reasoning, that he will rather believe the jury blind to the name of Hardy, at the bottom of the papers he signed, than deaf to his arguments that these papers were full of treason." Mr. Erskine, he contended, had renounced no part of what he maintained, as the law of treason on the trials. But it was said he had not rested the defence on that alone, which, if true, would have been conclusive—if he had omitted any point that could be urged, he would, in such a case, have failed in his duty to his clients. It was said from the Bench that the argument of Hardy's not being implicated in the conspiracy, supposing the conspiracy to be proved, had been but little relied upon by his Counsel, a strong presumption, at least, that the verdict of the jury was founded on their disbelief of a treasonable conspiracy, on the law of treason, for discussing which at large, a proper time would come; he should only say now, that he maintained the doctrine of his learned friend (Mr. Erskine), and with Lord Coke, that *Judicandum legibus non exemplis*. He reprobated Mr. Windham's doctrine of making old laws apply to new cases by construction, which, he said, had made the learned Serjeant shudder, which no Jury, no Judge, he hoped, would ever adopt.—[Mr. Windham said, he did not mean that Juries should go farther than construction was warranted by precedent.]—Neither precedent nor authority would sanction the kind of construction which the right honourable gentleman had talked of, and he would recommend to his attention the advice of Lord Hale, viz. That if

new cafes fhould arife not within the letter of the treafon, it would be the wifeft way to confult Parliament, and to be very wary of making conftructive treafons by parity of reafoning: for if that practice were once adopted, no man could know where it would end. Prophetical was this expreffion, and to this law he adhered; for if it were not law, there ought to be an Act of Parliament declaring it to be fo. The inqueft of a Grand Jury was fecret, and on *ex parte* evidence. The very nature of its functions took from the authority of its decifion. The finding of a Grand Jury was not, even in law, a bar to an action againft a malicious profecutor; much lefs could it be adduced as a proof of legal or moral guilt againft the acquittal of a Petty Jury. Before a Grand Jury witneffes might be brought, (he meant not to infinuate that fuch had been the cafe in the late profecutions) that no profecutor would dare to produce before a Petty Jury, where they were to be crofs-examined, confronted with other witneffes, and their characters inveftigated. A Grand Jury might be deceived, not only with refpect to the appearance of guilt againft an individual, but even with refpect to the exiftence of the crime charged. It was not by any means neceffary that the Judge or the Jury fhould have faid that the proof of the confpiracy had failed the moment the evidence for the profecution was clofed, although he fhould have felt no difficulty in faying fo. They might think that there were matters which required explanation on the part of the prifoner, and therefore hear his defence, and when they had heard it, they could not refufe to hear the reply on the part of the profecution. But were he to give up this part of the argument, and admit the confpiracy, how would the matter ftand? There would then be a confpiracy without confpirators. Gentlemen of fuch acutenefs as to define and divide our fucceffes in the campaign could eafily conceive the abftract of a confpiracy without confpirators, like Crambe in Martinus Scriblerus, who fwore he could form the idea of a Lord Mayor, not only without his furred gown and gold chain, but without body, parts, or colour, which he conceived to be the very abftract of a Lord Mayor. If they had tried every man and woman in the kingdom, and found that none of them were accomplices, this abftract of a confpiracy could not be very formidable. They had not done this in form, but they had done it in fact. They had charged certain perfons with confpiring together, and with other perfons unknown. Some of thefe they had tried, and the Juries returned verdicts of not guilty. If they thought thefe verdicts wrong, why did they not go on? Why did they fuffer others to be acquitted, without attempting to prove the charge, againft whom they had as good, if

not better evidence? All the guilt must now lie with the persons unknown. Did they mean to drag these persons to light, and bring them to trial? they would not pretend they did. They ceased to prosecute, because they were satisfied they could not convict. They had therefore virtually acquitted every man and woman in the kingdom, except the few whom the Juries acquitted, of this treasonable conspiracy, and nothing but the abstract of it left. Was it to guard against the abstract of a conspiracy, that the Habeas Corpus act was to remain suspended, and the people deprived of the best safeguard of their liberties? A right honourable gentleman (Mr. Windham) had given an explanation of his former words, *acquitted felon*, but an explanation as unsatisfactory as the expression itself, and asked how others could rejoice in such acquittals?—"For my own part," said Mr. Fox, "I hardly remember when I felt joy more nearly approaching to exultation than on these acquittals. I rejoiced that the country was rescued from the foul stain attempted to be fixed upon it; I rejoiced that we had escaped from the perils of constructive treason; I rejoiced that the people would see through the slanders by which they had been deluded into a ruinous war; and, as I believe they have done, more in consequence of those acquittals than of any other circumstance, recover from their delusion, and wish the war at an end."—A man, it was said, might be acquitted on a misnomer, or a flaw in the indictment, which would be no proof of his innocence;—Granted; but was either the case in the trials for treason? To what end then were such grounds of acquittal alluded to? A man charged with picking a pocket might be acquitted for want of legal evidence, and yet nobody doubt of his guilt;—True—because men charged with such offences might have so concealed their actions, that although their guilt was believed, there could be no proof either of the act or the intent. But was this the case of any of the persons charged with treason?—Was proof wanting of their actions, their words, nay, almost of their thoughts? In Thelwall's trial, a letter had been produced, written indeed by him, but never sent to, or seen by, any person, till his papers were searched. This reminded him of the unpublished papers produced as evidence on the trial of Algernon Sydney, a circumstance which, perhaps, more than his merit, great as that was, had endeared his name to posterity; for it was one of the most valuable qualities of our nature to ascribe merit where we saw persecution. Every thing done, said, or written by the prisoners, had been brought against them; the Jury must have acquitted them, because they could not so qualify their acts, as they were qualified in the indictment; and therefore their acquittal was a complete declaration of their innocence. A

Jury, it was said, was bound to acquit when doubtful. The House was now sitting as a Jury on the palladium of the liberty of the subject, and surely ought in this to imitate the conduct of a Jury, that they would not decide against it without clear proof. It was said, that to suspend the operation of it would save the necessity of bringing other persons to trial. Just such was the defence of *Lettres de Cachet* in France. They were only to save the necessity of bringing people to trial; but they might do this for the whole life of the prisoner. He lamented to hear men whom he esteemed, accustom themselves to speak of such things with patience.

When the late Lord Camden, a man deservedly popular, and to whom as a constitutional lawyer, the country had great obligations, once defended a measure of Government as being only a forty days tyranny, how much indignation did the expression excite? Even from such a man, English ears could not endure to hear of a forty days tyranny. But now, men could talk without a blush of suspending the safeguard of the subject against capricious or mistaken imprisonment for any length of time. It was said that gentlemen who would not allow the verdicts of English juries to be impeached, had thought themselves at liberty to treat the verdicts of Scots juries with very little respect. When Scots juries should be ameliorated and put more nearly on the same footing with English juries, their verdicts would be entitled to equal deference. When, however, he read the trials of the two persons convicted of high treason in Scotland, if, indeed, it was not an abuse of words to call the trial of Downie a conviction, he had flattered himself that all alarms about treason were at an end. In Scotland, where the House had been taught to believe that the growth of treason was most formidable, he found that nothing like treason could be proved against more than one obscure man; that this man had been in the pay of Government for giving information against others; and that, disgusted with his employers, or more probably with the view of enhancing the price of his discoveries, he had endeavoured to enflame the minds of those with whom he associated, and to provoke them to criminal excesses. What was the consequence? that he was almost immediately abandoned, and his conduct reprobated by the very persons he attempted to mislead, and at last fell the victim of his own violence and treachery. When he read all this, he was persuaded that men must see how unfounded their alarms had been. But the very existence of Ministers depended upon alarms. By a false alarm of the crown being in danger, they had originally come into office; by false alarms they had maintained themselves in office and melancholy it was that some of those who exposed their early

artifices with the greateſt zeal and ability, had ſince joined in filling up the cry. Their whole conduct had been one tiſſue of alarms; not a moment had they ſuffered to paſs, not an incident to occur, without agitating the minds of the people by the moſt inflammatory declamations on ſome imaginary danger. Well had his honourable friend who made the motion (Mr. Sheridan) in a ſtyle of eloquence, of which he knew not how to ſpeak in adequate terms, deſcribed their expedients of calling out the militia, ſuddenly convoking Parliament, marching cavalry from the country to the capital, and fortifying the tower, to give a colour to their alarm of inſurrections in 1792. Were any of theſe hidden inſurrections proved on the trials for high treaſon? Not one. Why? Becauſe they never had any exiſtence but in the imagination of the deluders and the fears of the deluded. "When," ſaid Mr. Fox, "we complain that they are undermining the conſtitution which they would be thought to ſave, they ſtart from defence to accuſation, they charge us with intending to ſubvert the Conſtitution, and exultingly aſk,

Quis tulerit Gracchos de ſeditione querentes?

When they are conſtantly dinning in our ears that the example of the French people ought to put us on our guard againſt the licentiouſneſs of the Engliſh people, and calling upon us to prevent licentiouſneſs by cutting down every fence of liberty, we have ſurely a right to ſay, that the example of foreign deſpotiſm ought to put us equally upon our guard againſt the increaſing power of the crown. In what inſtance, they demand, has the King of England been made more like the tyrants of the continent? I anſwer, by the Alien Bill, by the Traitorous Correſpondence Bill, by the ſuſpenſion of the Habeas Corpus Act. Are theſe light or trivial inſtances, or how many more do they mean to give us? Have they yet deigned to tell us, or do their incurable and increaſing alarms point out where they may be expected to ſtop? Thus, with their uſual injuſtice, they charge us with intending to do what they, on pretext of preventing us, are conſtantly doing. The Diſſenters, formerly, in times at leaſt as perilous to the family on the throne as at preſent, approved the firmeſt friends of the Conſtitution, are now repreſented as its enemies, as meditating nothing leſs than the ſubverſion of Church and State, and the deſtruction of private property. The Diſſenters endeavour to repel the charge by rational argument and peaceable demeanour. An orthodox and loyal mob proves it upon them by burning their houſes, menacing their perſons, and plundering their property. Why is it that men, in other

respects of acute mind and sound judgement, cannot see to which side the charge of insurrection and anarchy properly belongs? It is because their understandings are blinded by excessive fondness for a system of reasoning of their own invention; because the natural love of our intellectual offspring is as powerful as our love of the offspring of the body; because real dangers make no impression, when compared with the phantoms of a distempered imagination." The separation between him and many of those, with whom he had long acted in politics, and been connected by the dear ties of private friendship, no man could lament more sincerely than he did. Those who had lately given a great accession of abilities and character to the cabinet, he was persuaded, had been influenced by no personal views, but had acted as they thought would be most advantageous to their country. But while he did justice to the purity of their motives, he could not help observing, that they had given a deadly blow to public confidence in public men; a very serious evil to the public in his opinion. They weakened all the reciprocal ties, by which men, who differed on particular points, as all men of liberal and active minds must ever do in some degree, were enabled to act together on a general system of politics, the only mode in which the government of this or any other country could be conducted. They, however, had acted from their own conviction of the best means of averting the dangers with which they imagined the country to be threatened; and would, he hoped, do him the justice to believe that in adhering to the course they had long pursued in concert with him, his motives were equally honest. It was difficult, he knew, in the present inflamed state of men's minds, for personal friendship to survive political union; but what seemed difficult was not always impossible, and nothing consistent with his sense of duty to the public should be wanting, on his part, now to give an instance. For many of them he entertained the most sincere personal regard; and with one, in particular, the noble Earl appointed his Majesty's representative in Ireland (Fitzwilliam), he had cherished a friendship from his earliest youth, which matured by long intercourse, endeared by mutual kindness, was entwined with his very habits of thinking, and which nothing but the utmost violence could ever tear from his breast. Every time the propriety of suspending the Habeas Corpus act was called in question, being, as Ministers themselves were obliged to confess, not a permanent but a temporary measure, they were bound to shew that it was still necessary. He would appeal triumphantly to every man who had listened to the debate, whether or not a single argument had been adduced to shew that continuing the suspension was of any use.—Was it treason they were afraid?

Where did it lurk? Every ſtep they had taken ſince the ſuſpenſion of the Habeas Corpus act ſerved only to prove that the allegations of treaſon were unfounded. Were they afraid of ſedition or miſdemeanor? Over theſe the ſuſpenſion gave them no more power than they had before, for its operation was reſtricted to treaſon only.—Many of the papers produced on the trials had been read in the debate, which, thoſe who read them, maintained to be indiſputable proofs of treaſon. Many of thoſe papers, with very little alteration, he would ſubſcribe. That which propoſed calling general meetings to prevent certain unconſtitutional meaſures ſpecified, from being paſſed into laws, he would ſign. Thoſe with whom he had formerly acted, the friends of the late Marquis of Rockingham, had always maintained and actively inculcated the propriety of calling meetings of the people in their reſpective towns and diſtricts, to diſcuſs important matters pending before Parliament, and make known to Parliament, as far as it could be collected, the opinion of the people at large.—The paper ſetting forth the time ſeemed not to be far diſtant when tyranny muſt be reſiſted by force, he would alſo ſign, but not without ſome correction, for he was far from looking to the event, as the writer profeſſed to do, without fear. If ſuch a meaſure as a Convention Bill were to be introduced into Parliament, thoſe who ſhould call public meetings to oppoſe it, by collecting and declaring the general ſenſe of the country, would act not only innocently but meritoriouſly. We dwelt on the crimes committed under the name of liberty in France, till we could ſee no danger but from one extreme, or were ready to pardon every outrage and exceſs committed on the other. Why were the errors or the crimes of a people trained under the yoke of deſpotiſm, to no ideas of juſtice or humanity, but the will, caprice, or paſſion of the ſtrongeſt, to be charged upon the friends of rational liberty, as things which they approved and wiſhed to introduce? A majority of that Houſe had voted for the abolition of the ſlave trade. If the negroes in our Iſlands were to emancipate themſelves by force, who did not ſee to what exceſs beings degraded by a ſyſtem of oppreſſion below the ſtandard of reaſon, and almoſt of human nature, would carry their power of acting for themſelves, or how dreadfully they would retaliate upon their former maſters? [illegible] would any man affirm the cruelties they might commit to be inherent in the natives of Africa, much leſs that every one of the majority who voted for the abolition of the ſlave trade, wiſhed them to be committed? Between what England now was, and what France was before the revolution, there could be no reſemblance. Our people were inured to very different habits, and trained to

very different feelings. Our Conſtitution, maimed and mangled as it now was, differed leſs from a Republican than from any deſpotic form of Government; leſs from the Government of America than from that of Ruſſia or Pruſſia. When gentlemen talked of Monarchy in Great Britain as the ſame in ſubſtance with Monarchy in moſt parts of the continent of Europe, they put a change upon us by ſubſtituting the name for the thing. Our Conſtitution was a Republic in the juſt ſenſe of the word; it was a Monarchy founded on the good of the people, in a race elected by Parliament, the repreſentative of the people; limited in its functions and controled in the exerciſe of thoſe functions by the united wiſdom of the nation for the general benefit of the nation. Let us return to the old maxims of adminiſtering ſuch a Government; let us remember that the attachment of the people to the Conſtitution was not to be ſecured by alarm and terror, but by practical experience of the bleſſings derived from it; that wars of ſpeculation, whether undertaken with the view of making conqueſts or extirpating opinions, were always oppreſſive to the greater part of the people, generally fruitleſs, and ſometimes ruinous; that peace promoted commerce, commerce encouraged induſtry, induſtry gave plenty, and plenty content.— Theſe were maxims ſo old and ſo trite, that no man cared to dwell upon them, for fear of being told that he was repeating what he had learned of his nurſe. But they were not the leſs true for being trite; and when men ſuffered themſelves to be hurried away by a ſet of new-fangled notions diametrically oppoſite, could not be repeated too often. If we perſiſted in the other courſe, we muſt go on increaſing our debt till the burden of our taxes became intolerable; that boaſted Conſtitution which we were daily impairing, the people would eſtimate, not by what it once had been, or was ſtill aſſerted to be in the declamations againſt anarchy, but by its practical effects; and we ſhould hardly eſcape the very extreme we were ſo anxiouſly deſirous of ſhunning. The old Government of France was ſurely provided with ſufficient checks over the licentiouſneſs of the people; but of what avail were thoſe checks when the ambition and prodigality of the Government had exhauſted every reſource by which eſtabliſhed Governments can be ſupported? Miniſters attempted to fix upon others the charge of innovation, while they themſelves were, every ſeſſion, making greater innovations than that which they now called the moſt dreadful of all, viz. a reform in the repreſentation in Parliament. But it was the infatuation of the day, that while fixing all our attention upon France we almoſt conſidered the very name of liberty as odious, nothing of the oppoſite tendency gave us the leaſt alarm. Thoſe who had

become converts to this new syſtem, ſaw nothing but Royaliſts in France and Republicans in England. God grant they could but invert the teleſcope, ſee with the eyes of reaſon, and underſtand with the underſtandings of unprejudiced men.

The MASTER OF THE ROLLS inſiſted that the facts which had been brought to light, on the late trials, proved the exiſtence of a treaſonable plot beyond all doubt, and therefore, juſtified the preamble to the bill for ſuſpending the Habeas Corpus act; but he would not blame the juries who acquitted the priſoners on that charge, as he had no doubt they conducted themſelves conſcientiouſly. A Conventional Aſſembly inſtituted by any body of people in this country, for chooſing their own Government, or making their own laws, he maintained was treaſon, and, therefore, he contended that the plot which the Secret Committee had declared to exiſt for the purpoſe of overturning our Government, actually had exiſted to the extent they had aſſerted. In the ſyſtem of ſpies and informers, ſo loudly condemned, he diſclaimed having any concern; he was confident that thoſe who conducted it, had acted with honour, and from a regard to the ſafety of the country.

Mr. THOMPSON ſaid he ſhould not have preſumed to have ſpoken on this motion, the ſubject of which had been ſo fully and ably diſcuſſed by ſome of the greateſt ſtateſmen and lawyers in this kingdom, but that he conceived it to be a queſtion equally intelligible to the meaneſt as to the greateſt capacities, and only involved this ſimple queſtion, viz. whether we ſhould be freemen or ſlaves? There may be times, when it might be neceſſary and adviſeable to forego a part of our liberties to ſecure them permanent and entire, but at the preſent moment, our ſituation called for no ſuch ſacrifices; and he was decidedly of opinion, that it would be neceſſary to inſtitute a new committee, to conſider the expediency of a continuation of the preſent exiſting ſuſpenſion of the Habeas Corpus act, before any perſon could oppoſe the preſent motion. He ſaid it was not the intention of the Convention, propoſed to have been called by the Conſtitutional Society, either to have made laws for themſelves, or to have overturned the Britiſh Government, and therefore the aſſerted plot had no exiſtence; beſides, if the conſpiracy had exiſted, the conſpirators might have been tried and puniſhed, without ſuſpending the Habeas Corpus act. He deſcribed the wretched ſtate of individuals who had been confined in conſequence of unguarded expreſſions, and who had afterwards been diſcharged without trial or redreſs. He deprecated in ſtrong terms the many outrages againſt the liberty of the ſubject which had taken place, to his knowledge, in different parts of the country, particu-

larly by inferior magiftrates fince the bill paffed. One circumftance had occured very lately, which he thought it neceffary to ftate in his place.—He went to the Public Office in Bow-ftreet, where an apprentice was brought for ftealing from his mafter an old fcaffolding board, originally valued at nine pence. The mafter informed Mr. Juftice Bond, that he was willing to forgive him, and the juftice told him fo, adding that he muft ferve the King as a foldier. Major Leefon's ferjeant was called in, and the lad was told that he muft enlift with this officer: he faid he would not, he had an aged mother whofe fole fupport depended upon his labour, and he could not think of leaving her to ftarve. The juftice then faid, take him into cuftody, he fhall be fent as a foldier; and the lad was dragged away in this fhameful and illegal manner. He (Mr. Thomfon) faid that was ftrange law; and fomebody who heard him repeated his words to the juftice, who called out in a voice of authority, Who faid fo? I, faid I, a Member of Parliament did. He faid I muft know that the King wanted men. I faid he did, and I was afraid muft want many more if this ruinous war continued, but that this was not the way to get them; fending men to the field, I confidered as fending them to the flaughter houfe, and that fuch a proceeding was fcandalous and illegal. Mr. Bond faid, I might inveftigate the bufinefs in the Houfe of Commons, but he would decide there, and that he had his inftructions in a circular letter from the Secretary of State, and the Lords of the treafury. He hoped His Majefty's Minifters would difown having ever fent fuch a letter, and that they would inquire into the whole affair, for he thought that if fuch meafures were purfued, His Majefty would foon not only want foldiers, but would foon want fubjects; and he lamented the fact, that in this country, an office inftituted for the purpofe of adminiftering juftice, fhould be converted into a crimping houfe, and that the magiftrate fhould defcend to the employment of a crimp.

Mr. MILBANKE faid, he had voted originally againft the fufpenfion of the Habeas Corpus act, as he was convinced no plot exifted; and even thofe who contended for its exiftence, he hoped, after what had been proved on the late trials, would admit that the danger had been much magnified. He never doubted indeed, that in an age when two great revolutions had taken place fo near each other, men in this country might wifh to bring about a revolution here, but he never believed their numbers to be great, nor did he think the people were difpofed to fecond their views. He condemned the new fafhion of traducing the inftitution of juries in this country by difapproving their verdicts; and he trufted no Minifter would

ever make a repeated custom of suspending the Habeas Corpus act, the principal safeguard of the liberties of Englishmen..

Mr. WILBERFORCE said, that notwithstanding the lateness of the hour, he could not suffer the division to take place without saying a word or two. So many gentlemen who had voted with him the other night, had declared their intentions of now supporting the honourable gentleman (Mr. Sheridan,) who had himself also combined (as being of one description,) those who now wished a period to be put to the war, and those who thought there had been no just cause for the alarms entertained for the internal peace of the country, that he wished to express his decided opposition to the honourable gentleman's motion, lest he should be classed amongst those with whom he should be very sorry to be thought to have associated on such an occasion. Mr. Wilberforce expressed it as his determined judgment, in the present state of this country, that the true policy to be observed was by all safe means to conciliate the minds of the well-intentioned part of the community on the one hand, and on the other to strengthen the hands of Government for the repression and punishment of the factious. These, he said, it was impossible to convince of their error; if they were so insensible of the blessings they enjoyed in this country, as to wish to destroy the Constitution by which they were derived to them, all that was left was to prevent the success of their projects. He saw no reason to believe that Government had abused the power committed to them, or he should not resist the proposal for depriving them of it, before the legal term of its expiration.

Mr. SHERIDAN said, he had no occasion to avail himself of the usual indulgence of the House, in replying to the arguments advanced by the other side of the House, for that night they had not brought one forward: they shewed themselves afraid to grapple with the main question; no attempt had been made to prove that a sufficient cause had existed for the original suspension, which he did not think justified even by the fears of Mr. Wilberforce, lest he should be supposed to have become a friend of the liberties of Englishmen. The reason of his troubling the House at that late hour was solemnly to ask Mr. Pitt, what would be the state of the country which he might think would give the act to us again; he wished to know the possible case which would restore to British freemen the most glorious bulwark of their freedom. He wished to know if the suspension was to be renewed when the present act expired; was it again to be hurried through the House in one day? Was it to stand on the old plot, or was a new plot to be made, or was the Habeas Corpus to be again suspended without any plot at all? He thought

Minifters ought to declare, whether they intended the renewal, or what were the grounds upon which they intended to continue the fufpenfion of the act.

Mr. Chancellor PITT faid, he did not intend by rifing, to infringe the titles eftablifhed in that Houfe, relative to Debates. As the honourable gentleman, however, had remarked, in fuch a triumphant tone, that no argument had yet been adduced againft him, it was neceffary to obferve, that if this were the cafe, it was becaufe nothing had been advanced by the honourable gentleman that could produce any argument. The whole of the honourable gentleman's fpeech had only gone to endeavour to throw a flur upon the proceedings of the Houfe in fufpending the act. With refpect to giving that fufpenfion fome longer duration, he faid he could without difficulty ftate that this would probably be neceffary, in order to defeat that triumph, on eftablifhing thofe principles which had been fo forcibly ftated during the debate of that day.

Mr. JEKYLL reprobated the conduct of the Minifter, who had admitted that to gratify his own fpleen, to obtain a perfonal triumph, he would withhold from the Britifh people one of their deareft liberties.

Mr. Chancellor PITT faid, it was neither to gratify his fpleen, nor to obtain a perfonal triumph; but to obtain a triumph over the extraordinary line of argument, purfued by gentlemen on the other fide, in favour of thofe who had originally approved the caufe of fufpending the act, that fhould induce him to exert himfelf in procuring the continuance of its fufpenfion.

Mr. MICHAEL ANGELO TAYLOR faid, the right honourable gentleman had preferved himfelf in Adminiftration by libelling men much better than himfelf.

The queftion being called for, the Houfe divided; when there appeared,

For the motion, 41; Againft it, 185. Majority, 144.

List of the MINORITY on Mr. SHERIDAN's Motion for leave to bring in a Bill to repeal the Act paffed laft Seffion of Parliament, for fufpending the Habeas Corpus Act.

1 Antonie, Lee
2 Anfon, Thomas
3 Aubrey, Sir John
4 Burch, J. R.
5 Byng, George
6 Church, J. B.
7 Coke, T. W.
8 Coke, Edward
9 Colhoun, William
10 Courtenay, John
11 Curwen, C.
12 Erfkine, Hon. Thomas
13 Featherfton, Sir Henry
14 Fitzpatrick, Rt. Hon. R.
15 Fox, Right Hon. C. J.
16 Francis, Philip

17 Grey, Charles
18 Hare, James
19 Harcourt, John
20 Howard, Henry
21 Jekyl, Joseph
22 St. John, St. Andrew
23 Jervoise, C. Jervoise
24 Lambton, William Henry
25 Long, Samuel
26 Maitland, Hon. Thomas
27 M'Leod, General N.
28 Milbanke, Ralph
29 North, Dudley
30 Plumer, William
31 Pierse, Henry
32 Powlett, W. Powlett
33 Russel, Lord William
34 Sheridan, R. B.
35 Spencer, Lord Robert
36 Sturt, Charles
37 Taylor, M. A.
38 Thompson, Thomas
39 Tarleton, General
40 Vyner, Robert
41 Vyner, R. junior
42 Walwyn, James
43 Whitbread, Samuel, jun.

Including the two Tellers, Mr. Sheridan and Mr. Whitbread.

Tuesday, 6th January.

Mr. MAURICE ROBINSON rose to inform the House, that he should not, unless the House desired it, make the motion of which he had given notice.

Mr. GREY said, that as there would be to-morrow a Committee on the Supplies of the Navy, Mr. Robinson might then have a fair opportunity of asking any questions he might think necessary, and of discussing any point on which he wished to be satisfied.

Mr. Chancellor PITT requested Mr. Robinson at least to state the object of his motion.

Mr. ROBINSON stated, that he had asked a question concerning the navy a few evenings past, and had been told that it was not proper for him to do so, when no question was before the House, and that he ought to produce a specific motion on the subject.

Mr. DUNDAS thought it necessary that the object of the motion should be more specifically stated; that it might be known what sort of information the honourable gentleman wanted, in order that the persons applied to might know whether they could give the information required.

Mr. ROBINSON said, that his inquiry would relate to the construction of our marine; he had been informed that the French ships were much swifter sailers than ours; of this he wished to know the cause. Some other points it would be necessary to have cleared up. Several rumours had gained ground to the disadvantage of our navy; such rumours should be inquired into. In the King's speech there was no mention of the navy; this was another circumstance, which he should think necessary to discuss. He was inclined, at present, to follow the plan suggested by Mr. Grey.

The SPEAKER said, that it was the custom of the House, on

a Committee of Supply, to permit gentlemen to put any queſtion, and to diſcuſs any topic, relative to the buſineſs.

Mr. Chancellor PITT ſaid, he would not have troubled the Houſe any farther, had he not heard ſome expreſſions reſpecting rumours. Every one knew the bad effect that vague and general rumours, ſtated indefinitely, were likely to produce. He was anxious to diſcuſs that ſubject, and wiſhed to have ſomething more ſpecific reſpecting the rumours, than a mere unexplained alluſion.

Mr. ROBINSON ſtated, that it had been ſuggeſted to him, that notwithſtanding the ſignal victory gained by Lord Howe on the firſt of June, the French had a ſuperiority at ſea. He alſo wiſhed to know what could be the reaſon that a fleet, blocked up by Lord Howe in the Mediterranean, had been ſuffered to eſcape, and the reaſon likewiſe of the inſufficiency of our navy in the Weſt Indies.

Mr. Chancellor PITT expreſſed himſelf anxious to diſcuſs the ſubject more particularly, becauſe he was, of all others, the moſt concerned in a perſonal view, and was equally actuated with them by public motives. As far, ſaid Mr. Pitt, as I may be perſonally concerned, I have the ſtrongeſt wiſh that the Houſe ſhould be as well attended as poſſible. But there are ſome points in which the right honourable gentleman ſtates the naval ſuperiority of the enemy, to which I ſhall juſt refer. After that glorious victory obtained by Lord Howe, it was neceſſary that the Britiſh fleet ſhould return to refit; no time had been loſt in preparing that fleet again for ſea. It had ſailed, defying the enemy, and aſſerting its ſuperiority in its native element. But from thoſe cauſes incident to the Marine of every State, the violence of the wind and the damage incident to autumnal cruizes, it had been neceſſary to remain ſome time in port. With reſpect to another point which the honourable gentleman had alluded to, namely, the eſcape of the French fleet which had been blocked up in the Mediterranean; if that point were minutely inveſtigated, ſo far from any blame attaching here, it would furniſh rather matter of ſurpriſe how that experienced officer who commanded had been able too keep that force blocked up for ſo long a time. The other point to which the honourable gentleman had alluded was, our naval operations in the Weſt Indies. In this quarter, he ſaid, it would be found that we had maintained our ſuperiority. But all theſe points, the Chancellor of the Exchequer ſaid, would more properly come before the Houſe to-morrow when the ſupplies ſhould be under conſideration, and would furniſh cauſe for farther inquiry, if it ſhould be the opinion of the Houſe that any farther inquiry was neceſſary.

Mr. ROBINSON ſaid, that he thought the King's Speech would

furnish Constitutional grounds for a motion of inquiry, as nothing had been therein mentioned respecting the navy.

Mr. Chancellor PITT answered, that he should not shrink from any inquiry which the honourable gentleman might think proper to bring forward. With respect to the observation that His Majesty's Speech contained no mention of the navy, in that part of the speech which mentions the supplies, the navy is necessarily included; and there is another passage, in which His Majesty speaks of his reliance on the valour of his forces both by sea and land."

Mr. FOX said, that the Minister had uttered some words which he intended, no doubt, to be considered as a challenge for inquiry into the subject of the navy, but from his conduct, there was no reason to believe he was sincerely disposed to do what he said; the manner in which he had conducted himself with regard to inquiries, gave no encouragement to any Member of the House to move for any, for he had always, when his own conduct, or the conduct of any of his colleagues, had been moved to be inquired into, pompously denied the fact that was alledged as a foundation for inquiry, rested it on his own assertion, and then insisted upon it, that no inquiry was necessary. This had been the Minister's practice hitherto, and, Mr. Fox said, he was afraid he could venture to foretel, it was thus he would act with regard to the navy. He would first loftily pretend to challenge inquiry, and then, if an inquiry was moved for, he would insist that no inquiry was necessary. But, if the right honourable gentleman saw this matter in its proper light, and had no reason to fear the result, he would find that he had every motive for himself, for his character, for his honour, for his personal connections, and, above all, for the satisfaction of the Public, to come forward, and to ask the House to enter into this inquiry.

Mr. Chancellor PITT said, that it was not regular to debate this point at present. One thing, however, he would say, that he should consult his own honour much better by following the dictates of his own judgment, than any suggestions of the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Fox.)

Tuesday, 7th January.

Mr. LAMBTON moved, "That an humble Address should be presented to His Majesty, to give directions that there should be laid upon the table a return of such foreign troops as were at present in British pay. And also, secondly, a return of such troops of the Elector of Hanover, the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, the Landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt, as had fallen during the war." He said that his reason for making these motions, was in order to

ſhew the public the extraordinary expence with which the preſent ſcale of operations was attended to the country. In addition to the ſubſidy, about 30l. was paid for every ſoldier belonging to the ſubſidized powers, who fell during the war. At the ſiege of Dunkirk, he underſtood that not fewer than 3,500 Hanoverians in the covering army of Marſhal Freytag, were killed in one day; the loſs of whom would coſt the Public nearly one hundred thouſand pounds, beſides many more who had fallen in the courſe of the campaign.

Mr. Chancellor PITT ſtated, that he had no objection that the returns, which had been moved for, ſhould be produced. He would only remark that the honourable gentleman was a little miſtaken with reſpect to the ſum which he had mentioned. But ſurely in an extended ſcale of operations, ſuch as the preſent war required, a ſum of a hundred thouſand pounds, given by the country, in order to defray the expence of replacing the troops who had fallen, was a conſideration which could no ways go to affect the general reaſoning on the ſubject.

Major MAITLAND moved, "That an humble Addreſs be preſented to His Majeſty, praying him to give directions that there ſhould be laid upon the table, a return of the number of Britiſh troops killed, wounded, and miſſing in the laſt campaign."

Mr. JEKYLL ſaid, that on a former night he had put a queſtion to the Miniſter, with reſpect to the amount of the money paid to the King of Pruſſia, and had received an anſwer, that it amounted to 1,200,000l. He intended to have followed it with a motion with reſpect to the number of troops employed by the King of Pruſſia, in conſequence of his treaty with this country; but was anſwered, that there were no official accounts on that particular head. Since then, upon looking into the treaty, he found, from the ſeventh article, that there were two Commiſſioners to be appointed, one by the Dutch, and one by this country, in order to ſee that the ſtipulations were properly fulfilled on the part of his Pruſſian Majeſty. The right honourable gentleman would certainly have no objection to inform the Houſe who was the Commiſſioner for this country.—It would then appear whether he had diſcharged his duty, in making a proper return, or had been guilty of a neglect in his public capacity. If he had no return to make, the caſe would certainly be altered. The other night the right honourable gentleman had ſtated, that he had a ſort of general knowledge of the co-operation of the troops of his Pruſſian Majeſty, which had been of eſſential ſervice to the common cauſe.—This he muſt either have had from hearſay, which would not be the moſt regular way, or from the communications of the Commiſſioner. He now meant to inquire, whether he

could not contrive to communicate this general fort of knowledge to the Houfe, by giving extracts from the written correfpondence of the Commiffioner, which might be blended with other matters that it might not be proper to communicate; and therefore he only wifhed for fuch extracts as the right honourable gentleman might deem expedient to produce, fo that the Public might be fatisfied that their money had been properly applied, and that the King of Pruffia had duly fulfilled his fhare of the treaty.

Mr. Chancellor PITT faid, that he would much rather that the honourable gentleman would put his propofition into the form of a fpecific motion. If the honourable gentleman meant that the Pruffian troops had immediately co-operated with the Britifh army on the Continent, they certainly had not; but they were employed on the frontiers of France, and fo far, in a way ufeful to the purpofes of the war. Government were in poffeffion of a certain degree of information, and perhaps the moft proper way in which the honourable gentleman could put his motion would be, to apply for the beft information which they could give on the fubject.

Mr. JEKYLL. "Was there, or was there not, a Commiffioner from this country?"

Mr. Chancellor PITT. "There was a noble Lord who was near the perfon of his Pruffian Majefty, though not in the capacity of a Commiffioner."

Mr. JEKYLL then moved for fuch official documents, letters and extracts, as related to the active co-operation of his Pruffian Majefty, in purfuance of the terms of the treaty.

Mr. Chancellor PITT objected to this motion, as relating not to the amount of the troops, but to the mode of operation—one of thofe circumftances which it would not be proper to communicate. After fome converfation, the motion was withdrawn.

Major MAITLAND remarked, that in his motion for the return of the lofs of Britifh troops, he had omitted thofe taken prifoners. It was therefore to be underftood, that the motion was exactly the fame as had been made laft year.

Mr. JEKYLL then moved for an account of the number of troops employed by his Pruffian Majefty in purfuance of his treaty with this country, fo far as the fame could be afcertained.

Mr. SHERIDAN afked, whether there was any objection to lay before the Houfe the correfpondence of Lord Malmefbury, in order to afcertain the moft material point, whether the King of Pruffia had kept faith with the country? Now that Minifters propofed to give an immenfe fum to the Emperor, to induce him to continue his co-operation in the war, it was of confequence to fee

how far experience would warrant our reliance on the fidelity of Continental alliances, and the punctuality with which they fulfilled their engagements. The Minister might say that the King of Prussia had forty or fifty thousand men on the frontiers, but were these employed for the purposes which the treaty stipulated.—It might appear from the correspondence of Lord Malmesbury, that he had remonstrated with the King of Prussia on the circumstance of having neglected to fulfil his engagements, and called upon him to make good his faith to this country. He therefore moved for such parts of his correspondence as might be communicated with safety or propriety.

Mr. Chancellor PITT said, he had much rather that the subject should be brought forward for a separate discussion, than that the important business of the day should be interrupted, which gentlemen on the other side had expressed so much eagerness to bring forward.

The SPEAKER stated to Mr. Sheridan, that his motion was pretty much of the same nature with that which had already been withdrawn, and would therefore come forward with more propriety on another day.

The House resolved itself into a Committee of Supply.

Moved, that a hundred thousand men be employed for the sea service of the current year, including fifteen thousand marines.

Mr. MAURICE ROBINSON said, that the honourable gentleman who moved the Address had varied from the courtly style usually adopted upon such occasions, and called upon gentlemen to speak out their minds. This was certainly a period which of all others demanded the exercise of that privilege. He should consider the country as greatly wanting to itself, if it did not avail itself of its navy, and give to it its full strength. A neglect of the navy, he should consider as the greatest grievance under which the country could labour from the misconduct of administration. He here complained of what he understood to be a capital defect in the construction of our ships, namely, that in point of speed in sailing, they were inferior to the French. This was a defect productive of much inconvenience and mischief, and called loudly for a remedy.—If he wished to give a foreigner an idea of the strength, the magnificence and the glory of the country, he would carry him, not to Somerset-house, but to our dock-yards. He thought it hardly necessary, in the British House of Commons, to enforce the importance of the navy, but he was sorry to say, he did not think sufficient attention had been paid to it during the present war. Instead of subsidizing

the King of Pruſſia, the money ſo laid out might have been much more profitably expended in augmenting the navy.

Captain BERKELEY ſaid, that if the Lords of the Admiralty had been bound to anſwer the queſtions put to them by the honourable gentleman, he ſhould not have riſen; but he felt it neceſſary to ſay ſomething, as the character of officers of the navy might ſuffer from the greater expedition of French veſſels: this might probably have ſometimes been the caſe. He was ready to admit that the conſtruction of our ſhips might be much altered for the better; he did not, however, think that in general the French veſſels ſailed better than the Engliſh. If Mr. Robinſon had not ſtated it ſo generally, but given ſome particular inſtances, he might have been able more accurately to inveſtigate the point. He knew inſtances, however, which proved that the reverſe was true. In the year 1793 an Engliſh fleet chaſed ſix French veſſels, which were among the beſt of their navy; ſeveral of our ſhips were coming up with them, and would have done ſo if bad weather had not prevented them. One was up with them, but was obliged, from the ſame cauſe, to return. Though ſingle French ſhips might ſail better than ours, he could not allow that the French ſhips ſailed better than the Engliſh in a body. This perhaps was not the time during a war, to introduce any improvement into the conſtruction of our ſhips: no improvement could take place with reſpect to thoſe already built, or thoſe now on the ſtocks. When there ſhould be an opportunity of introducing ſuch improvement, he ſhould think that the proper way would be, to imitate the examples of the French, to throw open the ſubject to the public at large, and to encourage the exertions of ingenius and ſcientific men, by holding out medals and premiums for the beſt models. Whenever the ſubject was brought forward by the landed gentlemen in that Houſe, he and the other Members in the naval profeſſion, would, he was confident, be happy to lend their aſſiſtance. He remarked that though the French models were better than ours, ſtill our workmanſhip was ſuperior, and he truſted when they ſhould be called forth, we ſhould be found to have better heads, as well as better hands, than the French. He could not help noticing what fell from a right honourable gentleman, Mr. Fox, on a former evening with reſpect to the late Firſt Lord of the Admiralty; as a naval man he might be ſuppoſed to be able to form ſome proper judgment on the queſtion of that noble Lord's public conduct. He was about to defend the character of one of the moſt amiable of men from an attack that had been made on him; he indeed ſhould be ungrateful if he were not to do ſo. One great circumſtance urged againſt him

was the capture of our merchantmen: Was it, however, certain, that thefe had not in general departed without convoy, and were what were technically called runners? if fo, could it poffibly be the fault of the Firft Lord of the Admiralty? befides, the underwriters were induced fometimes to infure fo largely as to render it almoft indifferent to the owners whether they loft their veffels or not. Another topic which had been infifted on was, that a fleet had not been fent out equal or fuperior to the French. If this had been the cafe, he fhould have been as ready to blame the conduct of the Admiralty as Mr. Fox, but the reverfe was the truth; for the fleet which went out under Lord Howe early in the year, was one of the fineft and beft appointed he ever faw; and was fuperior to the French by ten or eleven veffels. Great part was detached very properly by the Commander in Chief, to convoy one of the largeft and richeft fleets of merchantmen this country ever faw; he believed as many as eight veffels were detached. Was it then the fault of the firft Lord of the Admiralty, that the intereft of commerce required a large convoy? Even after this they were not inferior to the enemy, as the glorious event fufficiently proved. If this convoy had not been detached, we fhould have had no engagement with the enemy, who would never have been induced to face us fuperior as we were, and to rifk an action, which terminated in the glorious victory, fo lavifhly praifed by gentlemen on the other fide.

Mr. ROBINSON reprobated the treatment which he had met with in a former night from the Minifters, when he wifhed to put fome queries relative to the ftate of the navy, and they had attempted to crufh him by the united force of their fplendid eloquence and overbearing influence. He feemed principally to allude to Mr. Dundas, of whofe want of fecond fight in the duties of his numerous offices he complained. He infifted on the fuperiority of the French in failing, which he faid had been attefted by the late Admiral Byron.

Mr. FRANCIS faid, that the honorable gentleman (Capt. Berkeley) had fpoke with great candour as to the defects and the conftruction of our fhips. He reprobated, however, the diftinction which he had made, when he talked of the landed gentlemen in that Houfe as the moft proper perfons to bring forward queftions relative to the ftate of the navy, as highly unparliamentary. If any fuch diftinction was to be taken, the mercantile reprefentatives were furely more interefted in every thing connected with that fubject. He thought a time of war the moft fit for attending to the improvement of the conftruction of all fhips that might be built for the fervice. The honourable gentleman had talked of his very

great obligations to the late Lord of the Admiralty: other officers who, perhaps, had not received the same obligations, did not talk of him so favourably. But, if he was so well qualified for the situation as the honourable gentleman had represented him, it was very strange, that, after having for some time filled that office, he had been turned out, in order to make room for another, who had yet his apprenticeship to serve.

Admiral GARDINER said, that from what had been stated, it might have been supposed that it was the duty of the Lords of the Admiralty to attend to the construction of the ships, whereas this part of the business belonged to the Navy surveyors. He differed in one respect with his honourable friend (Capt Berkeley). From what he had seen of the French ships, he was prepared to admit that they sailed faster than ours. It was certainly the fact, that from the mode which they adopted, they were much better constructed. When a ship was to be built of a certain rate, premiums were offered for the best models; these were submitted to an Academy of Sciences, and the model which was judged to be the most complete was adopted. Since he had been in the navy, which was now within a month of forty years, we had greatly improved in the construction of our ships, in consequence of the French prizes which we had taken; and he had no doubt we should continue to improve from the same circumstance. If we wished to improve the construction of ships still further, we would do well to imitate the French practice, in holding out a premium for the best models. He concluded with a panegyric on the diligence of the late Lord of the Admiralty. That noble Lord had made it his study to do his duty; and, from an acquaintance with him for five years, he would take upon him to say, that no man was better informed with respect to what related to his office. Nothing, he was assured, would give the noble Lord greater pleasure than an enquiry into his public conduct.

Captain BERKELEY explained his referring to country gentlemen as the most proper to bring forward the subject of improving the construction of our ships, as such a proposal might appear invidious of originating from the naval officers.

Mr. FOX stated, that he had been accused with having made an attack upon the character of the noble Lord lately at the head of the Admiralty. He had so much intention; he had indeed said, that his public conduct was not such as appeared to him to deserve approbation, but without the smallest feeling of personal disrespect. He had last session stated grounds for an enquiry into the conduct of the noble Lord; he had not lately made so minute an enquiry

into particulars as he did upon that occaſion, but he was prepared to ſtate the general reſult, that the captures of laſt year exceeded the number of ſhips taken within a ſimilar ſpace in any former war, and exceeded alſo the proportion of the increaſe of our commerce. It appeared to him that the navy ought to have been increaſed more in the preſent war than in any former period. But he was told, that from the increaſe of our commerce, we might expect a greater number of ſhips to be taken. If our commerce was increaſed, it afforded alſo the means of increaſing our navy, and thereby providing an additional degree of ſecurity. Though our navy, he confeſſed, was large and reſpectable, ſtill it was by no means what it ought to have been. At the commencement of the war, the French navy was weak, and it muſt certainly appear from the reſult of the naval operations, that our navy has not had that effect upon the deciſion of the conteſt which it ought to have had, from its great ſuperiority to that of the enemy. An honourable gentleman ſaid, we had been laviſh in our praiſes of the victory of the 1ſt of June; we had only been juſt. No man would accuſe him with wiſhing to detract from the glory of that; ſtill, however, prudence ſhould have dictated, that the Engliſh ſhould at leaſt have been equal to the French. The French had at preſent in Toulon a fleet of fifteen ſail, and it was a queſtion whether it might not be equal to our fleet in the Mediterranean, which, from its long abſence, muſt now be conſiderably deficient in force and the number of its men, and he was ſorry to add, with reſpect to Britiſh ſeamen, in diſcipline. He was told the noble Lord (Chatham) had been injured; if ſo, he muſt have been by thoſe who had put him out of office. He lamented that our naval exertions had been obſtructed by an oſtentatious diſplay of zeal in the land ſervice. Upwards of 20l., he underſtood, had been given for a man; a circumſtance which had grealy injured the recruiting for the Navy, and which the country might afterwards have occaſion to rue. It was the true policy of this country to encourage as many landmen as poſſible to enter into the ſea ſervice. When he heard talk of an invaſion, an event which he had not been accuſtomed to regard with great apprehenſion, he muſt own that he would feel much more ſecure from a certain ſuperiority at ſea, than from any number of land forces. When to all the diſaſters we had experienced at ſea, he added the glaring deficiency of intelligence, which had appeared in ſo many inſtances, he muſt own that he could not give to the noble perſon lately at the head of the Admiralty, credit for all the diligence that had been aſcribed to him. He always underſtood that the French ſhips ſailed faſter than ours; in this idea he was con-

firmed by what had fallen from the gallant Admiral. He had learned both from him and from the honourable Captain, that we owed to French models the improvements in the construction of our ships. We were indebted to both of the gallant officers for bringing French prizes into our ports, and so enabling us to improve by the superior ingenuity of the enemy. But it surely was not very flattering to the science, industry, and glory of the country, to be obliged to improve by others, and to be content always to imitate. He was told that it did not belong to the Admiralty to attend to the construction of ships. He did not care to whom it belonged; he had a right to expect attention to this particular from the executive Government. He always understood that the Admiralty had the superintending power with respect to whatever related to the navy. He was entitled to ask them why measures had not been taken sooner to improve the construction of our ships. The time of war was urged as an argument why these measures could not be taken at present, the very circumstance which, in his mind, weighed most powerfully that they should be adopted without loss of time. He was told that no improvement could be introduced with respect to ships already built, or that were now upon the stocks; but he should deem it a criminal neglect, if care was not taken to set on foot the building of new ships upon the improved construction, whenever it was possible, and this, he trusted, would be the first measure of the new Board of Admiralty. To all that he had stated, he had heard no other answer than what had been give last year, an enumeration of the ships taken, including those we had got by capitulation, at Toulon. But it was not a pleasing circumstance, that one of our own ships of the line had fallen into the hands of the enemy, a circumstance which had not often happened in former wars to this country; only one had been taken during the whole course of the American war, and that had been retaken. With respect to the Admiralty itself, the character of the noble Lord has been more injured by his colleagues than by any other person. It has been said that nothing would be more pleasing to that noble Lord, than to have an inquiry instituted with respect to his public conduct. A general wish of that sort has so often been expressed, and the particular proposition when brought forward, defeated by some particular consideration, that much stress will not now be laid on such a declaration. If the noble Lord was indeed the able and diligent character he has been held out, it can only be said that he had the most injurious colleagues, and the most ungrateful public, since the former must have consented to remove him from a situation which he occupied with so much credit, and

perhaps no change was ever so generally approved by the latter. Mr. Fox concluded that the navy of England was of more importance now, than at any former period. The whole of the campaign ought to teach Ministers the inefficacy of military operations. He had been told that there were ships ready to be sent to sea, if they could get persons to man them. He trusted that this was not the fact, and that steps would be taken immediately to procure more ships and more men for the service, and that no diminution of the military force would be considered as too great a sacrifice, in order to extend the scale of our naval exertions.

Mr. Secretary DUNDAS taking notice of some of the observations of Mr. Robinson, relative to the right of every Member to call for information from the servants of the Crown, admitting that right, and rejecting all idea of endeavouring to prevent it, proceeded to justify himself as to attention to his duty in the Navy Pay-Office, for which, he trusted, the House would excuse him when they reflected how necessary it was to prevent the effect which insinuations might otherwise produce, With regard to what had been said by the right honourable gentleman on the opposite side of the House, on the necessity of doing every thing that could possibly be done to improve our navy, he was ready to subscribe to every word of it; but he would be bold enough to say that there had not been the least negligence in that respect. And there he would call the attention of the Committee to the situation of this country at the commencement of the war: which had yet been of only two years duration. We began with only sixteen thousand men. Last year we had eighty-five thousand seamen. We had now on board of our ships of war no less than ninety-five thousand men—this was the exertion of Government in the department of the navy in the space of two years; in this situation, he would venture to say, that such exertion had not been exceeded at any time in this country.

With regard to what the right honourable gentleman had said, that he did not mean to attack the private character of the First Lord of the Admiralty, Mr. Dundas said he admitted that, and it was but justice to that right honourable gentleman to declare he understood him to speak of the First Lord of the Admiralty as a public man, and in that view too, he would venture to say of him it was impossible to state one fact to the disadvantage of that noble Lord: he would defy any man breathing to say there had been a fault in any one part of the naval exertions of this country. But this was not all; for instead of there having been no fault, there was uncommon merit in our naval exertions. The Committee would recollect, that in the prosecution of former wars it had been custo-

mary to ransack almost every merchant ship for all its sailors, and to proceed on such a scale as, for a time, almost entirely to destroy our trade. But at this moment he would take the liberty of saying, that notwithstanding the astonishing exertions which had been made to increase our naval force, our trade remained almost entire: therefore, let it not be said there had been any want of exertion on the part of the noble Lord who had been the First Lord of the Admiralty. There was another thing to be considered, which tended to prove the merit of our naval exertions; he would ask the Committee to recollect the nature of the difficulties which we had to struggle with in procuring men for the navy in the present war; we all know there was a great ardour in the Public for the success of the cause in which we were engaged; and he was ready to confess there were none who partook more of that ardour than our sailors; but it must be allowed also, that a great and powerful stimulus to entering into the naval service, and which operated in other wars, did not exist in this; he meant the love of prize-money; in this the English sailor had often been supported by the hope of returning to his wife and mistress with a load of wealth, and under that idea the wife or mistress had often consented to his adventure. But here there was no such cause to operate; for, to look after a prize from the French at sea, was like looking for a pin in a hay-stack. He agreed with the right honourable gentleman, that there had been an interference with the manning of the navy, by recruiting for the land service; but if the manner in which the service of the army had been supported, was an improper one, he was ready to take his share of the responsibility which ought to be attached to it, if there was a crime, he was ready to plead guilty to it; but be that as it might, it could not be considered as any fault of the First Lord of the Admiralty. It might be made a channel for attacking the conduct of the Executive Government generally, and if it should, he would be ready to defend it; but it could not be brought as a complaint against those who had the immediate care of our naval exertions. What was the nature of our situation with regard to our fleet at this moment? It had been insinuated that we had many ships which we could not man, and that we were at a loss to man them. God forbid we should be in such a situation. He should not now, for reasons which must be obvious, detail all the circumstances in this particular; but if he were to do so, he was confident the House would be astonished, as well as pleased, at finding the situation of our fleet at this time, and the force which we had ready for the moment we should chuse to employ them; having said this, and believing, as he did, that our naval force was at this very moment double to

that of the moſt exaggerated account of the enemy; of their force; he was ready to admit, that the naval exertions of the enemy were ſuch as to arouſe his alarm, but God forbid it ſhould create our fear. But let us ſee how we ſtood: We had now in our naval ſervice near ninety thouſand men, and in that number, by no means the proportion of landſmen which the nature of the ſervice was capable of admitting; therefore we might ſpread them much wider over our fleet, and ſupply by landmen the number of ſailors taken out of the ſhips to which they now belonged; and in this ſituation the Committee were now called upon to add fifteen thouſand ſeamen to the naval force. He looked upon this as the moſt proſperous ſituation this country could be in; for he believed that one hundred thouſand men had never before this been at one time in the naval ſervice of this country. And whatever meaſure might hereafter be neceſſary for the continuance of the naval ſuperiority of this country, he truſted it would be adopted; for he truſted that whatever difference ſome points in politics might create in that Houſe, there was but one ſentiment in it as to the neceſſity of ſupporting the navy; but he feared that the farther augmentation could not be made in the ſame manner as the force had been already raiſed, becauſe ſailors had not the ſame inducement to enter into this, as they had to enter into other wars. But he believed the paſt exertions would anſwer all the purpoſes which the people of this country could deſire. But he ſhould have ſaid ſomething on a point which had eſcaped him; he meant the conſtruction of our ſhips. He believed there was ſome truth in the aſſertion, that our ſhips, in point of conſtruction, might be inferior to the enemy; but he had no doubt that in every thing which related to the workmanſhip, we were much ſuperior; and however paradoxical the thing might ſeem, he would aſſign as one reaſon for the ſuperiority of the French ſhips in point of conſtruction, it was the general ſuperiority of our naval force. We had always an idea that we could ſink the French ſhips by fighting; and he would dare to ſay, that if the gallant Admiral who had ſpoken to-night, and who ſat ſo much at his eaſe now in the Houſe, and who had admitted the ſuperiority of the conſtruction of the French ſhips, was to meet one of them, he would, with her ſuperiority, undertake to blow her out of the water, if ſhe attempted to engage with him. There was another reaſon for this ſuperiority of conſtruction; it was the hatred with which, in this country, a projector was held. The moment a man, however ingenious he might be, ſaid he had any project, he was almoſt always treated as a madman; by this we ſometimes loſt ſight of our intereſt; for although but few pro- would anſwer to the ſanguine hopes of a projector, yet many

might have merit to a certain extent; he therefore declared he should be ready to receive suggestions that might be given him, and to co-operate with their authors, if he saw any prospect of any improvement to our naval architecture.

Mr. SHERIDAN said, he certainly agreed with the right honourable gentleman who spoke last, that there was hardly any difference of opinion in the Committee as to the propriety of supporting our naval superiority, but it was from an apprehension that no substantial good would arise to the country from what had been said to-night, unless Ministers were spurred on, that he should trouble the Committee on this subject. He was the more of that opinion, when he observed the manner in which the right honourable gentleman had conveyed his sentiments to-night. He had said, that one of the reasons for the superiority of the enemy in the construction of their ships, arose from the contempt in which projectors were held in this country, if that was the case, he was afraid the matter would be neglected, for the right honourable gentleman, at the time he admitted the superiority of the enemy in one respect, and the defectiveness of the construction of our ships, conveyed an idea that he thought our ships altogether as good as they need be, and this when he knew it was not the opinion of the best naval officers of this country. He had observed, that if the gallant Admiral were to meet one of the ships of the enemy, he would undertake to blow it out of the water. Mr. Sheridan had no doubt of the courage or the skill of that great naval Officer: on the contrary, he concurred heartily in the praise which had been so justly bestowed upon him. but when he talked of blowing the enemy out of the water, there was one thing to be done first, namely, to catch them, which we were not very likely to do, while they could sail faster than us, and which it was now admitted they were able to do. Mr. Sheridan said he was very sorry to see any disposition to treat this matter lightly, and he wished we might hear of some measure being taken in consequence of what had passed to-day, although he confessed he had no very flattering hope of any great good being done. It had been said by an honourable Member (Captain Berkeley) that single ships of the enemy sailed better than ours, but that they did not sail better in a body: he did not pretend to have much knowledge of sailing, but as a fleet could not be formed but by a collection of single ships, he did not see how the distinction could be supported by reasoning.—A great deal had been said as to the character of the first Lord of the Admiralty; some had expressed indignation that any doubt should have been expressed of the adequate abilities of the noble Lord; others had said that he was an amiable charac-

ter. To the first he would answer that he cared for the indignation of no man, when he was doing what appeared to him to be his duty to the Public, and speaking perhaps the voice of the Public. To the second he would say, that it was not an amiable first Lord of the Admiralty we wanted, but it was an attentive, active, and vigilant first Lord of the Admiralty, and if this was the character of the noble Lord, he had been most ungratefully treated by the Public, and shamefully deserted by his colleagues, and in that supposition, the best thing the House could do was, to address His Majesty to dismiss from his Councils those who had advised to turn out of so important an office, a nobleman so well qualified to fill it, and to place in his stead another, who, whatever his talents may be, must go through an apprenticeship in the service. He agreed with the right honourable gentleman who spoke last in one thing, that nothing was to be got by this war, that was what we all knew, and of which he needed not to have reminded us, but when he told the House the difficulties we had in manning our navy, and the credit he took to Government for having succeeded, he ought also to have reminded the Committee of another circumstance, which tended to facilitate our manning the navy—he meant that of our having no privateers. With regard to the vote, Mr. Sheridan said, he was so far from objecting to it on account of its being too large, that he thought it hardly large enough, and, in considering this, we were not to consider, as the right honourable gentleman had done, what force we had in former wars, but what was the strength of the enemy in this? and, upon that view, he was fearful the vote now proposed was too small; however, he should be ready to concur in any vote that might be necessary hereafter, in support of our navy, because he depended entirely on the navy in this war. He hinted also, that there might be some improvement in the Marines. Having said this, he proceeded to observe, that he had some reason to exult, when he recollected what he had said at the time of his giving certain information to the House, and when he recollected how he had been answered by the right honourable gentleman on the other side. He had made an assertion, with regard to the situation of Halifax last year that was flatly denied by the Secretary of State: it turned out, however, that he (Mr. Sheridan) was right. He had read a paper, which he said was the speech of Lord Dorchester to the Indians of North America: the Secretary of State called it a forgery; but it turned out to be authentic. He had alledged, the other night, that a company of merchants had agreed to invite His Majesty's Ministers, but that Lord Chatham was expressly excluded; and the reason alledged for that mark of disrespect was, that

he had not taken care to protect the trade and commerce of this country: The Chancellor of the Exchequer seemed to dissent from that assertion: he wished the right honourable gentleman would inform the Committee now, whether the assertion was true or false? These things he mentioned merely because he challenged inquiry into every thing he said in that House.

Mr. Chancellor PITT wished to correct Mr. Sheridan's statement of the invitations to the public dinner alluded to. For some time past, he could only charge his memory with one instance of a public dinner to which His Majesty's Ministers were invited. The invitation was not, as had been asserted by the honourable Member, of a general nature. On the contrary, it appeared rather particular, for, according to the best of his recollection, only four of His Majesty's Ministers were invited on the occasion, and if his noble relation happened to be among the number that had no card of invitation, it was somewhat unfair to attribute the accidental omission to a marked disapprobation of his public conduct. I have no desire, continued Mr. Pitt, to say any thing in vindication of the late First Lord of the Admiralty; because, however near and dear such a character must always be to me, any observation on my part would rather tend to weaken than to strengthen the just statement and honourable panegyric of my right honourable friend, (Mr. Dundas). I acknowledge, that the late exertions of the enemy have been extraordinary indeed, but do these exertions prove that they will be of long duration? No. They only prove, that they are rapidly approaching towards a state of imbecility—that their resources will be soon exhausted. They are the consequences of unparalleled and unprecedented violence. Can any man for a moment believe, that those exertions, founded on artificial finance and barbarous extortion, will continue to operate with that vigour and effect which a just cause and a permanent system are calculated to enforce? From our system of warfare, we may expect success, that of the French contains in itself the seeds of dissolution.

Mr. Alderman CURTIS would not say any thing of the late First Lord of the Admiralty, but unquestionably much of our trade had suffered for want of protection.

Admiral GARDINER vindicated the Admiralty. He thought the inattention attributed to the Board was ill founded. For the last four or five months he had been employed at sea, therefore it could not be supposed that he was sufficiently acquainted with all its transactions in his absence. To the charges, however, made against them respecting the French fleet, which had annoyed our coasts and captured some of our vessels, he could, without fear of

contradiction, affirm, that the Lords of the Admiralty, on that occasion, deserved more praise than censure; because they were no sooner apprised of the facts than they dispatched a squadron superior to that of the enemy, which exertion, he was happy to say, had its wished-for effect.

General TARLETON thought that this was an improper time for levity on the part of the Ministry, who had involved this country in its present deplorable state. The subject of discussion was one of the most important which had ever engaged the House. Admitting all the praise which the gallantry of our officers and seamen deserved for their manly exertions on the glorious first of June, the Board of Admiralty had not yet acquired, on their part, a triumph. If we were anxious for the effects of their wonderful exertions and official capacity, we might be amply satisfied by the mercantile losses recorded in Lloyd's list, which numerous and lamentable catalogue was attributable only to the supineness of the Lords of the Admiralty. His astonishment, however, was not excited by these facts; because His Majesty's Ministers had rendered themselves notorious for a total ignorance of all maritime intelligence. Mr. Dundas might, in the moments of jocularity, affect a joy, that, in the prosecution of this war, neither wife nor mistress lamented the absence of a husband or a lover; but the General confessed, that his mind was occupied with ideas more solid and beneficial to his country. The exertions of the French, in the present struggle, were unbounded. Not satisfied with vanquishing their active opponents, they endeavoured to conciliate the affections of their fallen foes. Ever since the death of Roberspierre, all restraint, all guard, had been withdrawn from the British officers and seamen who became prisoners; and he was afraid, notwithstanding the virtue and patriotism of these men, who had stood forward gallantly in the cause of their King and country, that many of them would be tempted to enter into the French service—nay, that some had already, in junction with American sailors, actually done so. The General, after recommending a farther augmentation of the seamen for the services of the year, concluded with ridiculing the acquisition of Corsica, which had been so much boasted of by Ministry, and which acquisition would never indemnify us for the sacrifice of our brave soldiers and seamen.

Alderman ANDERSON testified, that whatever blame might be attributed to the Admiralty for inattention to convoys, he was fully persuaded that the Irish and Baltic commerce had been sufficiently protected. He agreed that many losses appeared on Lloyd's list, but he wished to know if the merchants who had suffered in

these instances had applied for convoys.—He was very apt to think, that the captures alluded to had arisen from the rashness of the merchants, who would not wait for convoys; and when he reflected on these serious losses, he wished for a law, prohibiting the sailing of traders in time of war without convoy.

Mr. BRANDLING believed, that in some instances the trade had not been sufficiently protected; and was fully persuaded that on the strength of the navy depended the very existence of this country; he earnestly recommended its augmentation to the Lords of the Admiralty.

Sir RICHARD HILL justified the conduct of the Admiralty, and assigned, as a reason for our not capturing many vessels, the poverty of our enemy in commerce, and our not being at war with Portugal or Spain. All the ships formerly employed in trade by France, were now converted into privateers, which pop out of the ports, and instantly seize every ship they can. But, notwithstanding, he could not impute any blame to the Admiralty, and should heartily vote for the supply.

Mr. DAVID SCOTT said, that the East India and the West India, as well as our coasting trade, and all others who waited properly for convoy, had been fully protected by the Admiralty.

Mr. M. MONTAGU defended the conduct of the Admiralty, on the ground of our commerce being so extensive, that it was impossible to protect it in every point. The naval campaign, however, had been one of the most brilliant in the annals of the country.

Mr. LAMBTON said, he had conversed with the masters of ships taken, who assured him, they had seen 30 English prizes together in a French port.—He was also informed, that the French had sent all over the country where timber was to be found, models of the several parts and individual timbers of ships of the line, by which the people were instructed to cut down and hew out in the rough, the several parts, which were afterwards finished and put together in the dock-yards, so that in the course of a very little time they would be able to launch sixty new ships. These, they were aware, being made of unseasoned timber, would not last long, but the number, not the durability, was their present object. Thinking, therefore, that every possible effort ought to be made in the naval department of this country, he should vote for 100,000 seamen, as he would have voted with great pleasure for 150,000. Money laid out on our navy would be much better employed, than money given to the Emperor, perhaps to betray us. With respect to the late First Lord of the Admiralty, Mr. Lambton very can-

didly admitted him to be not only an amiable, but an able and ſenſible man, and his retreat he believed to proceed from his own conviction of the unpopularity which awaited on his ſituation.

A Member, whoſe name we could not diſtinctly hear, recommended a College, with a Board, &c. for the improvement of Naval Architecture. It was thus, he obſerved, the Romans acquired a maritime as well as a military reputation. By what he underſtood, when on board the French captures at Spithead, from ſome experienced officers there, they had a greater breadth of beam, and were conſequently enabled to ſupport a greater ſtreſs of ſail. Our upper decks fall home, as the technical phraſe is, with a great preſs of ſail, for want of this breadth of beam. There is a ſhip building at Chatham, in which it is expected this defect will be remedied. Still, however, he wiſhed, as the Parliament had inſtituted a Board of Agriculture, they would alſo inſtitute one of Naval Architecture.

Admiral GARDINER ſtated, that in the courſe of the year 1794, 108 convoys had been applied for to the Admiralty Board, and granted, and 140 ſhips were employed in that ſervice, beſides 15 ſhips and veſſels in the coaſting trade excluſively. He ſhould not have intruded again, he ſaid, upon the patience of the Houſe, but to ſtate facts.

Mr. YORKE expreſſed his ſatisfaction at the unanimity which prevailed for the increaſe of the navy, and in regard to what the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Fox) had obſerved, he exclaimed,

O ſi ſic omnia!

He acknowledged his reſpect for Lord Chatham, but confeſſed the attention to the navy had not been ſo complete as it ought to have been, although he was ignorant where the blame attached. He conceived the Captains of His Majeſty's ſhips had not been ſufficiently diligent, and imagined an act of Parliament ought to be paſſed, ſomething like a code of naval laws, to prevent that enterpriſe and ſpirit in the merchants, of riſking their veſſels without convoy. He had heard that a noble Lord, during the laſt war, had a ſimilar plan in contemplation, and why he dropped it was not known—For the other part of his obſervations, he wiſhed ſome inquiry to be made into the conduct of His Majeſty's officers, that if there did exiſt any negligence, ſome ſteps might be taken to prevent it.

Mr. SHERIDAN ſaid, in anſwer to a queſtion aſked in the courſe of the converſation, that the mark of diſſatisfaction with the conduct of the late Firſt Lord of the Admiralty he alluded to, was, his not being invited to the dinner given by the American mer-

chants to Mr. Jay, the Miniſter Plenipotentiary from the United States.

Mr. ROLLE ſaid, that he ſhould vote for the reſolution, as he was convinced that every exertion in the naval department was now abſolutely neceſſary. He paid ſome commendation to the late Firſt Lord of the Admiralty, to whom, he ſaid, that he had never applied, at the deſire of his conſtituents, for a convoy, without its being immediately granted.

Sir JOHN SINCLAIR ſaid, the diſcuſſion was productive of much good. He recommended attention to the growth and management of timber for the Royal Navy, which the Board of Agriculture was very well calculated to promote

The Houſe was reſumed, and the report ordered to be received to-morrow.

In a Committee of Ways and Means, paſſed the uſual reſolutions reſpecting the Land and Malt Taxes.

Ordered, that the report be received to-morrow.

Thurſday, 8th January.

The Report of the Committee of Supply, by which one hundred thouſand men are voted for the ſea ſervice for thirteen months, at five pounds a month per man, &c. being brought up, the reſolution was read a firſt and ſecond time, and agreed to *nem. con.*

Friday, 9th January.

Lord STOPFORD reported that His Majeſty had given directions that there be laid before the Houſe the various documents ſpecified in the Addreſſes.

Mr. ROSE obſerved, that with regard to the Land Tax bill, it contained an exception in favour of thoſe officers of the navy, and of the widows of ſuch officers to whom His Majeſty had been pleaſed to grant penſions: the amount of the ſum to be thus allowed to them was ten or twelve hundred pounds a year, and a liſt of the names would appear with the ſums, in the papers on the table.

Mr Roſe then moved, that there be laid before the Houſe an account of the nett produce of all the taxes ending on the 5th of January, 1795. Ordered.

Monday, 12th January.

Mr. ATTORNEY GENERAL gave notice, that on Thurſday next he ſhould move for a continuation of the Suſpenſion of the Habeas Corpus Act of laſt ſeſſion.

Tuesday, 13th January.

The House, in a Committee, went through the Land Tax bill; in which an amendment was made, to take off the tax on the pensions of naval officers, &c.

Mr. BERKELEY presented an estimate of the expences of the Office of Ordnance for the year 1795.

Mr. SPEAKER acquainted the House, that he had received from Sir Charles Grey, and Sir John Jervis, Knights of the most honourable Order of the Bath, the following letters, in return to the thanks of this House, signified to them by Mr. Speaker, in obedience to their commands of the 20th day of May, in the last session of Parliament.

SIR, *Martinique, November the 26th, 1794.*

By the Queen Charlotte packet, arrived this day, I received the honour of your letter of the 21st of May last, with the votes of thanks from the House of Commons of Great Britain to me, and the army under my command.

We feel this flattering testimonial of the public approbation of our conduct, and the polite terms of your letter, Sir, by which it is communicated, as the most eminent favour, and are thereby impressed with the warmest and most lively sense of gratitude.

I have the honour to be, with the greatest respect,
Sir, your most obedient and humble servant,
CHARLES GREY.

P. S. A note from Mr. King, Deputy Secretary of State, acquaints me that your letter, with those resolutions, has been so long detained there, in the expectation of my arrival in England.

The Right Honourable H. Addington,
Speaker of the House of Commons, &c. &c. &c.

SIR,

On the arrival of the Queen Charlotte packet, I am this day honoured with your letter, dated the 21st of May, transmitting the resolutions of the House of Commons, so flattering to myself, and to the officers, seamen, and marines, it was my good fortune to command during the late operations in these seas; I shall lose no time in communicating them to Rear Admiral Thompson, and to the Captains, officers, seamen, and marines, who remain on the Leeward-Island station.

No language I am master of can express my gratitude upon this occasion; and I request you will do me the honour to convey the same to the House in the fullest manner.

The very elegant terms in which you, Sir, have been pleased to communicate these resolutions, claim my warmest thanks; and I have the honour to be, with the greatest respect,
Sir, your most obedient and most humble servant,
J. JERVIS.

Boyne, St. Pierre, Martinique, 26th Nov. 1794.

The Right Honourable Henry Addington, &c &c. &c.

Wednesday, 14th January.

On reading the clause in favour of officers and their widows, in the Land Tax bill, a short conversation took place between Mr. Alderman Curtis, Mr. Alderman Anderson, and Mr. Rose. The worthy Magistrates stated, that their constituents, the inhabitants of the Tower district, would be taxed about 900l. a year more than they formerly were; they approve of the principle of the clause, provided it was borne by the public at large. Mr. Rose observed, that if the clause was to be abandoned, the inhabitants of the Tower district would not be in the least benefited, for that the duty on pensions by way of land-tax, were payable at the place where the pensions were to be received, which was not now in the district of the Tower, but at Somerset House, in the dutchy of Lancaster.—This conversation ended in an understanding, that Mr. Rose should concur, as a Member of Parliament, in some measure that may be brought forward for the benefit of the inhabitants of the Tower district next year.

The bill was then ordered to be engrossed, and to be read a third time to-morrow, if then engrossed.

The SECRETARY AT WAR brought up an account of foreign troops in the service of Great Britain for the last year. Ordered to be laid on the table.

Thursday, 15th January.

Mr. HUSSEY expressed a wish, that the Chancellor of the Exchequer might inform the House whether the subject of the loan to the Emperor was to be brought forward before the budget; he thought it would be disgraceful to the House to pass by that subject without a full investigation; and he thought a separate one would be the best.

Mr. Chancellor PITT observed, that the honourable member might perhaps not have been in the House when he had said a few words on a former night on that subject. He had then stated, that the Imperial loan and the budget were so blended, that he could hardly separate them in what he should have to submit to the House. He had thought of the matter a good deal since. He had as great a desire as any other Member of the House could have that the subject should be fully discussed; and he hoped an opportunity would offer for that purpose. He wished the question, whether it was proper, under all the present circumstances, that the proposed pecuniary aid from this country should be granted to the Emperor, for his military assistance in the course of the common cause, should be

fully discussed. He therefore believed that he should have it in command to convey to the House a message from His Majesty, in which something of that kind would be laid before them; this he believed would take place in the course of the next week, and he intended, when he came into the House to-day, to give notice that something of that nature would be laid before the House early in the ensuing week, and that consequently he should be under the necessity of postponing the opening of the budget for two or three days beyond the time at which the notice now stood.

Mr. HUSSEY said, he wished it to be understood, that he said nothing about the propriety of giving the Emperor the proposed assistance, all he wanted to inforce, at present, was the necessity of having the matter fully investigated.

Mr. Chancellor PITT said, it would be open to the honourable member to bring forward any proposition, when the subject should come before the House, but he owned, that he had for some time felt a difficulty in stating the matter separately and distinct from the budget, and that arose out of the nature of what he thought was necessary to be proposed; however, he wished for the most ample discussion of the subject.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL rose in consequence of a notice he had given, that he should have the honour of submitting to the House a motion for leave to bring in a Bill to continue the provision of an act passed in the last session of Parliament, the effect of which was to empower His Majesty to secure and detain such persons as he should suspect to be conspiring against his person and Government. He was sure the House would have the indulgence to hear him while he delivered a few words upon that subject. He happened to be absent on the first night of the session; had he been present it would have been part of his duty to submit to the House some observations on the late trials, and also on what fell from many members that night, and he felt some disappointment that the observations on the subsequent debate on that subject, were such as precluded him from stating what his duty, in his view of it, called upon him to state, and therefore he gave notice of the motion with which he should have the honour of concluding. He did not expect the House would be very full to-night, and as he thought that many objections might still be offered to the measure on the part of those who had opposed it formerly, he thought that some future day would be appointed for the discussion of it; but after what had passed this session, he hoped they would give him leave to bring in a bill, and then he would state the ground on which he brought it forward, at large, on another occasion; the whole of

the difcuffion he fhould refer to that future period. With that underftanding, he hoped there would not now be any objection to giving leave to bring in the bill, for he wifhed the fubject to be difcuffed in a full Houfe. He moved, that the title of the act of the laft feffion of Parliament, which enabled His Majefty to fecure fuch perfons as he fhall fufpect, &c. he read; which being done, he moved "That leave be given to bring in a bill to continue the provifions of the faid act for a time to be limited."

Mr. SHERIDAN faid, that in one thing only he could agree with the learned gentleman, whofe motion had been juft read, namely, "That, to proceed in the difcuffion of fuch a fubject, in fo thin a Houfe, would be improper;" for no perfon could have imagined that fuch a meafure fhould have been brought forward at all, much lefs be debated, when the number of Members was barely fufficient to form a Houfe. As the call of the Houfe was fo near, he, for his own part, doubted whether it would not be as good a courfe as any he could take, to fuffer this motion to pafs, and to referve oppofition to the day of the difcuffion. There was one thing, however, to be obferved from the thinnefs of the Houfe, and which appeared to him to be a good omen:—it proved, that the Houfe in general did not believe in the exiftence of any plots or confpiracies, on the foundation of which the Habeas Corpus act was fufpended; fo little did they think fo, that they had not even the curiofity to come and hear the learned gentleman open the merits of his cafe. He, therefore, took it for granted, that he fhould not hear of any new plots, or new confpiracies, or new difcovery of treafonable practices; for, in the threatened fpeech of the Attorney General, there was not one word of frefh information: it was evident he intended to make out his cafe out of the good old plot. However he muft fay, as nothing new had been faid on the fubject, he could not expect but that all thofe who oppofed the former bill muft be againft this motion; and if he did not take the fenfe of the Houfe upon the queftion, even in this ftage of the bufinefs, it was becaufe he did not wifh to fhew to the Public the thinnefs of the Houfe upon fuch an occafion.

Lord WILLIAM RUSSELL faid, that on the renewal of a meafure, which deprived the people of this country of fuch effential rights, he expected to hear a cafe made out that called for fome rigour. When the people of England were to be told they were to give up their liberty, fome reafon fhould be affigned in order to fhew it was the effect of the moft imminent danger, and arofe from inevitable neceffity.

Mr. LAMBTON faid, he confeffed, that on a matter of fo

much importance as the prefent, he expected to hear fome reafon affigned for the meafure now propofed. He could never confent to depriving Englifhmen of rights fo dear to them, on grounds fo equivocal as thofe on which the Habeas Corpus act had been fufpended laft year; he expected to hear of fome new plots and confpiracies, but to find the fame attempt made upon the old pretext really aftonifhed him; and ftill the more fo when he reflected on the late trials, and the evidence given on the part of the Crown, as well as various other circumftances which were frefh in the recollection of us all: he would repeat, that in fuch a cafe as the prefent, he was aftonifhed that an attempt fhould be made to fufpend the provifions of an act fo dear to Englifhmen.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL faid, that as the Houfe had already determined that the original ground was fufficient for fufpending the Habeas Corpus act, he conceived that to affign any new ground was perfectly unneceffary.

Mr. FRANCIS faid, that if the ground on which the Habeas Corpus act had been fufpended laft year was fufficient, very ftrong ground had appeared fince, not for continuing the fufpenfion, but for removing it. This new ground arofe out of the late trials; out of the cafes of thofe who had been treated as criminals, and had fuffered long, arbitrary, and harfh confinement. Thefe perfons had been tried and acquitted; and whatever fome perfons might fay, he would venture to affert, that by their acquittal a negative was put on all ideas of plots, on which the act of Parliament had been fufpended. And now an attempt was made to continue the fame reftraint, as that to which we had been before fubjected, and to leave the liberties of us all at the will of the Crown.—Where, he would afk, was the new confpiracy? or who were the new confpirators? He would maintain that there was not the fhadow of a juftification for preparing to offer this infult to the honour of this country, a thing which Minifters had often done, and in which they feemed ftill determined to perfift.

Mr. ANSTRUTHER denied there having been any arbitrary or harfh confinement in the cafes of the perfons who had been tried for high treafon; they had not, he faid, been confined for one hour longer than by law they muft have been if the act for the fufpenfion of the Habeas Corpus had never paffed. Thefe perfons had no right to complain, for the Grand Jury had decided by finding the bill, that there was probable caufe for fuppofing they were guilty. They had fuffered no punifhment at all, and they had fuffered no confinement to which they were not liable in the due courfe of law. With refpect to any new circumftances in the

case of a conspiracy, this was not the day on which that topic was to be discussed.

Mr. FRANCIS observed, by way of explanation, that he considered the cases of these persons acquitted, as very hard cases; he meant expressly to say, that they had sustained unjust penalties. Gentlemen, on the other side, said, that imprisonment, such as these persons suffered, was no punishment at all. He trusted in God, a day would come when they themselves would experience whether it was to be regarded as a punishment or not.

Mr. GREY supported the propriety of the observations of Mr. Francis, on the hardships of the persons who had been tried for high treason. He doubted the truth of the observation of a learned gentleman (Mr. Anstruther), that the persons accused had suffered no more than if the act for suspending the Habeas Corpus had never passed; he understood, on the contrary, that if that act had not passed, they would have been entitled to their trials at the next assizes. However, tried at last they were, and honourably to themselves, and happily for this country, they were acquitted. He thought it something ominous that the further suspension of the Habeas Corpus act was to be so much a matter of course in that House, that they were not even to have a full attendance on it. He agreed with those who thought that strong grounds of necessity indeed should be laid, before Englishmen should lose the dearest rights they ever enjoyed. This was a case of too important a nature to be passed by in any stage of it, and therefore he must persist in taking the sense of the House upon it.

Mr. Serjeant WATSON explained the operation of law, in cases of high treason, to be, that if any person accused of that crime, be not brought to his trial at the second assizes, he shall be discharged; and, therefore, he maintained, that the persons whose cases had been taken notice of to-night, had been tried as early as by law they would have been entitled to be tried, if the Habeas Corpus act had not been suspended.

Mr. WHITBREAD thought it necessary that the sense of the House should be taken on this occasion, and this in his opinion, the situation of the case itself demanded. If he had approved last year of the ground on which the Habeas Corpus act had been suspended, then the only question would be whether the same ground remained, so that the suspension ought to be continued; and even upon that way of putting the question, he found himself bound to vote against the measure now, for the very ground on which the whole was founded, had been entirely taken away. But judging, as he did, that there never was a ground for the suspension, he had an additi-

onal reason for voting against this measure. It had been asserted, that not one person had been detained in prison for one hour longer than if this act had not passed into a law: that was another reason for his being of opinion that there existed no good reason for suspending the Habeas Corpus act; for if the very persons alledged to be the most forward in the conspiracy, on account of which the act of Parliament was passed, were no longer detained in prison, than if the act had never been passed, it was pretty clear it was unnecessary to pass it; of the truth of this Ministers seemed themselves to be aware, for the last person who was to have been tried, had a few days ago been liberated; he alluded to the case of Mr. Martin.

Mr. ANSTRUTHER was proceeding to speak, but he was called to order by the Speaker.

The House divided;

For the motion, 71; Against it, 13. Majority 58.

Friday, 16th January.

Mr. WINDHAM, the Secretary at War, stated, that as the Secretary of State for the War Department (Mr. Dundas) was unavoidably absent, it might be proper to put off the discussion of the army estimates till a future day. He proposed, therefore, to move them in the Committee of Supply on Wednesday next.

General TARLETON said, that in the present alarming situation of the army on the Continent, and the critical state of affairs at home, it would be a proper mark of the dilligence of the House to sit to-morrow, and either then or on Monday, the honourable gentleman might take an opportunity to bring forward the army estimates, which would so far tend to quiet the public mind.

The SPEAKER stated, that the days for the Committee of Supply, in which the estimates must be brought forward, were Monday, Wednesday, and Friday. He supposed that the House at rising would adjourn over Monday. The honourable Member was, however, competent to move, though not consistent with the usual practice, that the House might sit in a Committee of Supply to-morrow. It was understood that the army estimates should be deferred till Wednesday.

The Sheriffs of the City of London attended at the Bar, with a petition from the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons, in Common Council assembled, stating that the avenues leading to Temple Bar were narrow and incommodious. The petition was brought up, read, and ordered to be referred to a select Committee.

Mr. SHERIDAN observed, that though the Secretary of State for the War Department was absent, yet as the Secretary at War

was in his place, he wished to ask him a question. He considered that in the present calamitous situation of affairs, the Public had a great right to complain of the want of early and authentic intelligence, with respect to the events passing in Holland. No Gazette had appeared to announce the particulars of what had lately happened in that quarter. This he considered as a very unpardonable neglect with respect to the Public, at a period when affairs wore so alarming an aspect, and so particularly distressing to the individuals who had relatives with the army, and were thus left in a state of the most painful anxiety and suspense with respect to their fate.

Mr. Chancellor PITT said, that he could scarcely conceive the honourable gentleman to be serious in the remark which he had now brought forward. What interest could he possibly conceive Ministers to have in keeping from the Public the knowledge of any disaster for a space of twenty-four hours, whatever regret they might feel upon the occasion. The fact, however, was, that a Gazette had been some time in preparation, and was now, he believed, printed off; and, had the honourable gentleman gone home, he would have found the answer to his question in a copy of the Gazette upon his table.

Mr. SHERIDAN said, that he found it difficult to account how the right honourable gentleman should conceive him to be otherwise than serious in the disastrous situation of affairs, into which the country had been brought by the present—not to use a harsher term—unfortunate administration; a situation which was becoming every day more and more alarming. He was equally at a loss to account what preparation could be necessary in order to lay before the Public a simple narrative of facts. Ministers might make light of a delay of twenty-four hours in communicating intelligence; but if they were so negligent of their duty to the Public, yet still some consideration was due to the feelings of those individuals, who were kept upon the rack from uncertainty, with respect to the fate of their relatives, and to them a delay of twenty-four hours was a consideration of no small consequence.

Mr. Chancellor PITT stated, that there were two objects which he wished to bring forward at the earliest opportunity. The one was the consideration of the Austrian loan, which he supposed he should be authorised to bring before the House, by a message from His Majesty, in the course of next week. The other was an object, in which, from the sentiments that had been expressed from all quarters, he could not doubt of the unanimous concurrence of the House, the consideration of the most efficient means to be taken for manning the navy. After a conversation of considerable length

and intricacy, the arrangements of business for next week were settled as follows:

The House to be called over on Tuesday.

The army estimates to be moved in a Committee of Supply on Wednesday; the further suspension of the Habeas Corpus bill to be debated on Thursday; and on Friday the motion of Mr. Grey (which stood for Tuesday), with respect to peace with the present Government of France.

Mr. Chancellor PITT stated, that on Friday he expected to be authorised by His Majesty, to bring down the message relative to the Austrian loan, which would of course be taken into consideration on the Monday following. He should likewise take the earliest opportunity of bringing forward his budget.

The bill for renewing an act passed last session, suspending the Habeas Corpus, &c. was read a first time, and ordered to be read a second time on Thursday next.

Mr. MARTIN said, that he had come down yesterday, expecting that the discussion of a measure so serious as the motion for leave to bring in this bill, would have occupied a considerable time, and was very much surprised to find that the House had adjourned at an early hour. He took therefore this opportunity to state, that under the present circumstances, he considered it as his duty to give his most decided negative to this bill in every stage of its progress.

Mr. SHERIDAN stated, that as the arrangements were settled at present, he should take the first opportunity to move for the correspondence relative to the Prussian subsidy, as he considered it of great consequence before we entered into new engagements with the Emperor, to ascertain what use had been made of the money already taken from this country in the way of subsidy, and what reliance could be placed on the fidelity of our continental allies.

The House at rising adjourned till Tuesday.

Tuesday, 20th January.

The House was called over, after which the excuses of such absent Members as had sent excuses, were received.

Ordered, That the names of defaulters be called over on Friday, and that they do then attend in their places.

Mr. FOX moved that the House be called over again on Tuesday fortnight, and that, in the mean time, no Member quit town without leave of the House.—Ordered.

Wednesday, 21st January.

The Usher of the Black Rod desired the attendance of the Com-

mons in the Upper Houſe. The Speaker, at his return ſtated, that the Houſe had attended in the Houſe of Peers, where the aſſent of His Majeſty had been given by commiſſion to the land and malt bills.

Mr. Chancellor PITT brought up a copy of an order of the Council, with reſpect to receiving goods belonging to Holland in His Majeſty's warehouſes. The Chancellor of the Exchequer ſtated that the object of the order of the 16th was to receive in His Majeſty's warehouſes all goods ſhipped from Holland; the object of the order of the 21ſt was to receive goods that might be bound for Holland. As there could be but one opinion on the expediency of ſuch a ſtep, he ſhould immediately move for leave to bring in a bill for rendering effectual the order of His Majeſty's Council, &c. On the ſuggeſtion of the Speaker, the motion was made in a Committee of Trade, and granted by the Houſe. The Chancellor of the Exchequer moved for leave to bring in a bill prohibiting the exportation of all articles of grain from Scotland, and permitting the importation of grain and all other articles of proviſion into England duty free.

Mr. HUSSEY ſuggeſted, that in the preſent ſcarcity of proviſions, he ſhould be happy that the diſtilleries ſhould be ſtopped, and propoſed it as a meaſure deſerving the conſideration of the Houſe.

Mr. Chancellor PITT replied, that at preſent the quantity of wheat employed in the diſtilleries was of no conſiderable amount, and he doubted whether the advantage likely to ariſe from the meaſure would be ſuch as to balance the inconvenience with which it would be attended.

Mr. BUXTON remarked, that a regulation with reſpect to hair-powder might be extremely beneficial to the poor: every pound conſumed ſuch a quantity of wheat as could not readily be conceived.

Mr. FOX ſaid, that it would be difficult to introduce any regulation of that ſort, without laying a prohibition on the making wheat into ſtarch, which would be, in every point of view, attended with great inconvenience. He admitted, however, that the ſubject was extremely worthy of conſideration; and, if there was a time at which it was incumbent upon that Houſe to attend to the ſtate of proviſions, the preſent was particularly urgent, not only from the preſſure of the general war and the conſequent calamities to the poor, but from the failure of the harveſt, which he underſtood had by no means anſwered the ſanguine proſpects at firſt entertained, and the unhappy ſituation of Poland, which precluded all hopes of any ſupply from that quarter.

Mr. HUSSEY ſaid, that from what he underſtood of the high

price of barley, and likewise from a circumstance of the brewers having lately stopt on account of the scarcity of malt, he would in all probability be encouraged speedily to bring forward some such proposition as he had originally suggested.

The Report was then received, and leave given to bring in a bill.

Colonel MAITLAND said, that with a view to further discussion, he proposed now to make a motion on which he should not enlarge, as he understood that it would meet with no opposition. He therefore moved, that an humble Address should be presented to His Majesty, to give directions, that there should be laid before the House a return of the names, dates of commission, and length of service, of those who since the commencement of the war had been appointed field officers, those who had received brevet rank not being included.

Mr. WINDHAM stated, that if the honourable gentleman, by his motion, meant to ascertain that rank had not always been bestowed according to seniority, that indeed might be matter of regret, but could not be imputed as matter of blame to Ministers, who in the mode which they had adopted, with respect to bestowing promotion, had only accommodated themselves to the necessities of the public service.

Colonel MAITLAND said, that in order that Ministers might not be at a loss, he should candidly state his motives for making his present motion. He knew well that at the commencement of a war, in order to remedy the scantiness of a peace-establishment, it was necessary to over-step the bounds to which at other times it might be proper to adhere, and that rank was given to such persons of fortune and situation, as were enabled to come forward, and raise regiments for the public service. This was a practice resorted to in all wars, and of which none had a right to complain.—Neither did he mean to object to the rapidity of promotion which had lately taken place. But he knew of many instances where men of large fortune, and in a situation which gave them the command of men, had offered to raise regiments, and had been refused—while permission for that purpose had been granted to others in circumstances exactly the reverse. What he had therefore to complain of in the present instance was not any partial deviation from system, but that all system was abandoned, all confidence was destroyed between the soldiers and the officers, the officers and the Generals; boys from school were set over the heads of veteran officers, and men dragged from prison to the service of their country. Ministers, in short, had rendered the system entirely subservient to their own corrupt views of influence, and had shewn the same neglect in the military

department, as in his mind they had done with respect to every other branch of the public service.

Lord ARDEN brought up the ordinary estimates of the navy, which were ordered to be laid on the table.

The Order of the Day was read for the House to resolve itself into a Committee of Supply, Mr. Hobart in the Chair.

Mr WINDHAM, Secretary at War, said that to those gentlemen who had had an opportunity of looking into the papers laid upon the table, it would be scarcely possible for him to convey any clearer idea of the estimates, which he was now to move, but as many might not have had this opportunity, he should briefly submit to them a summary of the result, reserving himself afterwards to give any explanation that might be required in the course of the discussion. The papers, as had been usual on all former occasions, were divided into the following classes, the estimates of the guards and garrisons, of the forces in the plantations, of the troops lent from Ireland, of the recruiting contingencies, of the pay of the general officers, of the pensions for the widows, and Chelsea Hospital, of the fencible infantry, and fencible cavalry, the cloathing, &c. Several of these articles were of a nature which called for no explanation. The principal head was that of the guards and garrisons, including all the regular force not employed in distant service, among whom were comprised the troops now serving on the Continent, &c. The second head, that of the plantations, comprised all the troops not included in the former; the troops in the West Indies, in Corsica, in Gibraltar, in America, &c. Mr. Windham here entered into a number of minute calculations, with respect to the amount of the expence of the different branches of the services. The whole force on foot, including regulars, militia, and fencibles, he stated to amount to 149,627 men, taking in the Indian regiments, it amounted to a much greater number, not less than 222,656 men. This view of the force which Great Britain had been able to produce, he stated to be exceedingly consolatory with respect to her capability of carrying on the present contest; on the other hand, the very great expence at which only so numerous a force could be supported, must no doubt be admitted to operate as a drawback. The expences of this force amounted altogether to 6,652,745l. The increase in point of numbers had been much more rapid than had taken place in the same period of any former war. It amounted to no less than 73,029 men; the additional expence incurred by this increase, was a sum of 217,548l. Having done this, he should no longer detain the House, farther than might be necessary to answer any questions that might arise in the course of the discussion.

He concluded with moving the first resolution, that a number of land forces, amounting to 119,380 men, including 3,882 invalids, be employed for the service of the year 1795.

General TARLETON rose, and addressed the Chairman, as follows:

Mr. Hobart,

If I advert to the particulars or the total of the estimates, my mind is filled with melancholy and astonishment—So much expended, and so little done! If victory had attended our arms, these expences would, in that case, have been severely felt in the country, but retreat and defeat render them very unpalatable indeed. It will be necessary to say something upon every point on which the right honourable gentleman has touched, as well as every item of the account. I shall, therefore, class my observations as nearly as I can, according to the numbers of the different estimates. But as the radically bad system of recruiting the army was adopted before the right honourable Secretary at War entered into office, it will be but fair to state the folly and disadvantages of that system, not imputing them to him, before I range along the extended line of the estimates. As far back as the year 1791, His Majesty's Ministers thought there was a necessity for augmenting the army, and commencing hostilities; but happily for England, Englishmen did not entirely adopt that opinion, and grim-visaged war was subdued in this House, because the country wished for peace, and the Ministers wished to keep their places. However, during the short armament, a system of multiplying commissions, rearing officers, and crimping men, took its growth. This system was always reprobated on this side of the House, and most particularly by an experienced General* and most amiable man, whose absence from this House, and loss to the world, must always be sincerely deplored. I shall endeavour, in a very few words, to prove that the mode of raising men to which I allude, was unwise, improvident, and unconstitutional. In the first place, it cancelled the rule laid down at the end of the American war, viz. that the different regiments of infantry should be recruited by the different counties of the kingdom, and which had, in consequence of that regulation, adopted their respective names. But when this system of jobbing and competition commenced, that valuable regulation, which communicated both enthusiasm and confidence to the counties, to the Colonels of regiments, and to the battalions themselves, was overthrown. Besides rendering the old Colonels, whose experience and talents might be extremely useful to

* General Burgoyne.

the service, *merely regimental cyphers*, what is the consequence? The old corps get no men; the Officers of the independent companies bid against one another, and the veterans of the line are exposed to every disadvantage, or laid under the severest contributions, that they may not be subject to the petulant frowns or imperious mandates of purse-proud school-boys. Old Majors of the line are now placed at a greater distance from the commands of regiments, as each regiment is now provided with two Lieutenant Colonels; or, if the old Major purchases, he may soon be reduced, and suffer a considerable diminution of income, by being placed on the half-pay list. Old Captains, likewise, have four Field Officers in their van, perhaps all inexperienced men, before they can arrive at the command of a regiment, or, if they purchase, the eldest Captain may be established, by paying 700l. for his Majority, but the second Captain must be reduced at a peace to half pay, although he pays 550l. for the Majority, and the companies are sold for 1400l. a piece, if Government can obtain that sum, in order to carry on the recruiting account. Great sums of money have been taken out of the pockets of individuals, and in a manner which, in former days, would be deemed unconstitutional, because without the knowledge of this House, but in these new and surprising times, the Minister can create a loan or a tax, and Parliament, with amiable obsequiousness, assents to his proposition.

Hitherto their new-fangled system has produced no good. Nothing salutary or vigorous has proceeded from it. Competition between young men and crimps has taken place, but the army or navy have not been benefited, but injured, and the country will be saddled for a number of years, with a progressive and almost incalculable expence. Nothing is now wanting to complete this pernicious system, but to introduce it into the navy. Let rich young men provide stores and ships, and take the command of those experienced officers and gallant sailors, who have protected this country for centuries, and who, I trust, will defend it to the latest posterity.

I will now draw the attention of the Committee to the construction of an independent company. One hundred men are to be raised—Government did give about three guineas, now, I believe, the bounty money is higher. I will calculate, however, at three guineas, which makes 315l.—I add to that sum 164l., the half-pay of 1 Captain, 1 Lieutenant, and 1 Ensign, which I believe is calculated at 10 years, and makes the sum of 1640l., which added to the bounty, makes a total of 1955l.—Therefore, though Ministers say they only give three guineas, in fact the country pays about 19l. for each man so raised. No longer therefore do we see the old

Colonels or the counties engaged in forming and completing vigorous battalions, which might have been done by offering and keeping the bounty at 8 or 10 guineas per man; but a delusive, unsubstantial, unconstitutional, and corrupt system has arisen. What are the generality of these companies composed of? Infancy and dotage;—whilst crimps and school-boys raise and command these champions of their country. In the course of my reading concerning warlike notions, I never yet learnt that the auctioneer's hammer was the symbol of command, or that a broker's shop was the necessary appendage of the *Campus Martius*, or the camp.

I had almost forgot to mention an instance, which I should have been sorry to have omitted, out of the great variety to be met with, of the progress *now* made in the army:—A young nobleman, with whom I have not the pleasure of acquaintance, but who is, I dare say, perfectly accomplished and amiable as a gentleman (I mean Lord Granard) seems to have outstripped all his competitors. He commenced his military career on the 12th of November, 1794, and in the next Gazette we see him jump from his Cornetcy to the rank of Lieutenant Colonel Commandant. One Gazette displays the ranks he has passed through, and 17 days experience qualifies him for the command of a regiment. I do not blame this young nobleman for the ardour of his race, but impute serious blame to His Majesty's Ministers. If this rank had been acquired by any gallant exploit in the face of the enemy, I should say that this sudden elevation was well conferred. For real service, the reward can hardly be too great, or the promotion too rapid. The spark of emulation cannot be too much encouraged in young officers; but when I see gold and rank the principal passports to high situations, I entertain very serious apprehensions for the success of the army, or the well-being of the country.

Sir, having now done with this statement, and, in so doing, disposed of three considerable articles, viz. Recruiting Contingencies, Levy-money for Augmentations, and some part of that article called full pay to supernumerary Officers, I shall recur to the first head of the estimate. Though I do not admit 2,777,534l. to be wisely or economically expended, yet when I recollect that 148 regiments are provided for with that sum, I am at a loss how to measure or calculate the forces of our Austrian ally, to whom we are to give six millions for one year, especially as it is, I believe, universally acknowledged, that military service is done cheaper, and administered with more economy, by that power, than by any other in Europe.

As for the Fencible Corps, they are so interwoven with the

charges for the militia, (whom I honour and respect) and in other instances, that I do not know how to separate them, or calculate to the charges; but we find two gross articles for Fencible Cavalry, amounting to 360,000l. If the charges were more moderate, I confess I should have still great objections to this mode of raising men, because it is extremely prejudicial to the recruiting for the army, and finding men for the navy. These corps, as I am informed, are never inspected by any General, though the officers have an allowance of bounty of 10l. a man, to serve in England and Scotland; and some of these corps extend their protection to Jersey and Guernsey. I shall dismiss this article without any comment, because it must be evident to the Committee, that this jobbing system militates against the real interest of the army and navy of Great Britain. Now, Sir, the result of this estimate is, that the people of this country are to pay 6,622,000l. for an army thus raised and managed. They have likewise to look forward to the Extraordinaries of the Army—the Ordnance Estimates—the Barrack Master's Accounts—the Commissaries' Account,—with a string of minor accounts, and all the subsidies to our numerous and vigorous allies.

I shall here drop this part of the subject, and look at the conduct of the war.

On the origin of the war, or, to express myself more clearly, the measures which were adopted by His Majesty's Ministers to plunge this country into such a calamity, I shall at this moment observe a total silence, being fully convinced whenever that particular question is agitated, that the rise and progress of the war will be ascribed to English intrigue and English gold: and I know that I have able, eloquent, and honourable friends near me, who will never suffer the Chancellor of the Exchequer to disentangle himself from that responsibility. I shall therefore proceed to give an outline of the military operations which naturally come within the scope of this day's debate.

Sir, it appears to me, that no ornament of language should be used in giving to the House the statement of our military affairs; and that it will be more regular and perspicuous to review the enterprizes and operations of our armies at a distance, and then gradually proceed to our own coasts. I shall not dwell upon circumstances of a moderate size, because other opportunities will arise to scrutinize thoroughly into them. I mean this as a general outline, more than a perfect picture; for the scene is so vast, and so replete with folly, rashness, incapacity, calamity, and horror, that the

human mind cannot at one time embrace it completely, or the human attention give it a distinct and patient hearing.

The first object to be regularly viewed is the West Indies. I pass over the plans and miscarriages which had taken place in that quarter of the world, previous to the expedition prepared for Sir Charles Grey. That distinguished and able officer had, I believe, a promise of 10,000 men from this country, to be added to the force then existing beyond the Atlantic. He had the mortification, however, to find that promised and necessary army, after unaccountable delays, reduced to 5000 rank and file. I shall not stop to comment on the employment of the eight regiments stolen from this expedition, but endeavour to give a sketch of the proceedings as they occurred in the West Indies. Notwithstanding the diminution of force, Sir Charles Grey (of whom I shall never think or speak without respect and regard) wisely conceived that if he executed with rapidity, he might complete a plan which required the proportion of troops originally allotted to his expedition. This promptitude and decision, united with courage and skill, made a striking impression upon the enemy, and Guadaloupe, Martinique, St. Lucia, and other islands, yielded to the British arms. Was this gallant army, which was necessarily wasted by a series of conflicts, and exposed to a pestilential climate, properly reinforced?—No. Have the losses, the difficulties, the dangers, to which our troops have been liable, been expressed or detailed by the Commanders upon that station to the Ministers in England? I believe no man will give a negative to that question. What then is our present situation? We know that our gallant army has been weakened by hostilities, and almost consumed by disease. We know that Guadaloupe has been snatched from us, and we have too much cause to apprehend that the other islands will soon be reconquered. The best accounts and the last returns of the army fully justify this apprehension, as there are not 1700 men to defend all our own and the conquered islands. Where are the reinforcements so often called for, and so often promised to Sir Charles Grey?—Either reduced by a long residence in transports to a state of infantine imbecility, or now riding in the harbours of Portsmouth and Plymouth. With respect to the operations in St. Domingo, I shall, in a few words, state the prominent parts, and my opinion on the general plan. I have not the smallest hesitation in saying, that the conquest was too great to be atchieved with such numbers as were employed. A country so extensive and populous was not to be held by a corps more resembling a corps of buccaneers than a regular army. The force that could be spared from Jamaica and the other

iſlands was not adequate to the conqueſt or poſſeſſion of St. Domingo: therefore the reſult of ſo ill-concerted an invaſion will be the probable loſs of numbers of officers and men, and the certain loſs of reputation in that quarter of the world.

In addition to all theſe misfortunes and loſſes, another very great detriment has ariſen to His Majeſty's commercial ſubjects. The miſconduct of Miniſters is not productive of partial diſadvantage; the peſtilential influence of their counſels is extenſive and general. On the conqueſts made in the Weſt Indies many merchants and manufacturers who were drooping under loſſes and misfortunes occaſioned by the war, once more reared their heads, and were encouraged by Government to ſend large quantities of goods, which had been locked up in their warehouſes, to theſe new markets. Whether this effort of induſtry will be placed to the page of profit or loſs, requires but little foreſight to foretel. The manufactures of Lancaſhire, of Yorkſhire, and of other counties of Great Britain, will moſt probably be worn by the French; and the unfortunate merchants who have thus ſpeculated, with a firm reliance for protection on Government, will find themſelves the dupes of their own confidence and credulity.

I come now, Sir, to the military operations in Flanders, which if viewed in detail, and related at length, would confound the attention and exhauſt the patience of the Houſe. It is not my deſign, to preſent a journal at this moment, which I muſt do if I entered fully into the preſent, and part of the former campaign, which is neceſſarily connected with it, becauſe each day appears to have been pregnant with events of the greateſt magnitude. I ſhall therefore, for the convenience of gentlemen, now bring forward only the prominent parts. In the firſt place, it ſeems to me neceſſary to eſtabliſh the *point of time* when His Majeſty's Councils influenced the meaſures of the allies in Flanders. From all public documents, and indeed by many ſtatements made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer in this Houſe, it appears that the Britiſh Miniſter had conſiderable influence on the Continent from the period of the Congreſs at Antwerp. This fact being aſcertained and acknowledged. From this remarkable epoch I ſhall briefly bring forward the principal operations which ſucceeded it; and in paſſing over theſe events, I wiſh it to be underſtood that I do not impute any culpability whatever to the illuſtrious Prince at the head of the Britiſh army, or to any General Officers under his command. But as the Miniſters have frequently claimed in this Houſe, the approbation of their country for the ſucceſſes which followed the Congreſs at Antwerp, I ſhall now beg

leave to remind them of the errors committed since that period, which clearly point out the quarter from whence they originated. After the junction of the allies—after the defeats of the French—after the defection of Dumourier—after the explanations which were, or might have been, derived from that quarter of the state of the frontier of France, it appeared strange and wonderful that the first effort of the combined powers was not directed against Lisle. It was almost universally known that that fortress, at the period to which I allude, contained a disorganized garrison and scanty magazines. And it must be apparent to the dullest capacity, that from its extent and situation, Lisle possesses the double advantage of being the bulwark of Flanders, and the key likeliest to advance all military operations within the boundary of France. Notwithstanding the time appeared particularly favourable, and the possession of Lisle was an object devoutly to be wished, how did the combined army pass the summer?—In taking Valenciennes and Condé; places comparatively of no consequence: and afterwards the combined troops were divided to take Dunkirk, Quesnoy, and Maubeuge. This movement, however, afforded a favourable opportunity for an honourable General*, a friend of mine, to perform an exploit which will immortalize his name, and the corps he commanded. At Lincelles, a victory was atchieved by an inferior body of men, labouring under every disadvantage, which will be recorded as long as the annals of this country shall be preserved. If I chose to examine and investigate the silly operation against Dunkirk, I might dwell upon the subject a considerable time, and find an ample field for comment and censure. Suffice it to say, that a plan so ill-calculated and arranged, produced its own defeat. As it is acknowledged that the enterprise against Dunkirk originated in the British Cabinet, I live in hopes that the author, whether civil or military, of this great project, will not be concealed long from the world, that the present age and posterity may have the opportunity of holding in just admiration the man who had power to divide the combined forces, and detach a considerable army to attack a town, which, if taken, would only have proved a burthen to this country, and a clog to the operations of the army, till Lisle was reduced. This ill-conceived plan produced defeat to the allies, and gave confidence and courage to the French. This miscarriage contributed likewise to the defeat of the Austrians before Maubeuge; after which, the contending powers retired to winter quarters, and the outposts of both parties continued alert till the return of spring.

* General Lake.

Of the operations of this campaign, which is not yet concluded, I ſhall take only a curſory view. If the forces of the allied powers which took the field in April, were not ſo numerous as might have been expected, the ſcope of the plan for the campaign ought to have been narrowed; for it was ſoon apparent that the allies were not able to preſerve a reſpectable defenſive in Weſt Flanders, and to proceed with a powerful army into France. Liſle poured forth her forces, and Pichegru, like another Ulyſſes, covered his opponents with confuſion, ſhame, and diſgrace. It would be irkſome to dwell upon the victories of the French—on the retreat of Clairfayt—on the firſt countermarch of the Britiſh army—on the want of union amongſt the allies till the arrival of the Emperor—on the ill-concerted attack upon the French corps in the vicinity of the River Lys—on the ſteady perſeverance of the French in the neighbourhood of Tournay—on the effect of all theſe operations in changing an offenſive into a defenſive war, on the part of the allies—on the battle of Fleuris—on the ſiege of Ypres—on the evacuation of Oſtend, leaving Nieuport to its fate—on the general retreat of the combined powers, leaving Queſnoy, Landrecy, Valenciennes, Conde, and ſeveral other leſſer garriſons to fall into the hands of the enemy.—I need not now enumerate the lines of march, the number of columns made uſe of in thoſe movements, or the artillery and magazine which were taken by the French.—I will not deſcribe the poſitions occupied on the frontier of Holland, or relate the conflicts which took place betwixt the Auſtrians and the French, before the former paſſed the Rhine, or between the Britiſh and Dutch and the French, before the former arrived at Arnheim.—I will not recapitulate the ſieges, or even the names of the places which have fallen between Landrecy, Cologne, and Nimeguen. I will not dwell upon the paſſage of the Waal, or the probable reſult of operations in that quarter. I will not attempt to deſcribe how many, or what gallant, men have been the victims of the ſword or diſeaſe, for the ſcene is not yet cloſed, and its aſpect is too tragical to be ſurveyed by any Engliſhman, without the keeneſt ſenſations of melancholy and indignation. If we turn from this proſpect, ſo replete with misfortune and deſtruction, can we find the leaſt veſtige of conſolation in the diplomatic ſources of the right honourable gentleman? What is the nature of the treaties in which England is engaged? Are they likely to contribute to the glory and advantage of the country? Are wiſdom and economy conſpicuous in theſe important tranſactions? Are they equal to all parties? No. We have to deplore an immoderate and profuſe expenditure of public money, without the chance of attaining any one object which might prove ſervice-

able to the Public. Are we not bound to all the disadvantages, whilst our virtuous allies have provided for their own liberty and indemnity? The catalogue of names would be equally extensive and unpleasant. Russia and Spain only prescribe boundaries to our absurdity. The vigour of Austria, and the good faith of Prussia, are equally proverbial, but the payments and credulity of Britain keep pace with the avarice and perfidy of her allies. After the experiments we have made—after the trials we have had—after the millions we have lavished—with the example of Prussia fresh rankling and festering in the public memory; the nation is invited, nay, in some measure pledged, to the most enormous subsidy; a subsidy which outstrips all comparison and calculation, and rises above the most tow'ring imagination: a loan of six millions sterling, for not one farthing of which either principle or interest, can we compel the payment. Great God! Are we thus to hoodwink our understandings, and pluck the money from the pockets of our deluded and miserably oppressed constituents?

Now Sir, (continued the General) having viewed and cursorily passed over several operations and transactions, which no man who feels any love for his country, can dwell upon without the most painful and indignant sensations, for there is guilt and calamity sufficient to disgust the mind and nauseate the soul, let me for a moment indulge myself in addressing a few observations to some respectable individuals, Members of this House. I could ask a young Colonel when the allied armies are to march to Paris? What plans and manœuvres are now to be adopted to clear the passage to that place? Where are we to find a successor to Colonel Mack? I could ask a noble Lord, if Roberspierre has left a legacy like Brissot? Has the will of that fallen Statesman afforded him the same glorious opportunity of illuminating the House of Commons? Have the writings of that prostrate demagogue furnished the Ministerial advocates with reasons for prosecuting the war? Notwithstanding all we have heard in this House, does the present situation of France agree with the past reasonings and predictions of Ministerialists and Alarmists, or with those of the Members of the Opposition? Or has not every change in France, since the commencement of the war, proved peejudicial to this country? I could remind the right honourable gentleman, that the wisdom displayed by the British Cabinet in the attack of Dunkirk, excelled the atchievements of Turenne before that place; that the getting hold of Toulon was superior to any enterprize of his father; that the forces under Sir Charles Grey, which he sent against the whole of the West-India islands, were more numerous and better provided than the forces directed solely against the

Havannah. I could force upon his recollection what the late Lord Camden said, and said well too, in another place. "Admiral Hawke and Prince Ferdinand," said the learned Lord, "have been alluded to in this debate, as having essentially served their country; most certainly they had, and undoubtedly their merit, as professional men, was unquestionable: but to whom ought it ultimately to be ascribed? To the Earl of Chatham; the one was his Admiral, the other his General: the battles they fought, were the battles of his planning." Let the right honourable gentleman apply these few sentences of that worthy and venerable Peer, and let the country judge between the Earl of Chatham and his son.

I will now, Sir, with permission of the Committee, offer a few ideas, which may be applied or not, as gentlemen think proper. I will suppose that Great Britain, without making any offers of peace, or any change of Ministry, decides to carry on the war, which it is very probable it will do, from the tenor of the late speech from the Throne. I will suppose the next campaign prosperous in the extreme; and undoubtedly every person will admit that it is of that description, when I state that the forces of Great Britain and her allies shall recover Holland, re-conquer Austrian Flanders, and in every quarter of Europe drive the French within the limits of France. I will suppose likewise, that our efforts in the West Indies are equally successful, and that all our naval operations partake of the general glory. This success must inevitably cost Great Britain a number of lives, and, according to the present poverty of our allies, fifty millions of money: to obtain what? The situation we possessed at the commencement of the last campaign? Is not that country in a truly deplorable condition, which is obliged to expend torrents of gallant blood, and fifty millions of money, to regain only a former situation, and then to commence an attack against a nation the most impenetrable, the most populous, and, I had almost said, the most warlike, in the world? Let any considerate man contemplate this series of successes, and then let him add fifty millions to the money already expended, and cast up the national debt at 340 millions; the interest of which is to be provided for by taxes, before any money levied can be appropriated to the existing circumstances, and the regular government of the country, and will he have cause to rejoice or complain? But if I was to suppose an extreme case on the other side; suppose I should say, the French will obtain Holland, Mayence, and the West Indies; make peace with Spain, and create the most formidable navy in Europe; suppose the campaign opened under the direction of the present Ministers, from whom naturally the country may expect the same species of

plans, and the same energy of execution, which we have hitherto experienced; what prospect would then most probably present itself? The invasion of England or Ireland, under every disadvantage, and perhaps the fall of one or both might be the consequence. No scene that the most melancholy imagination could suggest, might not be realized before the conclusion of next Autumn! Suppose, then, I state the middle line between these two cases; suppose we have a little better campaign than the last, a mixture of victory and defeat. In that situation, which is the likeliest and most probable, we shall certainly experience great losses from an interruption of our trade; incur great expences, by subsidizing our numerous allies, and by our own great warlike preparations, undergo a vast diminution of valuable inhabitants, and at last be obliged to try for peace, on terms more and more disadvantageous, as every campaign draws to a conclusion.

Now, Sir, having stated a variety of facts as shortly as I could, having dealt sparingly in metaphor and declamation, I shall sum up a very plain speech, by recapitulating the points upon which I have touched. An improvident, unwise, and unconstitutional system has been adopted in augmenting our army, an extensive war has been conducted without energy or skill, defeat and disease have thinned the ranks of our choicest troops; and the pride and bulk of armies, both in the West Indies and in Holland, are in a most perilous, nay, I may say an irretrievable, situation. Our Generals, for many of whom I entertain the highest respect, have had no opportunity of exercising their professional talents, but in retreats. If I was to enumerate the losses of our allies, I might fairly estimate them at 350,000 killed, wounded, and taken prisoners. Near fifty millions of money have been expended, and can any man say that one enterprize or expedition has been wisely planned since the commencement of hostilities? Immense sums have been, and are to be, paid to our allies; and I believe no man in this House, or in the country, thinks seriously that they have afforded us cordial co-operation. A loan of 24 millions, a loan the most extraordinary and gigantic, has been contracted for in a most extraordinary manner.

This, Gentlemen, is the prospect which rises to your view. Will you look at it with apathy, or will you rouse yourselves from the fatal delusion into which, by innumerable artifices, you have been hurried? Let another false alarm be excited, let another dose of Ministerial confidence be swallowed, and your fortunes, your families, your distinctions, your form of government, so long cherished and

revered, nay, your liberty itſelf, will be overwhelmed in undiſtinguiſhed and inevitable ruin.

Mr. HUSSEY ſaid, that he roſe to make a motion, that the Chairman ſhould now leave the Chair and report progreſs. The right honourable gentleman had a few days ſince given notice of his intention to bring forward the diſcuſſion of a plan, for the more effectual manning of the navy. He was of opinion that this object ought to ſuperſede all other conſiderations, and that if poſſible 20,000 men ſhould be added to the 100,000 already voted for the ſea-ſervice. He conſidered exertions in this way as likely to be much more beneficial to the country, than any that could be made by increaſing the number of our land forces. The reſources of the country were great, but not inexhauſtible; he did not believe that they were yet nearly exhauſted, but there was, in his opinion, a certain limit beyond which we could neither raiſe men nor money. Our laſt ſtake ought to be employed as beneficially as poſſible. If any one controverted the propoſition that the country was approaching to its laſt ſtake he would mention one or two facts; he had the curioſity to inſpect ſome of the newly-raiſed regiments, and found them compoſed of men between 70 and 80, and boys of 12 and 13; there was a man in his neighbourhood, who had ten years ſince been diſcharged as unfit for the ſervice, and who was lately enliſted, at a bounty of ſeven guineas. He concluded with making his motion.

Mr. Chancellor PITT ſaid, that he did not think, with the laſt honourable ſpeaker, that vigorous exertions for the army at all impeded thoſe that ought to be made for the ſervice of the navy. On the contrary, they had always been found to go hand in hand, and in looking to former wars, it would appear that we had been moſt powerful by land. The preſent reſolution, then, ſo far from tending to defraud the navy, ought to be conſidered as having an entirely contrary effect. Is it then to be urged that we are come to ſuch a ſituation, that if we vote this number of men for the army, we ſhall not be able to provide for the naval ſervice? The honourable gentleman has admitted that our reſources are ſtill great. If it be ſaid that we ought to look to our laſt ſtake—that laſt ſtake is certainly involved in the ultimate iſſue of the preſent conteſt. We can only, in the preſent moment, approach to that exhauſted ſituation by a baſe timidity, a contemptible imbecility, which would induce us to abandon the object of our exertions, and would prove us unworthy of the bleſſings we enjoy. He then argued, that though the war, which it had lately been the faſhion to term diſgraceful, had been attended with heavy and ſevere preſſure, ſtill our reſources

had increafed beyond the proportion of our expences, and that, as far as it related to the internal ftate of the country, to its commerce and its credit, and to the means of recruiting the army and the navy, never was there any war in which the afpect of affairs, after two years of hoftility, was fo profperous and encouraging, and in which fuch great exertions had been made within fo fhort a fpace. We were yet, he trufted, neither deficient in the means nor in the fpirit neceffary for a vigorous profecution of the war. Being convinced then that to put the army on a refpectable footing, was the beft method to render our naval fuperiority more fecure, and to give effect to our naval exertions, he would rather vote the refolution immediately, than, by deferring it, rifk the fmalleft chance of difcouraging the public fpirit. And in this determination, he was the more confirmed, as whatever wifhes might be entertained with refpect to negociation, all quarters had agreed on the neceffity of keeping on foot a great and powerful force—a neceffity, furely, which it would not be contended, that any thing which lately had occurred, had, in the fmalleft degree, tended to diminifh.

Mr. FOX faid, that if the right honourable gentleman had had the good fortune to be minifter of this country in the reign of Queen Anne, when we had, by the wifdom of our meafures, gained fuch military reputation, and which, he hoped, we fhould never lofe; if he had been Minifter, as his father was, at the end of what we generally called the feven-years war; if he had the reputation which his father had, for fecuring North America to this country for a time; if he had gained in proportion as he had loft; if he had acquired as much glory by his political conduct as he had entailed upon himfelf difgrace, he fhould then, Mr. Fox faid, have had fome doubt whether the ftile and tone of the Minifter could have been juftified: prudent it could not be in any man, at any time, under any circumftances; but what would the Houfe think, and what would the people feel, when they found fuch a man coming forward under fuch circumftances? What was to be faid of a Minifter who afked, and that with a tone of authority, for the confidence of the Houfe in this profecution of the war? A Minifter who had been fo unfortunate, at leaft, as to fee every one of his predictions reverfed by events; who had year after year, regularly and conftantly, purfued meafures the moft wild, extravagant and dangerous, which experience taught us to be fo, and which had brought us into a fituation which, in point of real calamity, was, perhaps, never equalled in this country at any former period.—That fuch a Minifter could have the hardihood to afk for any confidence was aftonifhing; it was adding an infult to our injuries. It was

telling us that what the country suffered he regarded not. What defeat, disgrace, or disaster befel us, he minded not; for, that under them all, his spirit remained unbroken; nor was he content with this, for he affected to cast ridicule on those who opposed the war, by saying that it was the fashion with them to call this war calamitous and disgraceful—now he should be glad to know, if it was the fashion, who was the cause of it? Would the Minister deny any one of the statements that were made of the disastrous events by which the war had been so unhappily distinguished? Would he deny that the object for which the war was undertaken on our part was lost? Would he deny that we had not met with disappointments and defeats, misfortunes and disasters, which were unequalled in the history of the world? Would the Minister shew one event in the whole course of the present winter that could be construed in our favour? Not a week passed without producing a gazette giving some account of our misfortune; this was the case from time to time until Flanders was entirely lost, Holland now, perhaps, pretty nearly so, and a great part of Spain, and also a considerable portion of our West India dominions. This was the man who asked for the confidence of the House in future, and who affected to treat with levity the sentiments of those who did their duty to the public, and who said what they thought, that the present war was calamitous and disgraceful.—And what was our prospect at this moment? The Minister said, that, in some sense, this was our last stake. What did he mean by that? Had he the same object now in view as he professed to have had at the commencement of the war? Would he now seriously tell the House that he had any hope of effecting a counter-revolution in France? Was not that object lost for ever? Was it not given up by every power in Europe but that of Great Britain? Had not every one of them virtually, by their actions, acknowledged the French Government, while we stood alone vainly and foolishly attempting to prevent such a recognition, by which we had brought ourselves to the verge of ruin? He remembered how the Minister, some time ago, used to answer some objections that were made to his administration: he affected, with a manner that was half modest and half assuming, to say that, with all defect that might be urged against the conduct of the Government, the country was in a prosperous condition. Little merit as there might be in such a declaration, when urged by way of argument, yet it taught us to reflect on our condition now, and to make us feel that if any merit of the Minister had brought us to a state of prosperity, there must be some fault in the same person who has brought us to the verge of ruin. He remembered, he said,

the calamities of the American war, and, at the time, he thought them great, but now, when he compared them with the calamities of this war, they sunk into trifles. He then said that Ministers were to blame; such appeared to be the general opinion, and Lord George Sackville and Lord Sandwich were removed: something of this kind was the case with regard to the late first Lord of the Admiralty, but that was not the case with respect to the Minister at war, but on the contrary, a third Secretary of State was appointed, seemingly for the purpose of keeping the conduct of the war in the hands in which it was before; and to the same hands which managed the last glorious campaign was to be trusted the care of the next; and what were the people of the country to expect from all this? The Ministers themselves, or their friends, continually told us, that the British arms had been well conducted; if so, our hopes must be at an end; for, with all the advantage of such good conduct, the result to us had been only calamity and disgrace.—By whose fault we had been brought into this situation was not a matter of the same importance as the question, What means we should pursue in future? He, for one, was ready to declare, that all the blame appeared to him to be applicable to Ministers; for, if Ministers were accused, and some General, or any other Officer, was to blame in the conduct of the war, it was an easy thing for Ministers to say so; but if, with brave troops, good Generals, faithful allies, and good conduct, this was our situation, there remained, with respect to the prosecution of the war, nothing but complete despair. Having said this, he came to take notice of the situation of our troops in Holland. Whether the Dutch entered into negociation with the French with or without our knowledge, was a matter that must be explained hereafter; but when we knew that such was the case, it was the duty of Ministers to take care that the British troops should not be left in a situation where they might be sacrificed: the best thing that could be done in that case, was to give the army as good winter quarters as could be provided, and as speedily as possible bring it back to England. With regard to the effect of the proposed vote, he was one of those who were willing to assent to it if necessary, provided that could be done without crippling the navy; but as it possibly might have that effect, the better way would be to enquire into the fact; and therefore he should support the motion of his honourable Friend, that the chairman should leave the chair, report progress, and ask leave to sit again. The Minister was sanguine as to the power of this country to raise money, and, Mr. Fox said, he was so also; but the greatest difficulty he had was about raising the men, and he was well assured

that the great bounty which was given to volunteers in the army, had a bad effect on the service of the navy. And he was sorry to be compelled to say, that on comparing the preparations for this with preparations for other wars, the army had in this much more than its due proportion, when contrasted with the navy, and there never was a war when the exertions of this country should be so much directed to the navy as the present; and what was every man to conclude from the vote which was proposed to-night, but that we were going to send thousands of British troops out of this country to be slaughtered in Germany, or imprisoned in France? Was not that true? Had not that been the case in this campaign? He had no intelligence except what the gazettes afforded, from which he found the loss of the British troops to be dreadful. He hoped that no more of them were to go to the continent, for of the two alternatives, if the one or other must be adopted, he would rather that English money should be squandered, than that English men should be slaughtered. He then took a short view of the conduct of administration since the commencement of the war, and maintained that they had pursued many measures which were highly injurious to the interests of this country, and omitted many by which it might have been highly benefited; and after all, was it not more than a British House of Commons ought to hear, that a mighty army was to be put under the direction of men who had gone so far towards the ruin of their country, and who would not give as much as an account of their conduct? What, he would ask again, did the Minister mean by an affected sneer, that it was the fashion to call this a disgraceful war? Would he attempt to deny that assertion? Would he say it was not disastrous, calamitous, and disgraceful? Would he compare it with any other in which this country had ever been engaged? Would he compare the events of it with those of any other? Town by town lost, army by army defeated. Here Mr. Fox entered into an enumeration of the losses of Valenciennes, Condé, and the various other places, until he came to the fate of Holland, in all which he saw nothing on the part of our administration but arrogance and incapacity. He did not wish to say any thing of himself, but he had no doubt that if his counsel had been followed, even a long time after the war had commenced, we might still have saved Holland. Was he to be told it was the fashion to call this a disgraceful war? it was the fashion with him to say what he knew, and it ought to be the fashion with the people to express what they felt. With regard to the finances and resources of this country, he admitted them to be great, but he desired it to be remembered also, that the debt which we already

owe was extremely great, and if we proceeded much farther in this ruinous war, it might come to be a question, what were the resources by which we might pay off the interest of our debt and support the Government. This war had deeply affected, even our resources already. It had affected our manufactures in a very considerable degree; if the Minister doubted it, a gentleman (Mr. Windham) would give him some information from his constituents, upon that subject; but if that was the case with regard to our own manufactures, before we lost Holland as an ally and a customer, what was to be the case now, that Holland had got in the hands of the French? He had heard it said that the credit of the two countries was inseparably blended, that in particular the bank of England and the bank of Amsterdam, were, in point of concern to us, one and the same thing; this was the language held out in order to get us into this war; he admitted it was not used by the Ministers, but they all suffered it to have its weight at the time it was uttered; they said nothing to shew the fallacy of it. If, on the other hand, there be no fallacy in it, what was the situation of Amsterdam, and consequently the situation of this country, at this very moment? He was sure he did not know; and he was afraid the Minister did not know. He was afraid, too, that the Dutch would be of opinion, that our excessive friendship, our great good-will, had been the cause of their ruin. Indeed there was too much reason to suspect that this was true, with regard to the Dutch, but, as to ourselves, we were in a similar situation—we were the only power in Europe who refused to acknowledge the present Government of France; all the other had virtually done so. We were now about to persuade the Emperor, by means of six millions of money, to pretend to change his opinion upon that subject, after we had tried all other in vain upon the same occasion. Good God! that a Minister who had brought us into this calamitous and disgraceful situation should come to the House of Commons, and expect confidence as to his future operations! Still more deplorable it was that there should be a House of Commons who would hear such a proposition; in this there appeared to him to be something sadly inauspicious and alarmingly ominous. The Duty of the Minister was to come to that House, and to express himself only in tones of sorrow and contrition; and the duty of the House, in his opinion, after what they heard from the Minister, was to express their indignation at his arrogance. He concluded with observing, that he should not have entered so much into the various points he had insisted on to-night, if the Minister had not, by his manner of treating this question, treated that House and the people of this

country with so great contempt; for what was it but, contempt, to treat with severity, complaints against a war which was the most calamitous in which this country was ever engaged?

Mr. Chancellor PITT said, that the manner in which Mr. Fox had treated the observations which had fallen from him, must have struck every gentleman in such a manner, as that they must have anticipated the reflections which he was about to offer to the consideration of the house. So gross and evident a perversion of every thing he had advanced, it was his firm persuasion that no one had ever uttered. The right honourable gentleman had begun with saying that confidence had been called for by him (Mr. Pitt) in administration, and had inquired, with an air of insulting triumph, what ground of confidence could be stated by his Majesty's ministers, of sufficient force, after what he termed the disgraces and disasters which the country had suffered under their administration, to induce the public to put that trust in them which they demanded? The fact was, however, that not one syllable had been advanced on the subject of such confidence: how far there were grounds for a just and constitutional confidence in ministers, was a question of a different nature, and which he was ready to argue, whenever any occasion should call for it. The confidence which he has mentioned was of a different kind from that to which the right honourable gentleman had alluded: it was a confidence which he should be ashamed not to feel, whatever might be the arduous situation in which he himself might be placed, however disastrous the state of the nation might appear, it was a confidence in the resources of the country itself, a confidence in the perseverance and spirit of its inhabitants. What shame, said he, can possibly attach to any man for expressing a proper and firm reliance on the spirit and perseverance of the people, and their attachment to their constitution? Gentlemen were not, as had been asserted, called on by him to rely on the merits of administration, but on the resources and credit of the country, the zeal and vigour of the people. Although the contest in which we were engaged was truly said to be the most important and extensive of any in which we had ever been engaged; yet it was equally true, that the resources of this country, to enable it to support that contest, were at least increased in an equal proportion. Was there then any thing arrogant or presumptuous in expressing confidence in those resources, or reliance on the people, that they would still continue to make exertions proportionate to the means they possessed? The misrepresentation of the right honourable gentleman could only be considered as an attempt to deceive and delude the people, and not a fair appeal to the manly feelings of a great and

generous nation. It was an attempt, unworthy of the right honourable gentleman, to fetter the country in their exertions against their enemies, at the same moment that he (Mr. Fox) had pledged himself solemnly to the House, that the greatest exertions were necessary for carrying on the contest. The next point in which that right honourable gentleman had misrepresented him was with respect to the levity which had been ascribed to him when speaking of the misfortunes which the country had endured since the commencement of the war, and in the last campaign. The tone of exultation which that right honourable gentleman had used when speaking with an effected concern for those misfortunes, he thought much more likely to give offence. What levity, however, was there used? He did not deny that events, which he lamented as much as any one, had occurred, nor did he attempt to under rate the misfortunes which had undoubtedly happened during the war. He certainly felt the disasters of the war, first, as effecting other powers, then affecting us by our general situation with respect to Europe, and those with whom we are more especially connected; but more particularly as affecting our own immediate prosperity, and impeding the prospect of our own tranquillity, but notwithstanding all this, he should still state, what no clamour, however loud, however boisterous, could prevent him from stating, that while he saw resources, such as these were, in the country, it would still be wise and prudent to carry on the war, in spite of the distress and misfortune which had attended it. He hoped he knew how to feel the miseries and calamities we had endured, that he knew how to feel alarm, unaccompanied with despair, and to express the language of firm and unabated resolution, in the midst of a trying and difficult situation. With respect to his use of the term *fashion*, he had been much misrepresented. He did not mean to deny, by that mode of speaking, the disasters which had taken place on the continent, but to show that gentlemen had been too eager to magnify those disasters, and to foretel the consequences that might ensue. He wished them to recollect that many powers engaged in this war had been reduced in former times to the greatest straits and extremities; but had gained great and immediate applause for their magnanimity in struggling with their difficulties; and the subsequent approbation of wise and prudent men, who saw them ultimately succeed by their magnanimity. What he wished to reprobate was the fashion of indiscriminately speaking of every part of the war as uniformly disastrous, and, to-night as being uniformly disgraceful. The right honourable gentleman, he said, had assumed this disgrace, but knew not where it ought to fall; first he fixed it on ministers, and then, which did not appear

remarkably candid or generous in him, he wished them to give a share of it to the generals and officers who had had the conduct of the war. It was not just, either in the first instance, to take it for granted ministers were guilty, nor afterwards to desire them to shift off the blame from themselves. He, however, was very happy in stating, that not only this had not been a disgraceful war, but that the reputation of the country never stood higher; for, both in success and adversity, its armies had shown the most unexampled courage and fortitude; and that in every respect, as far as concerned our military operations, this would be found to be one of the most honourable and brilliant periods in the history of the nation. Whatever might have been the pressure as to immediate apprehension, yet experience would prove, that the balance was in our favour. He desired the House to look at our successes by sea and the West Indies, and to examine the effect which these advantages had had on our internal situation. Ask any man, he proceeded, who dwells with real, but without a concealed joy, on the misfortunes we have suffered, whether it has not been the fashion uniformly to apply the term disaster to every action during the war? One remark he should make on this topic, that if the whole were true, yet it would form no argument on the present occasion, it might, perhaps, be regular to introduce it, because there was scarcely any occasion in which invective against administration might not be easily introduced in some shape or other. If the right honourable gentleman were serious in supposing, that in every instance misconduct was manifest, that there had been no event, which had not been disastrous and disgraceful to this country, that all our operations were the fruits of folly and ignorance, and that all these charges were to be laid to the account of government—he ought, at least, to deal fairly. Could he believe that the consequence from his premises was, that we were to have no army? Or, were we to abandon the war, because Holland was lost? or, because thwarted in some of our objects, were we to omit the best means of defence, viz. the means of offence?

If the right honourable gentleman believed all he had advanced, the only way to remedy it would be by petitioning his Majesty to dismiss his ministers; why did not the right honourable gentleman assert this openly? He, of all men in the country, had the least need of any delicacy on the subject. If he could prove that, his Majesty's ministers were incapable of conducting those affairs with which they were charged, there could be no doubt but success would follow the endeavour to procure their dismission; but this would not carry with it the consequence, that he (Mr. Fox) could be introduced

himself into his Majesty's council: for if he did not convince the country that the war was inconsistent with their interest, and would be ruinous to the interest and happiness of the people; if he did not satisfy them that it would be more proper for them to make a peace with the existing government of France, though he might succeed in the removal, yet he himself would not have the conduct of affairs. As to the points of misconduct, the first alluded to was the expedition of Sir John Jervis to the West Iudies. It had been asserted on the other side, that the number of men was not sufficient; that, at first, 10,000 were promised, but that a great number had been stolen by government. It was highly absurd to use such language; for no man could conceive, that where circumstances called for an employment of forces different to their original destination, that government had not the right of altering their first determination. The force, however, had been decided by the event to be sufficient, as all the service had been done which at any time was in the contemplation of Government. He was as ready as any man to allow that an increase of merit should be attributed to the commanders; but this must be said, that great exertions had been made to supply that army, which had been retarded by unfortunate circumstances, which, however, were as much to be imputed to Ministers, as the frost which had opened the passage to Holland. With respect to the dilemma, which the right honourable gentleman had attempted to drag Ministers into respecting the conduct of the war, it was certainly very ingenious. When, however, he put the cases of the good or bad conduct of our allies or our officers, he should have been aware, that it is not fair to state extreme cases; for was there nothing intermediate between the complete and precise fidelity and good conduct of our allies, and a total and full desertion of every principle of faith and honour? And was there no medium between the extreme of disaster and misfortune, and that of complete success? Notwithstanding many adverse accidents had brought on a series of calamities, yet they did not destroy all hopes of success, or at least of making a stand against those calamities. Would any one say that it was not better to resist and oppose them, than tamely to submit, without making any stand at all? It must be admitted, he said, that some of our allies had not acted perfectly as we had a right to expect; and one, he was sorry to say, whose fall we had to deplore, perhaps came under that description; but he should forbear to say any thing with respect to that power, because all we now could do for it was to lament its calamities. But would any one say we had not set them a great example of vigour in our operations, and of a steady performance of our engagements? and though it

muſt be ſaid with regret, that we bad not been completely ſucceſsful, yet we had the ſatisfaction of uſing every effort to avoid that deſtruction, which otherwiſe muſt have been accelerated by two years.

The right honourable gentleman had, with great inconſiſtency, imputed to Adminiſtration, firſt, that they had not recalled their armies home the minute Holland ſhould ſhew a diſpoſition to make peace. Did the right honourable gentleman mean this as a ſpecimen of the manner in which he would treat an ally? Would he leave them defenceleſs to negociate with a victorious enemy? Would he have adviſed us to withdraw, while the frontier was defenſible, and when there was every reaſon to believe, that if the ſeaſon ſhould be as they uſually are in that country, they would have gained their object, in keeping the enemy from the accompliſhment of their deſigns on Holland? The hand of God had rendered the ſeaſon unuſually ſevere, and had thereby thwarted their deſigns, and given the opportunity to the enemy of completing their purpoſes. The valour and fortitude of our troops had enabled Miniſters to follow that line of conduct which was proper; they had done every thing to ſave Holland, and the loſs of it could not be imputed to them as a crime; ſince all their efforts would have been effectual, if the ſeaſon had not been unuſually rigorous. To have abandoned Holland, therefore, at the time recommended by the right honourable gentleman, would have been diſhonourable and impolitic. He had been induced to make theſe obſervations, becauſe he could not ſuffer the miſrepreſentations of the right honourable gentleman to paſs unnoticed; though he could not ſee that the queſtion before the Houſe at all involved in it the queſtion of the guilt or innocence of Adminiſtration.

Mr. FOX ſaid, that it was neceſſary for him, after what they had juſt heard, to enter into ſome explanation of what he had formerly ſpoken, at leaſt upon one or two points. The right honourable gentleman complained much of having been miſrepreſented. Whether there was moſt miſrepreſentation in what he had ſaid, or in what fell from the right honourable gentleman, he would leave entirely to the Houſe, who had ſo many opportunities of knowing how much he was inclined to miſrepreſent objects of diſcuſſion there or otherwiſe. Nothing could certainly be a greater perverſion of meaning, than the manner in which the right honourable gentleman had explained the uſe he had made of the terms calamitous, diſaſtrous, and diſgraceful, as applied to the war: as to the two firſt, he believed there was nobody in or out of that Houſe could deny that they were applicable to the whole of the war, from its firſt beginning and

continuance, down to the most unfortunate situation in which this country was now placed; and as to the word *disgrace*, he had no hesitation in declaring that he meant to apply it solely to the conduct of Administration, and not for a moment let it be supposed, as the right honourable gentleman had insinuated, that he had the most distant idea of attaching it to the merits, the characters, or the conduct of either the Generals, the Officers, or the men, who had been so dreadfully employed in those scenes of disappointment, disaster, and calamity, which, notwithstanding their greatest and best exertions, had uniformly followed the execution of every one of the miserable plans which Administration had adopted for the prosecution of their favourite, though ruinous, war. As to the merits of the Officers and men, it had often been his happiness to have the honour of paying the tributes of praise and admiration so justly due to their valour, gallantry, and exertions; and though it might be thought in some degree pride and vanity in him to say it, there certainly was one reason, which, independent of all others, must induce him to be partial to their conduct; he was nearly related to many who had been the most active and placed in the most arduous situations in this war, and with others he was so much connected by the ties of friendship and good wishes, that he certainly would derive no honour or satisfaction by publishing their disgrace, even if any, which he would not allow to be the case, had fallen to their share. It was to Ministers only, therefore, that he attached those severe but justly-earned epithets; they had fully shewn their imbecility, by plunging the country into the war, and their incapacity ever since to conduct it—a war which was, as far as the events had shewn, on their part, to be called the most calamitous, disastrous, and disgraceful, that this country had ever seen. As to the honourable gentleman's observations about the country not being at its last stake as to resources, he would only say, that whatever the country might now be disposed to feel on that head, it was plain that the right honourable gentleman, from his words and conduct, was near being at an end, if not at the last stake, of his resources. The right honourable gentleman called upon him to move an address to His Majesty to dismiss his Ministers; but that motion, from whatever quarter it might properly come, depended more on time, and on circumstances, than on the haughty suggestions of the right honourable gentleman. Whether there would be policy in bringing forward such a motion at this time, he was not to argue, but at this juncture it became his duty, and that of the House, to call upon Ministers for an explanation of their conduct, before they voted six millions more of their constituents' money into hands that had proved themselves so miserably and com-

pletely inadequate to the conduct of the war, and so utterly unfit in every respect for the trust and confidence so repeatedly asked by and reposed in them. As a Member of Parliament, he had a right to fix blame upon Ministers, and to call upon them at least for explanation. One thing, indeed, he was glad to hear from the right honourable gentleman, and that was, that when that House should think fit to address the King to dismiss his present Ministers, the right honourable gentleman would be ready to comply with their wishes. His happiness at such a removal he might fairly state, without the least idea of being suspected that he wished to become his successor, in such a situation as his misconduct had placed the country. Every one who knew him, must be convinced that he had no violent and eager desire of office; but they must think him growing old, even to dotage, who could possibly attribute to him the ambition of carrying on the war, upon the principles adopted by the present Administration; or who would imagine that he was eaten up with so diabolical a species, as to envy the right honourable gentleman in his situation. We were now reduced to the absurd situation of appearing to all Europe to be the only power which refused to attempt a negociation with the Government of France; every other Power had virtually recognized the Republic. He had not that vitiated taste for ambition to wish to proceed on the foundation of the present Ministry; but on the other hand, he would not say, that if the Public thought that no one was more able or fitter to undertake the conduct of affairs, or if abler men should refuse, that he would not undertake it, even in the present situation of affairs; he should think it his duty, and should not hesitate to say, that he imagined that, from some experience, he might undertake to conduct the affairs with somewhat more of propriety than the present Administration. But till the Public thought with him, he could not be a useful servant, nor act in a manner agreeable or honourable to himself. He could not decide how far a point of honour might lead Ministers to keep the troops in Holland; but he could say nothing on this subject, till he had had an opportunity of examining how far good faith had been kept with that Republic. He did not think much stress could be laid on the argument on the frost, as he did not believe the case of the unusual severity could be made out to the extent to which it had been with so much confidence stated. The exultation which had been attributed to him on our misfortunes, was a subject so stale that it scarcely deserved notice. He had not exaggerated our calamities; he had expressed himself strongly, because he felt strongly; and it would not be just or honourable in a Statesman, if he did not endeavour to represent to the people their actual situation. In the

American war, the ſame charge had been brought againſt him; it was then ſaid, as now, that he muſt exult in our misfortunes, becauſe he had predicted them. This was not fair; how were men to uſe their wiſdom, or to apply their prudence, if not in pointing out what are likely to be the conſequences of the actions of men entruſted with the guidance of State affairs? He did not wiſh to lower the ſpirit of the people, or to make them deſpond; but he would warn them to look at their ſituation, and examine if there were not ſome mode of carrying on the war with ſafety to the nation; or if propoſals could not be made, which might produce the bleſſings of peace, and which, if attempted, might alſo point out the mode of carrying on the war with ſucceſs, if it were neceſſary. He had always been averſe to thoſe Miniſters who had increaſed the load of our national debt, and the burdens of the taxes; he was not ſorry that he had oppoſed Adminiſtration, both in the American and preſent war; for this he had the conſolation of having done his duty according to his own conſcience; and for all other ſort of approbation, he left it to the country to do him whatever juſtice he was thought to merit. He believed that Holland might have been with eaſe preſerved, if we had ſhewn a diſpoſition to negociate at the beginning of the war. Though he was not one of thoſe viſionaries who believed it poſſible to eſtabliſh peace, and though he had prepoſſeſſions in favour of continental connections, yet he thought it was an honour to have been in the minority on the queſtion of war, not only on this but many other occaſions. He aſked which were the beſt friends to the country, thoſe who attempted to conceal from the people the dangers to which they were expoſed, or thoſe who ſtated fully thoſe dangers, without inculcating deſpondence? With reſpect to the queſtion before the Houſe, it was true that he was pledged to them to ſupport an armament, but not the diſtribution of it; he was only pledged to the ſupport of the increaſe of the navy, even if it were neceſſary that the army ſhould be diminiſhed.

Mr. MAURICE ROBINSON ſupported the obſervations of Mr. Huſſey, and with regard to the loan to the Emperor, he adviſed the Miniſter, as a friend, not to have any thing to do with it.

Mr. Huſſey's motion was then put, and negatived without a diviſion.

Mr. FOX wiſhed to be informed by Miniſters, whether his information was correct, which led him to believe that great inattention and neglect had prevailed in our hoſpitals; if this was ſo, it was a very ſerious grievance, and demanded immediate conſideration. He might, perhaps, be anſwered on this point, that they were ander better management than thoſe of our allies; but what he wanted

to know was, whether they were in the ſtate which they ought to be?

Mr. SECRETARY AT WAR candidly acknowledged that his information led him to think, with the right honourable gentleman, that there had been inattention and much conſequent diſtreſs in the caſe of the ſick and wounded; but there being ſo many different cauſes to which this might be aſcribed, he could not poſitively lay the blame to any particular department. From what he had ſeen and known on this ſubject, it was his earneſt wiſh that every inveſtigation might take place, which could tend to obviate thoſe grounds of complaint which had hitherto prevailed, and regulate the management of the hoſpitals properly in future.

Mr. JEKYLL ſtated that a very large ſum had been expended for wine and other medicines for the uſe of the army. If that was not explained to his ſatisfaction, he would, on ſome future day, move for an inquiry into the matter, ſuch as had taken place in 1761.

Mr. Secretary WINDHAM replied, and aſſured the honourable gentleman that it was his wiſh to give the fulleſt information he could obtain relative to that ſubject.

General FITZPATRICK aſked whether any eſtimate of the emigrant corps were to be given in?

Mr. WINDHAM ſaid, Certainly.

The original motion was then put and carried; the remainder of the reſolutions were then ſeverally voted, and the Houſe being reſumed, ordered to be reported to-morrow.

Thurſday, 22d January.

Mr. WIGLEY moved, "That as Mr. Alderman Curtis was obſerved in his place, the order of the day for his attendance to-morrow, be diſcharged."

Mr. SHERIDAN obſerved, he was glad to ſee the Members for the city of London attending their duty in the Houſe at ſo early an hour; but it was a little aukward to ſee the motion for excuſing one abſentee ſeconded by another, for the gentlemen of the city of London were abſent when the Houſe was called over; he did not mean to blame them for it, for he believed they were attending their duty in the city at the time, nor did he mean to ſay any thing againſt their having leave of abſence from the Houſe to-morrow; for he underſtood they would have important buſineſs on their hands to-morrow in the city, and he hoped they would employ their abilities in convincing their conſtituents of the neceſſity of their exerting themſelves to put an end to this calamitous war.

The question was then put and carried.

The same motion was made on behalf of Mr. Alderman Anderson, Sir James Sanderson, Mr. Alderman Le Mesurier, Sir Watkin Lewes, and Mr. Alderman Newnham, as also for Lord Hinchinbroke, Sir Benjamin Hammet, and Mr. Pelham, which was agreed to.

Mr. CURWEN presented a petition on behalf of the Freemen of the city of Carlisle; setting forth, That the petitioners, deeply affected with the calamities of the disastrous war in which this nation is at present engaged, without hope that any of the avowed purposes for which it is carried on can ever be accomplished, and alarmed at the immense expenditure of public money, which must ultimately render good or ill success in the farther prosecution of it equally ruinous, do most earnestly entreat the House to adopt such measures as may bring it to a speedy period, and restore the blessings of peace—blessings at all times desirable, but, in the present circumstances, essentially necessary to the public security and happiness.

Ordered to be laid on the table.

Lord MORPETH said, he held in his hand, what he feared the rules of the House would not permit to be laid on the table; it was not, properly speaking, a petition, although it partook of the nature of one, for it expressed the sentiments of fourteen hundred persons, inhabitants of Carlisle; it protested against, and expressed sentiments opposite to those which were contained in the petition now proposed to be laid upon the table. He should now read it to the House:

PROTEST *of the Inhabitants of the City and Neighbourhood of* CARLISLE.

" WHEREAS certain Freemen of the city of Carlisle have resolved to petition Parliament to adopt such measures as may bring the war in which this nation is now engaged to a speedy period, and have sent instructions to the Representatives of this city, " to associate for that purpose with any man or set of men whom they can believe sincere in the same design;" and whereas a requisition has appeared, signed by thirteen gentlemen, approving of the said measures, and inviting the inhabitants at large to join in a similar petition, to be entitled " A petition of certain of the principal inhabitants of the city and neighbourhood of the city of Carlisle;" We, the undersigned inhabitants of the said city and neighbourhood, firmly attached to the King and Constitution, equally anxious for the re-establishment of an honourable peace as the petitioners, and as equally zealous for the interests of our country, conceiving such instructions to be improper, and being convinced that petitions of such a nature at the present moment can tend only to clog the wheels of Government, encourage the common enemy, and protract the attainment

of the very object which they profess to advance, do thus solemnly PROTEST against the above proceedings, confident that the wisdom of the Legislature will pursue such measures as may be most expedient to promote the public welfare and secure the happiness of the country."

Signed by about fourteen hundred persons.

The persons whose signatures this Protest bore, were, to his knowledge, many of them of the first respectability in that part of the country, manufacturers and gentlemen of great landed property. They gave a public testimony of attachment to His Majesty and the other branches of the Legislature, and to the Constitution, as now happily established; they thought it improper to apply at this time to Parliament for peace, and they expressed a perfect reliance on the wisdom of the Legislature for procuring, at a due season, the blessings of an honourable, safe, and lasting peace. He wished that the paper in question had assumed a form in which it must have been presented to the House; since, however, these persons had done him the honour to entrust this charge to him, he endeavoured, though very imperfectly, to give as public a testimony as he was able in favour of men who did not wish to be included in the general character which that petition must affix to the inhabitants of Carlisle, and who did not wish to appear to concur in measures, of which they totally and entirely disapproved.

Mr. CURWEN said that the Protest, of which the noble Lord had so candidly given a general statement, contained the sentiments, perhaps, of some gentlemen in the neighbourhood of Carlisle, which they stated in a general way; however that might be, he felt it his duty to say, that the petition which he had presented, conveyed the real sense of the Freemen of Carlisle, whose names appeared to it. They were honest, respectable men, and he should be ashamed to present their petition if he thought otherwise. The petition was agreed to in consequence of a public meeting which was held at the place. They were men who were unbiassed, and entirely unattached to any party; and so general was the sentiment among them for peace, that out of all those who attended the meeting, four only dissented from the petition. They had no desire to clog the wheels of Government, but they wished for peace, as a blessing to be enjoyed by the country at large. As to the protest alluded to by the noble Lord, he must observe, that he held a hand-bill in his hand, which explained something of the nature of that protest; he was assured he might safely say, that much undue influence (of which he did not accuse the noble person who produced it) had been used by many persons of great wealth in the neighbourhood, among whom were agents of a noble Earl and of a Bishop. He trusted, that such

practices would not be continued; if they should, there would be an end of all hope of collecting the real sentiments of the people of this country on the subject of the war.

Mr. WALLACE said, that the only argument the honourable gentleman had used to prove that the petition just presented to the House contained the sense of the majority of that description of persons from whom it came, was, that it had been transmitted from a public meeting. He had said that the honourable gentleman and himself were both enough acquainted with the country to know that the sense of the people was not always most accurately to be collected from a public meeting. That, however, under other circumstances that might influence the House in the present, certainly no attention was due to the petition on that account; had it been approved in a public meeting, and signed, as in some cases, by the Chairman only, it might then have been presumed that the majority of those who had been convened, had sanctioned it with their approbation. But when, instead of that, they signed it individually, we had no right to presume that all who had approved such a measure, had not set their names to the petition, and therefore no greater weight was due to it than what it derived from the number of signatures attached to it; unless the honourable gentleman would contend (which he was sure he could not) that there was not any facility afforded for those who chose to add their names; nay, that every exertion was not made to induce them to do it. He said it was easy to favour petitions on any subject; and despicable, indeed, was the cause in favour of which a petition could not be obtained. How the cause of the honourable gentleman stood in that country, he could not wish to be better estimated than by the present petition with such a signature. He was happy, he said, to avail himself of this opportunity to bear testimony to what he had reason to think the general feeling of the county, though certainly there were some who were of a different way of thinking. He said that that county had been considered as more than any other averse to the present war; that an assertion had appeared, that the grand jury had come to a resolution, if peace was not concluded in a limited time, to petition for it; whence that assertion came, or under what authority inserted in the public papers, he did not know; but he knew that it was without the smallest foundation. He was desirous to have this distinctly understood, and the more, because he knew that in making it so, he was doing that which was peculiarly gratifying to many who formed a part of that grand jury, and whom he had the honour to call his friends; he therefore again repeated, that no proposition to that purpose was ever made, or any resolution ever taken. He said,

from knowing many individuals, he was surprised at the resolutions that appeared in the paper; that, as far as he had collected from conversations with them, he thought that they were incapable of approving such a petition, upon the grounds stated in a paper in his hand, namely, that the object of the war was not rational, and that its consequences could not be advantageous to the county; for he believed them to think that the object of the war was essential to the preservation of our constitution and liberties, and that its success (if any attended it) would be highly beneficial not only to this country in particular, but to Europe in general. He said that his conjecture was not ill founded; it would be sufficient to refer to the petition on one hand, and the protest on the other, to satisfy the House; but he said there were other circumstances attending these, which he could not leave unmentioned.

He then stated the requisition for the petition to have been signed by thirteen, that for the protest to have been signed by fifty-three; partly the most respectable tradesmen and inhabitants of the place, partly by gentlemen of the greatest consideration and property in the county. He then adverted to the numbers of the protest, about fourteen hundred; of the petition, he believed about two hundred; and to obtain this miserable number, every art had been made use of; that the question, he was authorized to say, was misrepresented as one between peace and war; that in addition to that, they had been obliged to have recourse to the aid of strangers and children. [Here he was called on to "Name," and said he was informed there was a James Smith, apprentice to a hairdresser, under thirteen years of age.] That, on the other hand, nothing more was necessary, than to state the true question, namely, whether they wished for a peace, under the present circumstances, or that the war should be carried on, till an honourable and safe peace could be obtained? Under this impression, he had reason to believe, the protest was signed. He added, that he should have been inclined to treat the petition with more attention, if it had originated in the place; if it had not been principally obtained by the exertions of persons coming from a distance, who were, indeed, freemen, but had no other connection with the place; were uninvolved in its distress or prosperity, and could not be partakers in its feelings. That this was the case in two instances, he had the best information. He said, in making these observations, it would be unfair to disguise from the House, that there did exist in that county a wish for peace, an ardent and sincere one; that he believed the same existed every where; and that that man was not to be found, who did not anxiously desire the termination of hostilities. We all, he said, wish for peace,

but not a premature one, such as can only be desirable by a prospect of its permanency, and is consistent with the honour and the safety of the kingdom.

Mr. FOX said, he lamented that somebody had not advised the noble Lord who opened the nature of this protest as to the mode of making it up in a form in which the House could, consistently with its rules, receive it at the table, for then its merits might be fully investigated in a formal way; nothing could now be done on it but that of making general observations; and in that way he had no difficulty to say he was perfectly clear that if the protest was thoroughly examined and compared with the petition, there would be found to be no essential difference between them on the only subject that came fairly, and in his opinion could come decently, before that House, namely, the opinion of the people on the main point. They expressed only a difference of opinion as to the moment of presenting a petition. The question was put fairly, and he was glad of it, for the answer of the petitioners was consonant to his feelings; they had expressed a desire for peace at this time; so had those who signed the protest; they had also said that peace was desirable, but they left it to the wisdom of the Legislature; both parties therefore agreed as to the object, but differed only in the means of attaining that end; and he was ready to say, that that House ought never to inquire into the propriety of the opinions of the people who had presented their petitions, or as to the time of presenting them; they ought to hear at least, at all times, the petitions of their constituents, for they had a right to petition when they pleased, for of that matter they were the only proper judges; of the wisdom of complying with the desire expressed, the House ought to judge. The difference then being only as to the propriety of time between the petitioners and the protestors, the fair result was, that on the subject of the war they were unanimous. Having said this, he must observe, that there did not appear to him to be any probability that there would be any difference as to the question now before the House, namely, "That this petition be laid on the table."

Mr. Chancellor PITT agreed that the petition was regularly before the House, and therefore no objection could be made to its being laid upon the table; but it was impossible to avoid adverting to what had been said by the right honourable gentleman who had just spoken. He had said there was no essential difference between the petitioners and the protestors in this case, on the question of peace; that he really took to be a fair summary of his proposition. Now he begged of the House to consider a little the moment in

which this petition and proteſt were framed. One ſet of perſons preſented a petition deſiring the Houſe to take an immediate ſtep for peace—the others ſaid, they wiſhed for peace, but thought that a petition was more likely to retard than accellerate the object, and therefore left it to the wiſdom of the Legiſlature. When did they ſay this?—After the Addreſs of that and the other Houſe of Parliament had been carried to the Throne, declaring it to be their firm determination to ſupport His Majeſty in a vigorous proſecution of the war. If they thought that peace had been attainable at this moment, they would have expreſſed themſelves to that effect; but they knew that Parliament had recently expreſſed its opinion to the contrary, and they relied on the wiſdom of Parliament. He therefore muſt, under theſe circumſtances, maintain, that between the petitioners and the proteſtors there was an eſſential difference.

Mr. PLOMER ſaid, he attended to the honourable gentleman who had ſaid that the petition had many ſignatures that were not genuine, and gave as an inſtance of it the name of James Smith—now he wiſhed to know in what part of the petition the name of James Smith was to be found.

Mr. WALLACE ſaid, he had not the honour of knowing the perſon.

Mr. PLOMER ſaid, he was very ready to admit that the authority of the honourable gentleman's aſſertion was much better than his eyes, but he confeſſed if the name of James Smith was to the petition, he could not ſee it there.

Mr. CURWEN ſupported the honour and the independence of the gentleman who was in the chair at the meeting when the petition was agreed upon, as well as moſt of the perſons preſent—they were men whom he knew, of the moſt independent and reſpectable characters. They were neither Biſhops, Earls, Dukes, or any who were connected with party, but they were honeſt men, ſuch as he would wiſh to ſpeak for in that Houſe.

Mr. SHERIDAN ſaid, the only part he ſhould wiſh to conſider of what had fallen from the gentlemen on the other ſide was, whether, to make uſe of the phraſe of the right honourable gentlemen, it ſhould be the faſhion to diſcountenance petitions from the people. This, he confeſſed, appeared to him to be the tendency of the ſpeeches of thoſe gentlemen. The Houſe had been told, that every one knew the eaſe with which a petition might be framed and ſigned; it was true that it was in the compaſs of every man's experience to know with what great facility Miniſters, aided by influence and corruption, could procure addreſſes and petitions; but he was yet to learn that men are eaſily prevailed on to come boldly forward,

and oppose the prevailing sentiments of those who had been gained over by ministerial arts. The noble Lord who opened the business of the protest had conducted himself with great fairness and candour; he was sorry to say his example had not been imitated by the gentleman who followed him. By what that gentleman (Mr. Wallace) had advanced, three new propositions had been started, in which he supposed it probable that Ministers would follow him. The first of these new propositions was, that it was improper for constituents to instruct their representatives. This was the language held out by the protestors and the gentleman who had spoken on that protest; not at all applying the observation to the particular case, but generally to all cases of instruction from constituents. The second proposition was, that it was a disrespect to Government to make any application to Parliament, for the alteration of any system of measures pursued by Administration; for they conceive it to be clogging the wheels of Government. The third was, that public meetings were not proper places to collect the sense of a number of people. This proposition could not be confined to the people of Carlisle; for the honourable gentleman did not mean to say there was any essential difference between them and other men, that should make it more difficult to collect their sentiments, than it was in other places. These propositions being so palatable to the Administration, he should not be surprized at seeing them supported. A triumphant appeal had been made by a right honourable gentleman (Mr. Pitt) to the plain sense of the House, with respect to what had fallen from his right honourable friend (Mr. Fox) as to the difference between the petitioners and the protestors. He should appeal to that plain sense; if the protestors had thought, as was contended, that a vigorous prosecution of the war was the only mode of obtaining a firm and permanent peace, why had they not so stated it? Why was not the proposition that the war was irrational, and likely to produce the most fatal consequences to the country, denied to the protestors? With respect to the comparison of the numbers, the honourable gentleman would pardon him if he was not inclined wholly to take for granted whatever was advanced on that subject. That gentleman had shewn that he was not sufficiently careful to guard against mistakes with regard to the petition: he could not therefore expect there should be no suspicion as to his accuracy on the other side. Though that gentleman appeared to think that the petitioners were not in general intitled to respect, yet it was not therefore clear to every one that they were not. The number had been stated to be contemptible; he should recollect that the petition purported only to be signed by freemen; whereas the other was signed

by various descriptions of persons. It was curious to observe, that he protestors should presume to tell those men who were constituents that it was improper for them to instruct their representatives; when they themselves had done a similar thing, though not the constituents of the persons whom they addressed. One thing was evident, that they would not have thought it necessary to have framed this protest, unless they had apprehended that the example of the petitioners would be followed by the county. He had no doubt those apprehensions would be justified, whenever a meeting of the county should be called.

The petition was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. HOBART brought up the Report of the Committee of Supply on the army. The resolutions being read,

Mr. FOX said, that as this might be the last opportunity of discussing the point, he wished again to put a question to the Minister. He had stated last night, that he thought that proper exertions were not made for the naval service, and that the land force bore a much greater proportion to the naval force than in any preceding war. He should wish to know the year when it bore so great a proportion, if any were to be found. The more material point, to which he had not then an answer, nor did he suppose he ever should, was, that the defect in the navy was owing to the mode of recruiting the army. On that day he was told that it was not a charge against the Admiralty, and therefore not relevant to the business before the House. He should now ask again, whether or not it was a false surmise? He should wish to be informed, whether or not the mode of recruiting had obstructed the increase of seamen? If those gentlemen should think it had not done so, he should wish to know their reasons for being of that opinion; and if they thought it had, they ought to assign their reasons for their conduct, and tell the House whether they meant to pursue the same mode. He had then been told that it was not a question on the navy, and therefore the discussion ought to be deferred till the army was taken into consideration. To-day, he supposed, he should be told, that as it concerned the navy, it was improper to be discussed while considering the state of the army. He did not like this separation of the army and navy to the extent to which it had been carried. One thing, however, was certainly true, that our navy at this crisis was without comparison, an object of much more material importance than the army.

Mr. Chancellor PITT said, that when Mr. Fox brought his charge against the Admiralty for a deficiency in the navy, he was told, and told truly, that our navy had been increased in a much

greater proportion than had ever been known. This was a fact which he defied any one to contradict. It was a proof of additional merit in the Admiralty, that while our military exertions had been so great and extensive, the navy was still increased to so great a degree. The right honourable gentleman was then told, that if he meant to attack the army on the day on which that subject should be considered, they would be ready to argue the point with him; the principle on which that was left was, that certain papers had been moved for, in which every information would be given on the subject. They had no disposition to decline giving any information, but the observations made were certainly inapplicable to the Admiralty. As to the question, how far they meant to carry on the system of recruiting, he had the satisfaction to state to the House, that their exertions had been carried on with such success as to leave no reason to suppose that the naval service would, in future, suffer any diminution, as it had hitherto done. He could not admit the distinction between the two services to the extent to which it had been asserted. He believed it impossible to increase the navy to the extent of the most sanguine wishes without cramping the military exertions of the country. But if there should occur any difficulty, he could not imagine any so good means as by proceeding with the military levies. For if we were to stop, we should not at once bring all those men into the navy; the means of recruiting that service would be obstructed; a great interval would be left in which nothing could be done. The making use of the system of recruiting gave them great advantage, even of procuring men for the navy, as it supplies them with marines.

Mr. FOX said, that he still wanted an answer which would disculpate administration. It had been confessed that the service of the navy had been impeded; he could not help considering that as a great misfortune. If we had had a greater naval force last year, we should most undoubtedly have had a better prospect before us. As to the mode of applying the system of recruiting to supplying the navy, it was a professional question, which he should not discuss; but it certainly did appear to him at first sight not to be the most proper mode, as it tended only to make marines instead of making seamen. This was the opinion which he had asserted generally in former periods; general opinions must always receive qualifications under particular circumstances. He could not but think that now, if ever, was the time that any sacrifice of the army for the increase of the navy was peculiarly necessary.

Mr. SHERIDAN said, it was agreed that Government should have all possible support from every man in that House towards the

increafe of the navy; but he was not very fanguine in the mode in which Minifters would proceed upon that fubject. He thought that we ought to have a ftrong and powerful corps of marines, who might be taught in time to become failors, and they might again be fupplied by landmen; but, he underftood, that marines were prohibited by order from going aloft, or doing any of the duty of a failor. Having made thefe obfervations, he proceeded to afk the Secretary at War fome queftions. Firft, Whether he intended to do fomething to prevent that inhuman practice which brought fo much difgrace on the fervice—he meant the practice of crimping? if he did, Mr. Sheridan fhould leave the matter in the hands of a perfon to whom it fo properly belonged; if not, he muft bring fomething forward on that fubject. He then adverted to the dreadful ftate of the troops now at Plymouth, who were dying by twelve and fourteen a day; and he wifhed to know, whether they were intended to be fent to the Weft Indies? if they were, he feared there would be fcarcely any of them alive to land there, for they had been kept for fo many months on board, that they were now entirely unfit for fervice.

The SECRETARY AT WAR took notice of all the obfervations of Mr. Sheridan. He faid that the detention of the troops at Plymouth, arofe from circumftances, which human prudence had no means of preventing; they were detained by contrary winds, and from the apprehenfions that if they failed they might meet the enemy with a force not equal to their protection; as to their deftination, that was a queftion which ought not to be anfwered. He denied their being in a ftate which Mr. Sheridan had reprefented, although they might be a good deal afflicted from unavoidable circumftances. With regard to the orders of the Admiralty, with refpect to marines, he knew but little of it officially, but he believed that nothing had been done in this war, which had not been ufual in every war. With regard to crimping, no man detefted it more than he did; he viewed it, as every honeft man did, with horror and indignation. He had done, and he would continue to do, every thing in his power to fuppress totally fo deteftable a practice.

Mr. FOX alluded to what had been faid on former occafions with regard to building fhips of war, and declared if there was a port within this ifland capable of building a fhip where a fhip was not now building, the Executive Government had been wanting in their duty to this country. He had been told once we had more fhips than we had men for. He was afraid we might foon be told we had more men than we had fhips for. He muft again and again imprefs this on Minifters at this awful crifis.

Mr. Chancellor PITT faid, that there was one point admitted from all quarters, that in the prefent moment no rational means of increafing our naval and military force ought to be left unattempted; and he was rather difpofed to take the benefit of this general agreement, than to enter into the minute details ftarted by the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Fox,) and which it was at all times exceedingly difficult to difcufs. Great part of his argument, with refpect to the neceffity of increafing naval exertions, arofe out of the prefent crifis. It could not be denied, that from the change of circumftances fince laft year, it had become neceffary that a greater naval force fhould be now employed againft France. But when the honourable gentleman carried his pofition fo far as to ftate, that there was no facrifice of military force, which ought not to be made for the fake of increafing the navy, he went to a length, which neither common fenfe nor found policy would warrant. For were this pofition to be carried to its utmoft latitude, then it would be proper entirely to difband the army, as whatever might be the calamities, which fuch a meafure would produce, it would moft certainly be the means of giving an increafe to the navy. Such was the conduct of the right honourable gentleman in bringing forward general propofitions, which his good fenfe afterwards obliged him to qualify. For his own part, he felt, that, at one time, the army called for an augmentation, at another time the navy, according to the exigency of circumftances. If he found the navy arrived to a certain pitch, and the army requiring an extra augmentation, he would attend to the neceffities of that fervice which at the moment was incomplete. The beft proof of the attention paid to the naval fervice laft year was, that the increafe had exceeded that of any former year of a war, as well as the brilliant and decifive victory achieved by our fleet. The change in our fituation that rendered a further increafe of naval force neceffary, had arifen from the circumftance of our land exertions not having been fufficient to prevent the enemy from the probable acquifition of another naval power, to the aid of their own marine.—The attempt to fet the naval in oppofition to the military force of the country, he muft confider as the refult of a fhort-fighted, narrow, and falfe policy, fimilar to the exploded fyftem which had once prevailed, of making a diftinction between the landed and the mercantile intereft. He had however no hefitation to ftate, that where the naval and military exertions interfered, he conceived that in the prefent inftance, a preference ought to be given to the naval.

Mr. FOX replied, that he certainly did not mean to fay, that the whole army ought to be difbanded for the fake of procuring a

cabin-boy to the navy. But what he had faid was, that there was no period at which greater facrifices of military force ought to have been made for the purpofe of increafing our naval exertions than in the laft, as will as the prefent year.

General SMITH faid, that he thought not only that every Royal dock in the kingdom, but that every merchant's dock which was of a fufficient fize, ought to be employed for the purpofe of building new fhips for the fervice of the navy.

Mr. M. ROBINSON faid, that the Minifter had ftated what he confidered as rather a curious reafon for increafing our military force, namely, the probable junction of the Dutch and French fleets; he could not help thinking that the right honourable gentleman teftified rather a degree of coldnefs to whatever regarded the naval fervice.

Mr. SHERIDAN remarked, that the Secretary at War had made a diftinction between things which he ought not, and things which he could not anfwer. He had declined anfwering, whether the troops on board the tranfports were deftined for the Weft Indies; but had afterwards ftated that they had been prevented by certain winds from failing to the place of their deftination. On the fubject of thefe troops, he could not help ftating that the honourable gentleman difcovered a very great deficiency of information; and that he fhould think it incumbent upon him to move for returns of thofe troops and an account of their fituation, &c. An enquiry into the fcandalous, cruel, and criminal neglect by which thefe men had been detained five or fix months aboard the tranfports, in a fickly and languifhing ftate, would, he trufted, not come by itfelf, but form part of an inveftigation of the caufes which had produced all the difgraces and difafters of the war. The right honourable gentleman had ftiled the victory gained by Lord Howe decifive; upon that fuppofition Minifters indeed had acted; but the event now proved it to be otherwife. We had foldiers at Plymouth, he afked why we had not failors? He was told that the troops there had been detained partly by contrary winds, and partly from the danger of encountering the fleet of the enemy. Why had they not a fufficient convoy to protect them? If the French Weft India iflands, which had been held out as our boafted indemnity in the prefent war, fhould fall for the want of timely fuccour, he would have a right to impute their lofs to the deficiency of the navy.

Mr. WINDHAM explained.

Mr. BRANDLING congratulated the Houfe and his conftituents, on the declaration of the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Pitt) that a preference would be given to naval exertions. He trufted

that the ſyſtem of military operations on the Continent, hitherto ſo ruinous, and ſo diſgraceful in its effects, would no longer be perſiſted in. It was now time to ſtudy economy in our reſources, and not to expend them in a quarter, where we had met with nothing but perfidy on the one hand, and contra-exertion on the other. We ought to ſhow to the enemy, that our reſources were equal to carry on a war defenſive by land, and offenſive by ſea, for at leaſt ſeven years to come.

Mr. DUNDAS ſaid, that without the mode which had been adopted in recruiting, it would have been altogether impoſſible to raiſe a military force. At the commencement of the war all the old regiments were on ſervice abroad, ſo that there was no mode of recruiting them. Every mode had been reſorted to, both by raiſing independent companies, and giving rank, before having recourſe to new levies. At laſt it was found that it would be neceſſary to make new levies, in order that the men thus raiſed, might be afterwards draughted to the old regiments, which could not otherwiſe be recruited. If the Weſt Indies required large reinforcements, theſe could not be ſupplied from the old regiments, except this mode had been taken of filling up their numbers. And he would aſk any man, Whether there was at preſent a more than ſufficient military force, for all the purpoſes for which it was wanted by this country? He then proceeded to point out the difficulty of finding men for the marine ſervice, in conſequence of which ſeven old regiments had been obliged to act as marines aboard the fleet. He ſaid, that more care and attention had been beſtowed on the tranſport ſervice than at any former period; if any neglect had occurred, he ſhould thank the honourable gentleman to point it out. But he would defy him to prove, that the troops aboard the tranſports had been allowed one hand-breath of tonnage leſs than was fixed by the regulation. Miniſters had taken care to have them aboard as early as Auguſt. Since that time they had been detained almoſt entirely by contrary winds. In one inſtance they failed, but were all driven back and diſperſed, except one tranſport, which found its way to the Weſt Indies. They had been ſelected for the ſervice, and could not be diſembarked without extreme inconvenience. What other body could be ſent in their place? Expreſs orders had however been given, that no man ſhould fail, who was unfit for the ſervice.

Mr. SHERIDAN, adverting to the difficulty of raiſing marines, aſked why a bounty was not given for encouraging that ſervice. He blamed the remiſſneſs of Miniſters in not ſending the troops ſoon enough aboard the tranſports, as much as their negli-

gence in afterwards detaining them; the delay was the more remarkable, as in the interim, General Vaughan and Admiral Caldwell had failed for the West Indies, and arrived in safety. The right honourable gentleman had stated that they had been allowed all the tonnage fixed by regulation, but the difference was considerable between keeping men aboard transports only five or six weeks, and detaining them the same number of months. He understood that there were six hundred of the men now sick on shore, and eight hundred on board, and that it was the opinion, that by the time they arrived in the West Indies, all of them would be unfit for service: so that the best method would be to disembark them and get new transports for the expedition. If the succours to be afforded to the West Indies depended entirely on the reinforcement expected from these troops, he must look with a desponding eye to the situation of affairs in that quarter.

Mr. FOX said, that if it was really true, that notwithstanding the immense vote of that night, there was no other force but that now on board the transports applicable to the service of the West Indies, it afforded indeed the most uncomfortable and discouraging prospect of affairs that could well be entertained.

Mr. DUNDAS explained, that the forces on board the transports were the most fit for that service. He desired gentlemen to recollect the reduced state of the peace establishment.

Mr. FRANCIS wished to ascertain, before the debate went off, what force had really been destined for the West Indies, and asked why transports might not have made the voyage with as much success as ships of war. He understood that some of the troops destined for the expedition had died, and that all of them, in consequence of having been so long aboard, were in a very sickly state. If such was the case, it would be better to send no troops at all, than to send such as would either perish in the voyage, or, when they should arrive, be unfit for service.

General TARLETON suggested that the defects of the mode of raising independent companies were radical, and could only be reformed by a military Committee. In order to give full force and energy to our military operations, he thought that such a Committee should be appointed to inspect the conduct of officers, and the mode of putting every measure into execution; and he thought that an honourable Member, whom he had then in his eye, was a proper person to superintend such an institution. Adverting to the expedition of Sir Charles Grey, he asserted, that he was not sufficiently supported, and that he ought to have been reinforced. As to the troops which lay at Plymouth, he thought their long continuation

in the tranſports muſt have injured them materially; and in proof of his aſſertion, he adverted to the troops of Sir William Howe, in the American war, who ſuffered much from a ſimilar ſituation. At all events, if we had the ſuperiority at ſea, the convoy ought to have ſailed.

Sir WILLIAM YOUNG made ſome obſervations upon the clauſe, and was proceeding to go into a diſcuſſion of the conduct of the expedition to Guadaloupe and St. Lucia, and making ſome alluſions which were conſidered to be perſonal to the Commanders on that expedition, he was called to order by the Speaker, who reminded the honourable Baronet that the queſtion before the Houſe was not an enquiry into the conduct of particular officers or particular expeditions, and that being the caſe, he found himſelf obliged to call him to order.

Mr. GREY was aware of the propriety of the Speaker's adhering, with his uſual attention, to the point of order, though he could have wiſhed, for his own part, that the honourable Baronet had been allowed to proceed. There was nothing he ſo much wiſhed for as a full inveſtigation of every circumſtance relating to that affair, becauſe he knew much of wicked rumour and miſchievous calumny had been circulated induſtriouſly on that ſubject, and he was equally certain, upon the moſt minute enquiry, whenever it ſhould be made, which it certainly would be, the reſult would refute thoſe malicious aſperſions, and do away all thoſe falſe and unfounded calumnies and rumours.

Mr. Secretary DUNDAS explained, in reply to Mr. Francis, what he had formerly ſaid, which was, that although ſome ſingle ſhips had ſailed and made out their voyage, ſtill the circumſtances were ſuch as rendered it impoſſible for a fleet with convoy to ſail with any chance of ſecurity.

Mr. COURTENAY, after having made an obſervation that Mr. Dundas ought to ſtudy the Engliſh language, which it appeard he did not underſtand, was called to order by the Speaker.

Mr. DUNDAS ſaid jocoſely, in reply, that there was no blame to him if his father, &c. were born on the other ſide of the Tweed.

Mr. COURTENAY proceeded, and animadvertd on the levity with which the right honourable gentleman treated the remarks made relative to the tranſports; and in ſupport of the diſtemper aboard the tranſports, mentioned an inſtance of the commander of the regiment abſolutely refuſing to put his troops aboard theſe veſſels, by reaſon of its violence. One regiment, which at firſt conſiſted of 1000 men, is now, in conſequence of its malignancy, reduced to

400. The detention of the transports, he thought, not attributable to adverse winds, but the criminal negligence exibited by Government.

Mr. FRANCIS insisted that no direct answer had been given to his questions, which, he thought, deserved answers from their importance.

Mr. Secretary DUNDAS repeated what he had formerly stated, as all the answer that was required.

Mr. FOX said, he was sure that the House and the country looked to the subjects which had that night been introduced as of so important a nature, that it must be necessary to have them fully investigated. He insisted that there was blame to be laid somewhere, and he had heard nothing urged that tended to throw it off from those to whom it had been imputed. If it was clear, which could not well be denied, that an insufficient force had been sent out with Sir Charles Grey, and what was worse, that there was no probability at the time of sending to him an immediate reinforcement, such negligence, and the consequences that had ensued from it, called for the most particular inquiry. In his opinion, these facts were made out by what had happened: Sir Charles Grey had sailed in November 1793, with a force surely inadequate, or if sufficient to conquer the West-India Islands, completely unfit to keep what they had conquered, and now, when he was speaking, he knew of no reinforcement, nor any adequate assistance, that they had yet received. An honourable gentleman had frequently asked, in the course of the debate, what motive Ministers could have in keeping the troops at Plymouth, or in not attending to their comfort;—he would not pretend to say, because it was impossible for him to know what had been their motives, either for this or the many other blunders and miscarriages which had happened during the present war. Whatever he might think of their motives to this country, it was of little consequence whether they were corrupt or not, inasmuch as they had produced the most disastrous events that could have befallen us.

Mr. SECRETARY AT WAR spoke shortly in reply, and warned the House against being led by the motives that induced gentlemen on the other side to paint the situation of the country, as they had done, as much as his honourable friend had warned them against comparing the motives of administration with the circumstances that had taken place.—It was not withing human prudence to foresee, or wisdom to prevent the sailing of the French fleet, except any one would say, that the grand fleet of England should

remain off Brest to prevent the French fleet from getting in if they were out, or getting out if they were in.

Mr. SLOANE seemed to think that the naval strength of the country had been neglected—that sufficient strength had not been employed in the West Indies—that our information with regard to the French fleet had been defective, and that there must be blame somewhere, for keeping the troops and fleet at Plymouth so long as they had been.

Mr. Chancellor PITT and Mr. SLOANE severally explained.

Mr. FOX said, that every thing he had heard convinced him the more that there was a necessity for investigating every part of this business. The Ministers had, throughout the war, shewn equal want of intelligence, folly in designs, rashness of conduct, and imbecility in execution. Sufficient information of the situation of the enemy was what Ministers were ever in want of; a fleet ought to have been out adequate to the convoy of this armament to the West Indies; and why there was not, should be a part of that general inquiry that was to be made relative to the whole management of the war.

Mr. Chancellor PITT replied, that with respect to the inquiry which the right honourable gentleman seemed to think necessary, that would not depend either on the positiveness or individual judgment of the right honourable gentleman, but on the result of the deliberations of the House, whether such an inquiry should be deemed necessary; and in answer to the other point of the right honourable gentleman's speech, he should only repeat what he had said before, that it was impossible to keep a superior fleet continually at sea, except we had a fleet double to that of the enemy.

The remainder of the resolutions being read and agreed to, bills were ordered to be brought in accordingly.

Mr. Secretary WINDHAM moved for leave to bring in a bill to prevent mutiny and desertion. Leave was given, and persons named to prepare and bring in the same.

Mr. ATTORNEY GENERAL said it had been his intention to move the second reading of the bill to continue the act of last session, &c. that day, but considering the importance of the subject, and that he wished it to undergo the most solemn and ample discussion, he would, with the leave of the House, propose the second reading to-morrow; at the same time, if that was agreed to, he intimated his intention and wish, that the second reading being discussed, that the bill should go through the Committee the same day.

Mr. SHERIDAN said, that he had no objection to the second

reading being put off till to-morrow; but he saw no reason why, by agreeing to that, the House was to go into any compromise, by pledging itself, that the bill should go through the Committee the same day.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL said, that if the House should agree to the second reading of the bill, it implied that the priciple of the bill being agreed to, there could be no objection that the bill should go into a Committee

Mr. FOX contended that the question of the second reading was entirely distinct from the question of going into a Committee. He was for the honourable gentleman first to prove that there were sufficient reasons to justify such a measure on the ground of policy; and even supposing such a case made out, still there might be considerable doubts with respect to the law on the subject, and such doubts as might, supposing the principle of the bill and the policy of the bill to be admitted, make some very material alterations with respect to the preamble.

The question was then put and carried, that the bill should be read the second time to-morrow.

Friday, January 23.

Lord STOPFORD reported, that His Majesty had been waited upon him with an address of that House, and that he had been graciously pleased to say he would give directions accordingly.

Mr. MAINWARING presented a petition in behalf of the inn-keepers and victuallers of England, signed by about 3000 persons, stating the hardships under which they labour, by means of having His Majesty's troops and horses quartered on them—That the price which they now had for the accommodation which they were compelled to give to such troops, differed but little from what was allowed in the reign of King William, and that no advance had been made in that price for the last sixty years.—That in consequence of such quartering, their loss now, altogether, amounted to near one shilling per day for each man and horse, to the great distress of some, and if some relief was not granted, to the inevitable ruin of some of the petitioners. The petition prayed, in general terms, such relief as to the wisdom and justice of the House should seem meet, and to be heard by themselves or counsel, &c. Mr. Mainwaring then moved, that the petition be referred to a Committee, that they do examine the matter thereof, and report it as it shall appear to them to the House.

Mr. Chancellor PITT said, that this was a matter of great importance, and highly deserving of the attention of the House, and

he thought they ought to proceed with more deliberation than that of referring at once to a Committee. If the petition was now merely ordered to be laid on the table, it would not remain always in that situation, unless those who had presented it were negligent of their duty, which he had no reason to suspect; but as he thought that nothing ought to be done upon the subject without a full inquiry, it appeared to him that the best step that could be taken now, was that of simply ordering the petition to be laid on the table of the House.

A short conversation took place, which was supported by Sir Edward Knatchbull, Colonel Rolle, Mr. Walwin, Mr. Wigley, and Mr. Mainwaring; which ended in the motion for the petition being referred to a Committee, being withdrawn, and the petition ordered to be laid on the table.

Mr. FOX moved the order of the day for the attendance of such Members as did not answer to the call of the House, which being read, and several defaulters' names being called over, a general order was made for the attendance on Tuesday next, of all those who had not yet answered.

On motion being made, leave was given to bring in a bill for regulating His Majesty's marine forces while on shore. The Committee of Supply, and of Ways and Means, were deferred to Monday next.

The order of the day being read for the second reading of the Bill, empowering His Majesty to secure and detain such persons as he shall suspect to be conspiring against his person and Government, the speaker put the question, that this bill be now read a second time.

Mr. LAMBTON said, that all along, and even since this matter was first thought of, his sentiments had been uniform, and the opinion which he had at last formed, was not one that was rashly or hastily adopted, but was such as gradually grew up in his mind on the mature deliberation of events as they had happened. In May 1792, when his Majesty's first proclamation was issued against certain seditious and inflammatory writings and publications, he doubted the professed object of those who advised His Majesty to issue that proclamation. It was hardly rational to suppose the real view was nothing but to warn the public against the possible effect of such publications, because, had they been really the object of his Majesty's advisers, the proclamation must have been nearly coeval with the publications complained of, when in truth these writings were notoriously published near two years before the proclamation issued, and in the interim, nothing was heard of from Government upon that subject, although the writings which had

been since complained of, had been all this while in general and very extensive circulation, nor was there one step taken, or word said of, or for the prosecution of any one of the authors of these criminal proceedings; he, therefore, suspected that there were some views in issuing that proclamation which were not expressed in the words of it. His suspicions became considerably increased in the November following, when he heard their account of the insurrections which were made the pretexts for calling out the militia and the sudden meeting of Parliament; facts which were entirely done away, and disproved by many gentlemen who had local knowledge of the circumstances where they were said to have happened; and to one of which much relied upon at the time, he himself could speak upon positive authority, viz. that at Shields; an insurrection which had no more to do with any political writings or opinions, than they had to do with the intrigues of the Vatican or the councils of the Divan. But those suspicions were fully confirmed in a short time afterwards. For, when an honourable friend of his, wishing to relieve the public from the alarms which these ministerial arts had created, moved in the House for a Committee to inquire into these alledged plots and conspiracies, the Minister opposed the motion, and it was consequently negatived.—Why were these plots not inquired into?---Because inquiry at that time suited not the views and purposes of the Minister and his adherents. They had projects which could not be answered by that plain, honest, and direct method, and therefore of inquiry into these plots and conspiracies we heard no more for a considerable time: about sixteen months afterwards, however, the Minister himself thought fit to come forward and call for inquiry into plots and conspiracies, and extraordinary indeed was the conduct of Parliament upon that occasion; we had read of the *long* Parliament, and of the *rump* Parliament; possibly posterity might view a *confiding* Parliament in no better light than either; for a confiding Parliament it was which gave the Minister credit for his assertions, and agreed to suspend the Habeas Corpus act on the strength of it. He voted, he said, against all these propositions of the Minister; nothing had happened to change, but many circumstances had to confirm that opinion, and therefore it was impossible for him to agree to the motion now before the House, which was for the second reading of a bill for suspending the Habeas Corpus act, nor could any man, in his opinion, fairly agree to such suspension, unless new plots and fresh conspiracies were proved to have been formed, and that proof regularly and fairly brought before that House; a thing which was not even pretended in this case. It has been said, he observed,

that this bill is not a local, but a partial suspension of this act— This appeared to him the veriest quibble ever urged before a grave assembly—perhaps it was not a total suspension, but it was a suspension to this amount of effect, "that His Majesty's Ministers may, at will and pleasure, imprison whom he pleases, where and when he pleases, without affording to such person any information as the offence with which he was charged, or who his accuser was; that he could at discretion withhold the privilege of bail, and confine in loathsome dungeons any man in Great Britain, save the Members of the two Houses of Parliament." Is this no suspension of the operations of the Habeas Corpus act upon our personal English liberties? No one meant to contend it was so total, as to extend to individuals under action for other offences, entirely unconnected with seditious or treasonable practices.—Was the suspension ever more general; was it so in 1745? He believed not, nor need it to be, for all the purposes either of complete security, if any real danger exists, or of complete oppression, should a bad Minister be inclined to make a bad use of it.—In answer to all this, he should be told, perhaps, of the lenity and indulgence which had accompanied the exercise of the power given to Ministers, by this bill, which, he would observe, that no man, in a free country, should be thus left at the mercy of Ministers, unless there was some great and pressing occasion that made it necessary. If, however, Ministers have in many instances (as is notorious they have) shewn this lenity, indulgence in the admission of many of the privileges of bail, though he might applaud their humanity, yet he could not but think it furnished a presumptive inference that these plots and conspiracies did not exist to that dangerous extent, were not of that overbearing size, as to call for a measure *ultimæ necessitatis*, fortifying a surrender of our most valuable rights and privileges; for if it did exist to such an extent and size, then this lenity became a breach of duty, in as much as it could be neither prudent nor politic, nor safe to set at large, and to usher into the world again these conspirators, pending the investigation of a conspiracy, so dangerous and extensive, whose intrigues and artifices might baffle the justice of the nation, or even rekindle the flame in some distant part of the country, where the vigilance and exertions of Government might not reach.—On the first day of the session, he felt considerable indignation at the doctrines which he heard from some gentlemen in that House, on the subject of trial by Jury, and the presumption of law as to guilt and innocence. He thought it a principle of law so well and so generally understood—"that every man is to be deemed innocent until he is proved to be guilty," that no English gentleman would deny it. If

this was the case, what was to be said of the case of men whom the law had acquitted? Are we not, *a fortiori*, upon still stronger grounds of presumption, to consider that man innocent, who has been actually absolved from the charge of guilt by the verdict of an honest and an honourable Jury? And yet the House had heard an honourable Member make use of the phrase "an acquitted felon." What must his feelings be when he heard such a sentence in an English House of Commons? He did not say that a Member of that House might not, in his individual capacity, form his opinion, express his doubts, upon the supposed evidence, and differ in the conclusion contained in the verdict of any Jury—but he must think it an insult to that excellent system of trial, and a shameful injury to the individuals, to have it announced, in that public Assembly of the Nation, that men, who had been acquitted by a fair verdict, ought to be considered in no better light than as culprits and felons. Our excellent form of trial by jury he had ever understood to be so admirably calculated for the detection and punishment of all crimes, that it commanded a veneration and respect for those very errors and deficiencies to which it might be accidentally liable, (and no human institution can be perfect) from all men of every description, but most particularly from those who, as senators, are engaged in the formation of laws, and from those who, as lawyers, are engaged in the execution or expounding of those laws.—But no senators and lawyers have traduced it. He begged not to be mistaken, or supposed to deny the right of Members, in certain cases and under certain circumstances, to arraign the verdict of a jury—but what were the cases, what the circumstances? Either where he could prove that the Jury had been packed, or improperly impannelled; or where the Judge had given wrong directions; or where an evident partiality had appeared in any part of the trial, or where the Jury had been bribed on the one hand, or menaced by the Judge on the other, and had, in consequence of venality or terror, given a wrong verdict, in either of these cases any Member of that House had a right to complain of a verdict. But was this the case here?—By no means; there never was a trial to which so much attention and deliberation had been given, as to those on which this plot and conspiracy was founded—upon what principle therefore the persons who had been acquitted were to be thus stigmatized, (for what more degrading stigma than to be likened to acquitted felons) upon what principle such language was to be held with impunity he was at a loss to know. Another right honourable gentleman had made a distinction between what he called the technical forms of law, by which a party was tried and acquitted, and the moral guilt of such

party; this was again an unfounded distinction, for the accusation of treason in this House (whether according to law, or not, was not his business to inquire now) was charged to arise out of the moral guilt or accumulated acts of sedition, demonstrating an intention as dangerous to the state as direct acts of high treason, therefore the Jury having acquitted the persons charged, had, upon his own principle, destroyed the distinction which he made between the formal acquittal by law of a person charged with high treason, and the moral guilt of such a person who had been guilty of a crime equally dangerous to the State as high treason. He, therefore, maintained that the persons who had been tried for high treason had been acquitted, according to the deductions of common sense, of both the treason and the sedition; because the object of the prosecution was, to make out and substantiate treason out of many acts of sedition; the facts failed on the part of the prosecution, and their own evidence disproved the case on the part of the Crown.

Another honourable gentleman had asked if the existence of the plot could be doubted, after the Grand Jury had found the bill—to which he would answer, most undoubtedly it could, and for this reason, the evidence given before the Grand Jury was *ex parte* evidence, most probably the evidence of spies and informers, who afterwards committed perjury at the trial. But he might be told, that most of the evidence before the Grand Jury arose out of documents which were unquestionable as to authenticity. He wished to draw a veil over all that part of the subject, for all these documents came before the Jury under a deep impression that they must be sufficient for them to find the bill, because the two Houses of Parliament had, by their votes, expressed as much already. Should he be asked, whether he would advise that mode of proceeding against a person accused with a crime which affected his life? he would answer, certainly not. Having made these observations on the late trials, he would ask on what pretence did the Ministers come forward for the renewal of this bill?—Were there any new facts on which it was supported?—Was there any ground of any kind for it?—He maintained there certainly was not. He wished to have some information on these plots and conspiracies, which reminded him of a line, which is considered by philosophers and metaphysicians as containing every possible circumstance of a fact—

Quis, quid, ubi, quibus auxiliis, cur, quomodo, quando.

He begged to examine this conspiracy according to the order of these circumstances, as to who the conspirators were, what the conspiracy was, where it was, by what aid and assistance it was to be

carried into execution, why it was undertaken, by what means to be effected, and, lastly, at what time it was attempted. First, are the conspirators new persons lately discovered? If so, we must have a new Committee of Inquiry, and a new Report, upon which will depend our judgement as to the necessity of this measure.—But this is fairly disclaimed. Then, are they those men who have been acquitted?—Let gentlemen declare upon their consciences whether that acquittal does not absolve them as much from a seditious as from a treasonable conspiracy, and negative the existence of the sedition, as much as it can be supposed to do the new law of treason, as laid down by the Counsel for the Crown. Then of *what* does the conspiracy consist? Is the simple act of calling a Convention an illegal conspiracy?—Certainly not in England, whatever it may be in Ireland; and as to the word Convention, because used by the French, containing any inherent danger, it is too puerile to suppose it.—The people of England have a right to summon a Convention or Assembly, call it which gentlemen please, in order to consider of any grievances under which they may labour, and to petition for a redress, be the subject what it may, provided it be done in a peaceable and constitutional manner. The next question to be asked is, *where* is the formidable conspiracy?—Was it in the metropolis, in different parts of which, as an honourable Member had said last year, a great number of desperate villains met in night-cellars, where they exercised with knives and other implements made for the purpose of destruction; and where, in the dead of night, they planned their horrid schemes, to the due and punctual execution of which they took the most solemn oaths, and for the breach of which they called for the most horrid imprecations? All this had been urged last year to be true, although he wondered that nothing of it appeared in the Report. However, there was nothing in it; this was not to be found therefore in London. Was it to be found in Norwich, or in Derby, or in any other part of the country?—Certainly not. He would also inquire by whose aid this conspiracy was to be carried into execution? Has any evidence been adduced to prove an application from any men in England to the Government of France for arms, for men, or for money, as was the case in the rebellion of 1745?—Certainly not. Their whole connection with France is to be found in a few rash silly addresses sent to the Convention—*when?* Before England was engaged in the war. His next query was, *why?* For what purpose was this conspiracy set on foot? Ministers say for the purpose of superseding the functions of the Legislature, and subverting the existing Government of the country. Here he [illegible]

refer to the evidence, and to give it a dispassionate consideration, by which it is clearly proved, that the result of their purpose was a Parliamentary Reform, on the broad basis of universal suffrage, as recommended by his Grace the Duke of Richmond.—The next query was, by what means this conspiracy was to be effected—Was it through the medium of those famous pikes, of which we heard so much last year—what have they proved? What, but the absurdity and folly of the prosecutors? Upon the first trial, indeed, they made their appearance, but so ridiculous and contemptible was the inference drawn from them, that downright shame prevented their second appearance upon the stage. Did then the vast and tremendous means of the conspirators consist in the army of taylors exercising in a garret at Lambeth, an army, into the middle of which, he verily believed, either Townshend or Jealous might have marched without danger, and have conducted by the collar their General and his Aid du Camp, with perfect safety and impunity, to the acting Magistrate in Bow-street.—Lastly, at what time have these mad conspirators undertaken this conspiracy? Is it at a time of general disaffection to the Government, or to the Crown? Is it at a time of internal weakness?—The reverse is too notorious to be denied. The Executive Government, in no period of our history, was ever so strong; in no period of our history have we ever had a Monarch on the throne of England more beloved by all ranks of men, than is the present Monarch, and beloved upon the best of all titles, his private and personal virtues. Could they hope for success from our internal weakness? Look over the surface of England, and you will find it covered with a militia the most complete in point of numbers, and equal, in point of discipline, even to our regulars—You will find Volunteers and Fencibles, loyal in disposition, and ready to march on the first order to any part of the kingdom for the suppression of any tumults and insurrections which might arise—and is this a state of danger? Have we reason to apprehend the success of a conspiracy with all these safeguards? Must we wantonly and uselessly swell the state of our security by the surrender of a law upon which depends our most valuable privileges?

[illegible]t chance, therefore, was there of any success to conspirators [illegible]inst the State? Most indubitably none. Let men of honour and [illegible]science, therefore, declare whether it was a fit thing that the people of England should, without any reason, be deprived of their rights.—He could not help thinking the system of policy pursued of late years by His Majesty's Ministers wore an awful and alarming aspect. What was this system?—The adoption of intriguing mea- [illegible] separate the higher and lower classes of society,

to draw a line of demarcation between the rich and the poor. A system which he was in hopes would have been left to the despotism of Russia and Germany; where the proud nobles, as if formed of different flesh, of different blood, and of different organs, are but too apt to consider their inferiors as mere brutes and beasts of burden. This is the baneful exotic transplanted by Ministers into this land of freedom, and fatal must be its fruits, except nipped and blasted in the bud. Fear is their successful engine, and we all know that fear begets jealousy, jealousy partial oppression, partial oppression leads to general tyranny, and tyranny to a resistance (if Englishmen may say it with impunity) big with consequences equal perhaps to those which have produced all those scenes of bloodshed, horror, and convulsion, which have laid low the Monarchy of France, and have shaken to their very centers every Government in Europe. This, he repeated was the trick, the legerdemain of their Machiavelian policy, and they had succeeded. Was this the good old sterling policy of Englishmen?—Surely not. Surely the prominent and most beautiful feature of English policy was, to unite them in one bond of harmony and love for the Constitution under which they were both protected. Not to encourage suspicion in the one, and envy in the other, so as to make two separate and hostile parties. He had filled the men of wealth of this country with fear, for the possession of their darling property, for the purpose of making them look with distrust on the poor, and thereby to gain *his* object in taking away the liberty of all. This might pass for a time, for it had passed.—For a time the opinion of the rich would appear to be the entire opinion of the country; and give a certain tone to its politics, but this was a fugitive and transitory cloud, and the whole people of England, seeing with their own eyes, would before long speak with their own tongues, and when they should speak, they would speak with a voice that would arouse the most lethargic, and intimidate the most corrupt and profligate of their enemies. He had no pleasure in saying these things; he could wish there was no foundation for them, but these were not times to mince matters, they were times in which every honest man should speak out the real dictates of his heart.

Such were the grounds on which this bill for the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act was to be opposed by him. He did not mean to say, that there were not persons who wished to throw things into confusion. Desperate men have existed, and will exist, in every country in the world, and at all periods, be the Government ever so good or lenient. Discontent and envy are not new passions in the human mind, nay, he would admit, that many fish,

hot-headed and intemperate writings had been issued, more calculated to inflame, than to enlighten the understanding of men; but can we find no excuse for such warmth and such intemperance? Is it not natural, that men disgusted with those abuses and corruptions, which stalk in the face of day, and which all men are become ashamed of *denying*, should feel those irritations of the mind, which lead to language not quite so measured, or so cautious, as might be expected from apathy, ignorance, indifference, or hypocrisy. There were, without doubt, such men as he had described; but what he maintained was, that their numbers and their consequence was not, at that day, so formidable to the safety and security of our Government, as to justify the measure proposed by the right honourable gentleman. Nay, even here, he could not close his objections to this bill—they were not to be confined even to its operations upon our personal rights and liberties. He was also against it, because it gave encouragement to the nefarious practices of those damnable fiends, commonly called spies;—for fiends of hell they were, both in their objects, and the nefarious practices through which they carried them into effect; not only in the calamities which they brought upon others, but in the curses also which frequently fell upon their own devoted heads. For how often is perjury the price of their information—and here he could not but reflect upon that arch villain, who had attempted to take away the life of Mr. Walker, and couple with that reflection the inequality of punishments, which, in several instances of late years have marked our judicial proceedings. There is no blacker crime in the whole catalogue of human depravities than perjury, and when engaged in an attempt upon the life of an *innocent* man, defies language to characterise the enormity—it is worse than felony, worse than many cases of murder itself. The human mind shrinks back at the idea of a fellow-creature, deliberately in his closet, or upon his pillow, with malice *calmly prepense*, planning his tale of destruction, to which he must make that God a party, whose omniscience baffles all deceit, and whose wrath never fails to overtake the deceiver. He did not think that he had any thing more to say upon this subject, except to take notice of a society to which he had the honour to belong. He was happy the Minister thought the views of the society moderate and patriotic; observing some gestures, he proceeded to say, the Minister seemed to nod dissent from the last proposition. He should be glad to see the Minister attempt to prove one act of the Society of the Friends of the People, or one sentence written by them, which was not moderate and patriotic. He could not help thanking the Minister for the opportunity which he had given him, to

ſay ſo much of the ſociety to which he had alluded. He hoped their recent actions had proved what he now ſaid. What had that ſociety lately done?—They had ſuſpended all active operation for a Parliamentary Reform. Had they abandoned their object?—Certainly not. But there was one common danger now in which we were all involved; it was paramount, and ſuperior, to all other conſiderations, it was therefore their duty to refrain, for the preſent, from agitating the minds of the public; they had therefore withdrawn their efforts for a Parliamentary Reform. How long were they to be thus retired and inactive? During the continuance of our preſent calamity; no longer. When (ſaid he) it ſhall pleaſe God to remove our preſent calamity, we ſhall then ſtand upon advantageous ground with the people of this country. We ſhall be enabled to ſay to them, the dangers and difficulties which you have been under—the calamities you have experienced, were brought on by a corrupt Adminiſtration, acting through the medium of a corrupt Parliament.—[A cry of Order! Order! came from the oppoſite ſide of the Houſe.]—Mr. Lambton proceeded—"The language which I have uſed I will repeat, if it has faded in the recollection of any Member of this Houſe: I ſay that will be the advantage ground on which we ſhall ſtand, and ſuch is the addreſs which I, for one, ſhall make to the people of this country, and I will defy the artifices of any ſet of men to counteract it, for I know there is a great deal of diſcernment in the people of this country."

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL ſaid, there was no man in that Houſe who felt more the immenſe importance and magnitude of the ſubject than he did: perhaps there were circumſtances which made his feelings upon it ſtronger than thoſe of moſt of the gentlemen in that Houſe. The ſituation he had the honour to hold, had thrown a duty upon him as ſevere, in every ſenſe of the word, as could be thrown upon any individual. In riſing to ſpeak upon this queſtion, he felt no animoſity, no warmth, he had no other object but truth. In the courſe of what he had to ſay, it was his object to convince, and not to offend. The duty he had to perform was of too ſolemn, too important a nature, and he ſhould be unworthy of the ſituation he held, if he did in any point endeavour to miſlead the judgment of the Houſe. The duty which had been thrown upon him was to conduct a great public proſecution, in ſuch a manner as to render it effectual, but it was alſo his duty not to render it effectual by violating any one of the rules of the law or of juſtice. He hoped, in this particular, his conduct was not liable to cenſure, of this he was ſure, that he had acted ſtrictly according

to the dictates of his conscience.—In bringing forward this measure, he admitted in the fullest manner what had fallen from gentlemen on the other side of the House, viz. that very clear, very strong grounds should be made out before they could assent to the motion.—Indeed, so strongly did he feel that it was the right of the people to have this act in force, unless in cases of emergency, that if he had had reason to think that there existed no real cause why the bill should continue in existence, he would himself have come forward early in the session, to have proposed the repeal; for, though the act was limited to the first of February, yet, in his opinion, not one day should be lost in restoring the Habeas Corpus act after the danger had ceased.—Whether that danger did or did not exist at this moment in such a degree as to justify the continuance of the suspension, was a point upon which he differed from the honourable gentleman who spoke last, and he was afraid from several other gentlemen in that House. He was aware that it was not a popular measure to propose the renewal of this bill: he knew that popular opinion had been much misled upon this subject, and that some pains had been taken to prevent the people from viewing it in its proper light. He confessed that he felt, in common with other men, a certain degree of reluctance in taking the lead in an unpopular measure; but when he was called upon by reason, by conscience, by his duty to his country, to perform the task, he would do it boldly. He could not but lament extremely the temper of mind which the honourable gentleman who spoke last had displayed upon this question.—He had known that gentleman from his infancy, he knew the virtues of his heart, he knew the powers of his mind, he knew the great extent of his property, and it was that knowledge of him which made him regret the temper in which he had spoken upon this subject. Whenever he saw a man of his weight and consequence in the country professing such sentiments, and supporting them with so much vehemence, it always called to his reflection a letter written by persons calling themselves the Editors of the Patriot (a paper published at Sheffield) to the Constitutional Society. This letter, after suggesting a variety of ways of instilling discontent into the minds of the people, goes on thus: "Whenever you find men apprehensive that an attempt at reform may produce confusion and the destruction of property, ask them if they know such a man (naming one of great fortune and character in the neighbourhood, who is an advocate for reform), he will say yes: you may then ask him, whether he supposes that such a man would support a measure which had a tendency to destroy all property, and consequently to ruin him, &c." Thus it was that the gentlemen who really were

selves immortal honour. Every one had a right to rejoice in the event of those acquittals, because, in consequence of them, every one felt himself more secure in the possession of the privileges which he enjoyed as a British subject. Who did not know, that if convictions had taken place, Ministers might not have had warrants ready to issue against any one who might have rendered themselves obnoxious by opposition to their measures? The Attorney General, by coming down, without any new facts, to propose a further suspension of the Habeas Corpus, had shewn that it was now considered as a mere matter of course. The whole of the proceedings on this business might probably be considered as a miserable artifice for the purpose of carrying on the war. He did not say that Government might not have other objects in view; he had no doubt, that if they had been able to effectuate their purpose, they would have been extremely glad to have laid the liberties of the British subjects at their feet. Mr. Jekyll here alluded to the system of spies, which had been countenanced and avowed by Ministers, a system so contrary to the nature of Englishmen, that when they wished to find a name for it, it was necessary for them to resort to the language of another country. As a proof that this system was not abandoned by Ministers, he here read the following letter, published in one of the papers:

"SIR,

"Having had the misfortune to be applied to on the part of Ministry, by Mr. WILLIAM METCALFE, of No. 6, Dowgate-hill, to become one of the numerous spies by which the present *virtuous* Administration are supported, I conceive the best mode of avoiding their *courtly importunity*, without falling a *victim* to their disappointment, will be by laying the proposal before the *Public at once*.

"The application was made to me on Sunday, 4th inst. when Mr. METCALFE, visiting my humble dwelling, after some *ridicule* and *jokes on public virtue*, observed, that Government already had *one Spy* in the Committee of Correspondence, but they wished to have *another*, to report the proceedings, that they might be assured of his *fidelity* or *treachery*.

"So anxious was the tempter for the success of his *snare*, that his visit was renewed on *Tuesday*, when I not being at home, he again came on *Wednesday*; not being at home this time *either*, he left word, that I should call upon him at his house, and he would wait my *arrival* at any time in the afternoon; not choosing to do this, I received a fourth visit on *Thursday*, when he again urged his proposals, offering to introduce me to Mr. Ford, at the Duke of PORTLAND's Office, Whitehall; or to receive any information himself, at his own house, under cover; that if I would accept the office, I should have *fifty guineas prompt payment*, and *one guinea regularly for each weekly report*. Such an offer might have staggered one who had not, by his long *attendance* on the meetings of the London Corresponding Society, been *confirmed* in his reverence of *public virtue*, and his contempt of every venal worshipper of *self-love*. If he had not remembered the excellent anecdote of Andrew Marvell, who,

when offered a thousand pounds on the part of the King, by Lord Danby, to induce him to betray his country, with scorn rejected the offer, though obliged immediately after the departure of the Lord Treasurer, to borrow a guinea of a friend. If he had not already sacrificed the *means* of *subsistence* for the sake of acting as *Reason* and *Conscience* directed him; if he had not recollected, from what appeared on the late trials, that one of the supposed *duties* of such men was to swear just what their *employers* required of them; more *especially* if he had not recollected the warning fate of Watt, of *Edinburgh*, a fate surely which ought ever to be before the eyes of all who are concerned in the system of *espionage*. But such an offer had no other effect on me, but to sink still lower in my estimation, those, who support a falling cause by means so foul and treacherous. Poor as I may be, I would sooner be what I am, than *that man*, who, wallowing with *his whole family* in enormous wealth, extorted by *extravagant salaries*, and *unmerited pensions*, hourly provokes the curses of that people, who suffer from the wanton prodigality with which he disposes, not only of their *riches*, but *their blood*, on the *frantic* prosecution of a war, which has already been *properly* indeed, termed *a War of Extermination!*

" J. Burks, Bookseller,
No. 52, Crispin-street, Spitalfields,
Secretary to the London Corresponding Society.

Jan. 14, 1795.

After this elucidation of a system so shameful, and without one new fact produced, he was sorry to find any man so confident, as to come forward and demand a further suspension of the Habeas Corpus act. He, for one, should conclude with entering his protest against the suspension of that act, on which depended the best energies, and the dearest privileges, of Englishmen.

Mr. FRANCIS then rose, and addressed himself to the Speaker in the following terms.

Mr. Speaker,

There were some material passages in the speech of the learned gentleman opposite to me, which I think myself called upon to take the earliest opportunity to answer, while they are yet fresh in my memory and in the recollection of the House. They were not addressed to *me* particularly, but, as they conveyed a charge against the principles and proceedings of a Society, to which I belong, and from whose cause I am not at all disposed to separate my own, I consider myself as a person put upon his defence, and therefore intitled for a short time to the attention of the House. No man is less likely to abuse it than I am. Sir, I am not going to find faul with the honourable gentleman's personal deportment in this House or with the language he makes use of. They are always civil and conciliating, and therefore he may be sure that nothing is farther from my thoughts than to offer him any offence. It is to his assertions and to his doctrines that I mean to oppose contradiction and

resistance. But, first of all, allow me to clear my honourable friend near me of a very unjust imputation thrown upon his conduct this day, as if he had irregularly taken the opening of the debate out of the hands of the learned gentleman, to whom, as mover of the question, it did undoubtedly belong. Now, Sir, on this point I shall content myself with appealing to your testimony, when I affirm that the learned gentleman moved the second reading of the bill, without offering to say one word even of introduction to that motion, and that you were going to put the question, and must have done so, if my honourable friend had not then risen to oppose it. The learned gentleman says, he understood it was agreed that the debate should be taken on the subsequent motion for your leaving the chair. If so, he purposely reserved himself for a later stage of the bill, and has clearly acquitted my honourable friend of taking the debate out of his hands. But I know of no such agreement. On the contrary, I perfectly recollect it was stated to him, from this side of the House, that it was intended to debate the principle of the bill, which could not be done at any time so properly as on the motion for the second reading.

I find, Sir, that the Society of Gentlemen, associated for the purpose of obtaining a Parliamentary Reform, of all of whom individually he speaks with great civility, are no favourites of his in their collective capacity. It is very difficult for us to give him satisfaction. If we continue our proceedings, it leads to dangerous consequences, though possibly our intentions may be innocent. We are exciting discontent and faction among the people, and encouraging others to go lengths, to which we perhaps may not be determined to follow them. We shall be answerable then as, in fact, the abettors and promoters of mischief, in which at first we do not partake, and which afterwards we might be determined to resist. If we resolve to suspend our proceedings, that's ten times worse; that's a resolution, which fills the learned gentleman with horror and dismay! The moment we leave off acting at all, we excite and exhort the people to have recourse to the most dangerous and criminal excesses! It is difficult to conceive, by what medium in our conduct we could thoroughly have satisfied the learned gentleman. All I shall say is, that his judgement of our conduct is not quite impartial, and that I am happy in being able to appeal to a judgement and authority, even in his own profession, much higher than his, though I am far from meaning to undervalue his censure: I mean that of the eminent Magistrate, who presided at the late trials. The Chief Justice took more occasions than one to speak of our Society in terms of distinction and approbation, and to inti-

mate his opinion that our proceedings furnished an example, which might be followed with innocence and safety, if not with advantage. I am fearful of overstating any thing said by the learned Judge; but I believe it is in the memory of every one who had the happiness of hearing him, that he stated it as an aggravation of the misconduct imputed to other Societies, that, in ours, they had an example of prudence and moderation, by which they might have been instructed, and ought to have been guided. But, Sir, whether we are favourites with the learned gentleman or not, we have a right to demand justice from him, and from all men. If he came to this House prepared to bring a charge of any kind against us or our proceedings, he was bound in common equity to give us notice of his intention. With all his books, and his papers, and his memorandums before him, it is not fair to expect that we should be able to answer him, upon the instant, on dates, on circumstances, and expressions, belonging to transactions which took place a year or two ago. Yet, with all these advantages on his side, and taken by surprise as I am, and having nothing to rely on but my own immediate recollection of the terms of a letter, written by us in May 1792, and signed by Lord John Russell, as Chairman, I meet the learned gentleman in direct contradiction upon his statement of that letter. I affirm, that he has misquoted our letter, that he has essentially changed the terms of it, and attributed to us a declared specific motive for declining, as we did, all future intercourse with the Society for Constitutional Information, which I am sure we did not express, and which I am confident we never thought of. He says distinctly, and more than once, that we came to that resolution, because the other Society, by their acts and proceedings, *had violated the constitution*. If they had, we ought to have gone much farther, than barely resolving to have no concern with them. I cannot recollect the exact terms of our letter, but I stand firmly and securely upon the negative. I say the learned gentleman has done that which no accuser ought to do; he imputes criminality to certain acts united to certain declarations of ours, and he changes materially the terms of those declarations. On that point I am at issue with him: he has the books before him; let him confute me if he can*. He confesses, however, that we did right in declining

* The passage in the letter from the Society, dated the 12th of May, 1792, and signed by Lord John Russell, to which the Attorney General alluded, stands in the following words:

"We must beg leave at the same time to decline all future intercourse with a Society, whose views and objects, as far as we can collect them from the various resolutions and proceedings which have been published, we can-

all intercourse with that dangerous Society; but then he says, we ought to have acted in the same manner to the Sheffield Society, who, it seems, have written a letter to the other, full of exceptionable language and matter. Agreed. I think so too; but then that letter ought to have been before us. It could be no motive of action to *us*, unless it had come by some means or other under our view, or in such a way as to oblige us to take notice of it. Now, I do assure the House, upon my honour, that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, I never heard of that letter before. I hope I have said enough to vindicate our Society from the imputations, to which some gentlemen have thought us liable, and to justify the favourable opinion entertained of us, by persons of greater judgement, as well as more elevated authority. If not, I desire it may be understood that I shall hold myself ready, and forthcoming at all times, to answer any distinct charges that may be brought against us.

In this place, Sir, it may be necessary for me to observe, that neither this discussion, nor any other, that regards the principles and conduct of the different Societies, associated for the purpose of obtaining a Parliamentary Reform, is foreign from the question now before the House. The institution and proceedings of those Societies have in fact been the real or pretended cause of all the alarms, which have been so industriously excited among us, for the safety of the constitution, and of all the measures which have been taken by Government for the peace and security of the country, and among the rest, for the suspension of the Habeas Corpus act. It is no digression, therefore, to state either my own opinion and principles, or those of the Association in which I have acted, on the subject of Parliamentary Reform. But my honourable friend near me, in stating his principles and objects, has stated mine. I concur with him in every word he has said, and adopt it as my own. Sir, I know the inconvenience of particular applications of general opinions, and I shall take care to avoid it. Without referring, therefore, to this or that Parliament, I say generally, but with the deepest conviction that can be impressed on the human mind, by long observation and daily experience, that, with a House of Commons at the disposal and command of the Crown, the liberty and property of this country are not safe. Under such a combination and stewardship the liberty will go first, and the property will soon follow it. With respect to universal representation, and all the dangers and all the reproaches attached to it, I must say that I think the

not help regarding as irreconcilable with those real interests, on which you profess to inform and enlighten the people."

learned gentleman ought to be careful to distinguish those, who profess to have such a scheme in contemplation, from others who reject it with a disapprobation as full and entire, though not, perhaps, with such extravagant horror, as he does. He ought to have known that the idea of universal representation was never encouraged or countenanced by any act or declaration whatever of our Association. If he knows any thing to the contrary, I call upon him now, I challenge him, to point it out. Of *me*, in particular, he must have known, and, in candour, he ought to have acknowledged, that it is not possible for any man to go farther than I have done, to reject, to resist, and to explode every project of that nature, and every principle and argument set up to support it, a project, however, so chimerical, and so utterly impracticable, that it is superfluous to load it with charges of danger and malignity. But, let the character of such projects be what it may, there is one reflection on the conduct of Government towards the unfortunate persons who have professed them, which ought to strike every man of honour or humanity with disgust and abhorrence. While they are persecuting to destruction a number of persons, whose unenlightened sincerity deserves instruction rather than punishment, for maintaining these mischievous doctrines, observe with what guarded caution, with what profound silence, they pass by the original author, the prime mover of all these doctrines, who, if these people are deluded, is the sole cause of their delusion, who, if they have erred, is answerable for their errors, who, if they are criminal, should be punished for their crimes. Sir, I speak from positive knowledge on these points. I have conversed with several of these advocates for universal representation, and I never met with one of them, who did not quote the Duke of Richmond for his authority, who did not take his arguments from letters written and published by the noble Duke, as they said, for popular instruction. If the sense of shame were left among men, is it a thing that could be endured for a moment, that, while the men, whom his writings have deluded, are prosecuted and punished, the noble Duke himself should not only go free and unnoticed, but continue a Member of that very Cabinet, by which these prosecutions are promoted and enforced, with all the influence of Government? I will not believe it possible that his Grace can take an active share in these measures; I dismiss that thought the moment it occurs to me; such conduct would exceed the bounds of human depravity. I acquit the noble Duke of it; but still he belongs to the Administration; and whether he opposes their measures in this instance or not, is unknown to the Public. But let the doctrine I allude to be ever so mischievous, and

ever so dangerous, is it in fact, is it in truth, the real object of all the apprehensions and terrors which are said to be excited by it? I do not believe it; I do not believe that the enemies of reform are so much terrified by it as they pretend to be. They know as well as I do that it is nothing but a vision, which can never be substantiated, a mere abstraction, which can never be realized. No, Sir, whatever they may pretend, this is not the true ground of their uneasiness. It is the reasonable, the moderate, the practicable plan, which really fills them with terror and anxiety. That, perhaps, might be accomplished; the other never can; nor, if it were even to obtain for a moment, could it possibly subsist; and I am convinced that, if it were possible to drive those persons to an option, they would prefer the second to the first, because they would foresee that the mischiefs inevitable in the execution of such a scheme, or even in the attempt, would determine every reasonable man in the country to revert and submit to the present system; that is, to suffer the constitution to languish and dissolve in its corruption, or gradually to perish by decay, rather than to encounter the direct and positive dangers of a change so violent and extreme, to which their minds would naturally unite the certainty of instant destruction.

It is now proposed to the House to renew the suspension of the *Habeas Corpus* act, with as much ease and indifference, as if the arbitrary power of imprisoning any man, for any time, without bringing him to trial, were fit to be given to the King's Ministers whenever they desired it, and continued in their hands as long as they thought fit. They do not come to us, as they ought to do, with a new case of conspiracy and treason, supported by later discoveries, by fresh evidence, and by a report of the result of both to the House. No, Sir, they content themselves with affirming that it is so, and by calling upon us to prove the contrary, if we can; that is, they shift the burden of the proof from the assertion to the negative, and conclude that the House is ready to believe that every thing they affirm is true, unless we can bring evidence to prove that it is false. These gentlemen contend, that the treasons and conspiracies of last year remain in *statu quo*, and in full force. Why, Sir, if that proposition were ever so true, they ought to prove it now, by the adduction of fresh evidence, regularly examined by another Committee of Inquiry, and by them reported to the House. Much more ought they to do so, if they pretended, which in truth they do not pretend, that they had discovered a new set of plots, and a new list of conspirators. I have never said, that a case may not exist, in which the rights of individuals, however important, ought to give way to the security of the Public. No reasonable man, no friend of his

country, will deny it. What I contend for is, that when arbitrary powers are demanded, for the ſake of the common ſafety, the caſe that juſtifies the demand ſhould be made out, in every inſtance, by its own ſpecific evidence. Nothing of this kind has been done or attempted; the ground they take now, is the ſame as they took laſt year; the evidence they reſort to, is the ſame they have had before them above two years, and which hitherto they have made no uſe of, but by proſecutions and trials, in which they have utterly failed. Every one of the conſpirators, of whoſe guilt they pretended to be ſo confident laſt year, has either been acquitted by his country, or diſcharged by themſelves. If they have any other criminals to produce, on the ground of the inquiries and reports made to us laſt year, for what reaſon have they neglected to uſe the power they had, and to ſecure and bring them to trial in this long interval? The evidence is the ſame that it was two years ago, the ſame documents and letters were read to us laſt year, and may be ſo again this time twelvemonth. They do not pretend to ſay that they have any other; they muſt, therefore, confeſs that that evidence is inſufficient, or that they themſelves are criminal in not having hitherto acted upon it. In demanding a renewal of power, they condemn themſelves; for, if they had done their duty, while they had it, a renewal now would be unneceſſary. Or are we to underſtand that they have left theſe urgent duties unperformed, on purpoſe to keep a pretence in reſerve for continuing in their hands a power to drag any man they pleaſe from his houſe, from his family, from his affairs; to have his papers ranſacked, to have all his private concerns expoſed, and to be continued in cloſe confinement, without trial, as long as they think proper? All this, they tell us, however, is *no puniſhment!* It is pure mercy intended for the ſecurity of the individual, and to prevent him from carrying his dangerous diſpoſitions into criminal effect. This language, Sir, would be very ſuſpicious at all times, but particularly when it comes from men, who will not allow that trial and acquittal are any ſatisfactory proof of innocence, and who affirm that, notwithſtanding the proſecutions and verdicts which have taken place in the laſt year, the ground they then took is not in the ſmalleſt degree altered; that the plots and conſpiracies ſtand exactly where they did; that theſe propoſitions are ſelf-evident, and require nothing but to be ſtated and affirmed upon their authority. The diſtinctions they heve recourſe to on this ſubject, are indeed of a piece with the reſt of their conduct. If you truſt to the opinions of theſe gentlemen, you muſt conclude, as they do, that the finding of a bill by a grand jury, who have nothing before them but ſome ſelected evidence of the accuſer, amounts to

a strong presumption of guilt; but that the verdict of a petty jury, who hear both parties, and in whose presence the whole of the evidence on both sides is minutely canvassed, does not amount to any, no, not the smallest, presumption of innocence. I shall now conclude, Sir, with submitting two plain questions to these learned gentlemen, to which I hope and expect they will give me a plain, intelligible answer, such a one as a Commoner of England, contending for his rights, though perhaps not qualified to defend them in the way in which they are attacked, by legal cunning or skilful arguments, has a right to demand from him who invades them. We have been repeatedly assured, that any hardship which the persons confined last year might have suffered, from the length of their imprisonment, was not to be imputed to the suspension of the Habeas Corpus act; because, without the suspension of that act, they would, or they might have been, confined just as long under the law as it stood. If so, I desire them to tell me what they want, or what they will gain by the suspension; or, in fact, what have they gained by suspending it at all? On their own shewing they might have confined the same persons, or any others, whom they suspected, just as long as they did, and full as long as any man ought to be imprisoned, on bare suspicion, and without trial. My second question is, for what reason, even admitting all their ground, and supposing all their suspicions to be well founded, they think it necessary to take this dangerous power at the present moment; I mean, while Parliament is sitting? Without it, they can secure any person they suspect; and if, at any given moment, they should really want a farther power, what have they do but, as they did last year, to come to this House, and pass another act of suspension in the course of a single day? In the present circumstances of the nation, I take it for granted that they have no thoughts of proroguing Parliament; but, as long as the Legislature is assembled, it is *their* proper office and duty, which they cannot delegate safely or honestly to the Ministers of the Crown, to watch over the personal rights of the subject, while they are providing for the general safety of the community. To these questions, Sir, I demand and expect a plain, distinct, and rational answer.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL, in answer to the charge of misrepresentation, referred to the letter of the Friends of the People to the London Corresponding Society, and also to the letter of the Sheffield Society to the London Corresponding Society; by the former of which it would appear, that the views of the other Societies were such as the Friends of the People could not assent to, consistently

with the principles of the Constitution; and by the latter, that they had unknowingly forwarded the views which they condemned.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL said, he looked on trial by Jury to be one of the most essential parts of our Constitution, and as the only controul over the Government which could safely be left to the people themselves. The only time when this excellent institution had been suspended was during the existence of a Republic in England. At the same time he must remark that the verdict of a jury was conducive only to one point, namely, that the person acquitted should not be tried for the same charge again. As an instance that a conspiracy might exist, of which it might be impossible to produce any evidence, he referred to what had some time since happened in Edinburgh—the case of Captain Porteous. This gentleman was Captain of the guard which attended at an execution, for the sake of preserving order. The cry of reprieve, falsely circulated among the multitude, produced a considerable degree of tumult; the Captain ordered the soldiers to fire. Several persons were killed, some of them innocent spectators, in windows, the Captain was imprisoned, and would have suffered, but by the interest and solicitation of his friends a pardon was obtained, the mob, however, were so much incensed at his conduct, that they broke into the prison, carried off Captain Porteous, and hanged him. Yet though the mob was composed of several thousand persons, and a considerable reward, as well as indemnity offered to any who should discover those who were concerned in that mob, not one person was found to give the smallest information. Here then was clearly an instance of a conspiracy having existed, which it was impossible to detect by any evidence. When it was stated that the suspension of the Habeas Corpus was dangerous, the question naturally arose, What was the degree of the danger? There certainly was a difference between a temporary and perpetual suspension, and there certainly could not be much danger to the liberties of the subject, when the expediency of the measure was liable to be debated every session. If it was contended, that it was a measure which could not be adopted without danger, he defied any one to shew, that, in all the former instances in which it had been adopted, it had been attended with those dangerous consequences, which gentlemen now affected to anticipate. For his part, he could not charge his memory with one instance, out of the thirteen or fourteen times in which it had been suspended, that the liberty of the subject had ever been endangered. He proceeded to state what he considered as the ground of continuing the suspension; namely, the existence of a conspiracy endangering the established Government. From the [illegible] [illegible]vey of all the

facts which formed the evidence, he was convinced that a conspiracy had existed, and still did exist, notwithstanding the artifice which had been used to conceal it. The numbers concerned, their characters and dispositions, were sufficient evidence, provided no other did appear, that there was a combination of the most dangerous tendency to the King and Government. Mr Solicitor General then recapitulated the proceedings of all the societies, and justified the Duke of Richmond, by affirming, that there was a manifest disparity between the Duke's principles as to reform and those of the societies. He was astonished gentlemen in opposition could say they meant the same, when those of the societies tended to a total subversion of the Government. He then adverted to the calling of the Convention of the People, which he maintained to be unconstitutional in the extreme, and calculated to involve the country in all the horrors of riot and confusion. Any assembly, saving that in which he now sat, styling themselves the Representatives of the People, indicated the strongest symptoms of an insurrection, and at the same time, their wish to supersede the existing Government of the country. After such proceedings, could any person doubt of a conspiracy? In the resolution of the 20th January, 1794, they declared they would be governed by their own laws, and if such a declaration did not excite alarm, he did not know what could. They published the speeches of Barrere, and adopted, as nearly as possible, the French doctrines, and had they not been checked in their career, there might now have been a new Government, without Nobles, without Commons, and without King. The persons forming those societies still continued their designs, they did not even attempt to disavow any of the principles they had at first embraced. For these reasons, he thought the bill necessary, and, under these impressions, he thought it his duty to vote for it.

Mr CURWEN said, I should not have persevered in wishing to obtrude myself on your notice, had I not felt, from the importance and magnitude of the question, a duty to my constituents, my country, and myself, which forbade me to give a silent vote. The question involves not only the present liberty of the subject, but perhaps also its very existence. The sentiments I shall offer to the House can have no claim to its attention, but from the sincerity with which they are delivered.

This is a moment when every party distinction should vanish: I look, Sir, to measures, not to men. It matters not who be the Minister, provided he be equal to the situation. My support he shall cheerfully have in every exertion for the defence of the country. I have listened, Sir, to every thing that has fallen from the learned

gentleman (the Attorney-General), of whose abilities and integrity I vave the highest opinion, and great, indeed, has been my astonishment, and much my consolation and satisfaction, to find not one paper, not one transaction adduced in support of the measure, which is not to be found in the report of the Secret Committee of last year. We are called upon, Sir, for a renewal of the measure, not from any reference to the present moment, not from any consideration of the actual situation of the country, but from a reference to that state in which it was supposed to have stood last year. Agreeing in every sentiment, in every opinion, as to the nature of those papers, and deprecating as much as he can do their pernicious tendency; agreeing that they called for the most serious attention of the Executive Government, I totally dissented from the necessity of this measure on a former occasion. And why, Sir? Because my mind was led to that conclusion which the honourable and learned gentleman has this night, for the first time, declared to the House. He now admits, what I always believed, that their numbers were not considerable, that there was not one tenth part whose views were dangerous to the Constitution; agreed in no one plan, they were not formidable even in the proportion of their numbers. I then thought, what I am now more than ever convinced of, that the power constitutionally lodged in the hands of Government is amply sufficient for every purpose of security.

At what moment, Sir, were these opinions, these new fangled doctrines most likely to pass current? Now, when their fallacy has been fully proved, when the misery which has attended them in another country, has exceeded what the most alarmed imagination could have conceived! No, Sir, if there was a moment when danger was to be apprehended from them, it was when they were new. Their novelty excited surprise, and might have allured men into an acquiescence with doctrines which reason and reflection have long ago shewn, were not calculated to produce any one of the advantages so speciously held out. On the contrary, wherever they have prevailed, unexampled calamity has been the consequence. Sir, I draw a source of security from those very papers: when I find them every where complaining of the little effect they have had with the people. Whence has this proceeded? Not surely from a want of energy; for was there ever a disposition to make more glorious efforts in the defence of the country? No, Sir, their rejection has proceeded from the good sense of the people, who are not to be deluded by specious speculations, and who will not make an experiment beginning with the sacrifice of a Constitution

which experience has proved to them to have produced so many blessings.

Can the right honourable the Chancellor of the Exchequer deny, that unparalleled exertions have been made in arming the country? Was the military force ever so numerous? Is there more than one opinion in this House, and the country at large in granting every thing that Ministers shall deem requisite for the defence of the country? What, Sir, are the sentiments of my constituents, whose petition lies on your table? Endeavour to obtain the blessings of peace, but withhold nothing that shall make it honourable and lasting. Such, Sir, I believe, is the language of every man in the country. Is it wise, is it prudent, to adopt a measure that is a *libel* upon the attachment and loyalty of the country, a measure creating distrust among ourselves, and confidence in our enemies? Was there a disposition in the people to be factious and dissatisfied, might not the conduct of the war afford a wide field? Great and unexampled as have been the disasters attending it, are they wholly to be attributed to fortuitous circumstances? No, Sir, much might be attributed to the want of abilities in the right honourable gentleman properly to direct the force of this country. Yes, Sir, while he has His Majesty's confidence and that of this House, the nation is willing to grant every thing he can require. Sir, I saw with astonishment the first steps that were taken by the right honourable gentleman in the system of alarm. Then arose in my mind the most serious apprehensions that they would lead to the involving this country in the calamities of war. I beg to call to the recollection of the House, the beginning of May 1792, when a right honourable gentleman (Mr. Burke) so eloquently, and with but too much success, first sounded the trumpet of alarm, and called upon the right honourable gentleman to exert the full force of Government against those doctrines. What was the reply of the right honourable gentleman? "As to the country being in a state "of ferment, he did not think so, and believed his right honourable "friend had gone too far when he said it. If there were any who "entertained opinions inimical to the Constitution, he really be-"lieved their numbers were small, and their proceedings too "insignificant to be dangerous, for the great body of the people "were firmly united in their love for the Constitution, and had a "proper sense of the many blessings they had enjoyed under it." Vid. Parl. Reg. Debrett, vol. 33, p. 36.

Yet after this, in the same month, His Majesty's proclamation came forth, warning us against the dangers that threatened the country. How is such conduct to be accounted for? This mi-

ſerable policy anſwered but too ſucceſsfully the ends that were propoſed by it. Dreadful has been the conſequence; whether we view it in reſpect to the calamitous war into which it has plunged us, or in reſpect to the deteſtable ſyſtem of *ſpyiſm*, which has deſtroyed public confidence and private ſecurity.

Sir, the learned gentleman has told us, though three ſucceſſive juries have negatived the exiſtence of a plot in this country, we are not, therefore, to infer that it did not exiſt in Scotland, where two convictions have taken place. In my conſcience, Sir, I do not believe that it ever did exiſt, but in that wretch who has ſo juſtly paid the forfeit of his crimes: and in this I am borne out by the general ſentiment of that country. Sir, this wretch (and I truſt, for the ſake of humanity, few ſuch there have been) finding the information he gave to Government led to the belief rather of ſecurity than of danger, was determined to try if he could not work upon the temper of unſuſpecting men, and lead them into a ſituation ſo criminal, that their ſacrifice ſhould procure him attention and reward from Government. God be praiſed! the ruin he intended for others fell upon his own head! But is the indignation which every man muſt feel for ſo conſummate a villain confined to this tranſaction alone? Does it not lead us to execrate a ſyſtem calculated to produce ſuch horrid conſequences?

Sir, many of theſe papers owe their exiſtence to the ſupineneſs of Government, who, for two years, totally diſregarded and deſpiſed them. Is it not in proof upon the late trials how much theſe ſpies have goaded on and inflamed the ſocieties of which they were members, in order to ſcreen themſelves from ſuſpicion? Much, Sir, much ſatisfaction have theſe late trials afforded to every independent man in the country; proving how incorrupt was the ſource of public juſtice. The dangers which I apprenhended are not from theſe miſerable papers. No, Sir; it is from the diſbelief of *public virtue:* every day's experience leſſens the opinion of the people: they know not *to where* or *to whom* they can look with confidence, or on whom they can firmly rely. What, Sir, can they think, when they ſee gentlemen who profeſſed that the imminency of the danger which threatens the country, called upon them to renounce old friendſhips, to forget their recorded opinions of the violation of the Conſtitution, with which the introduction to power of that right honourable gentlemen was attended? Sir, I gave them full credit for the high ground of principle they had taken, but how have they conducted themſelves? Is it not notorious that there has been more jobbing and contention for power, than ever diſgraced the moſt corrupt Adminiſtration, in times of the

most profound security? Sir, when I look to a noble Earl, whose name is respectable from the long services of his predecessor, possessed of an immense fortune, bargaining for the provision of a child at the expence of this country, I protest to God, Sir, this montruous corruption transports me, at times, beyond the bonds of moderation. If, Sir, the possession of every thing which fortune or situation can give, with every thing to lose and nothing to gain, cannot exempt me from such sentiments of indignation, what must be the effect upon men in lower situations, who can hardly bear the burthens for the necessary defence of the country? and what additional ones may we not be obliged to impose?—Let us not, Sir, misapply our time in providing remedies for dangers which do not exist. Let us act so as to regain the confidence we have lost. Let us restore to the people the perfect enjoyment of their liberties. Let us, Sir, by every action, convince them of our unwillingness to infringe upon their rights, or to load them with any burthen beyond what unfortunately the pressure of the moment requires. Then, Sir, I dare pronounce, there will be found not less energy, spirit and resolution to maintain the Constitution, than there were exerted for its establishment. Then, Sir, we may bid defiance to foreign enemies and domestic incendiaries. The contest will then be, who can best and most ably defend his country.

Lord WILLIAM RUSSELL said, that he could not look with disrespect to the verdict of a jury, and that on this head he must rather distrust the professions of the Crown officers, who though they had declared great respect for the decision, had yet, as much as possible, endeavoured to do away its effect. If he was asked to support the measure of the further suspension of the Habeas Corpus, the most simple and obvious answer that occurred to him, was—What treason had existed, or what traitors had been convicted? Before he could consent to the renewal of the measure, he wished to know what benefit had been derived to the country from the extraordinary power already granted to Ministers. He concluded, that, if any man thought the Habeas Corpus at all worth preserving, they ought certainly to exert themselves to prevent its suspension in the present moment.

Mr. Chancellor PITT said, he did not mean now to enter into the debate, but merely rose in consequence of an insinuation which had dropped from the last speaker but one, relative to a noble Earl, now high in office in His Majesty's Council. The fact was, that the noble Earl had not, upon coming into office, gotten any sinecure or new place whatever, far less had he bargained for any; he had held the place of Lord Justice General for Scotland a long time,

a place that had been frequently given to noblemen who had served in a diplomatic capacity abroad, with the reversion for one life. In the present instance His Majesty had been graciously pleased to desire the noble Earl, unasked, to name the life for the reversion; this was the true state of the case, and he thought it his duty to explain it to the House.

Mr. CURWEN said, that if the noble Lord had resigned the one place without accepting the reversion of the other for his son, he would not have made a greater sacrifice than the circumstances of the times might be supposed to call for, from men of his large fortune and high station.

Mr. HARDINGE confessed the incapacity of entering into conflict with all, or with any part, of that which had called itself argument upon the other side of the House, because, in his view of it, either it bore no conceivable relation to the subject, or was of a nature to be self-refuted. This he would undertake, in a few and plain words, to demonstrate.

He would first recall the debate into the road and the only point of it. It was a question of legislative policy, whether, upon a balance of two opposite evils, and both of them constitutional in their nature, an existing peril to the safety of the realm did, or did not, authorize the farther suspension of the Habeas Corpus act?

That such a peril *did* exist, when the Legislature passed the Suspension bill, was a *fact*; it was *then* taken upon trust from the Reports of Committees, but since that period has been authenticated and *proved*.

Here a fallacy and perversion had arisen, which astonished him, when he looked at the enlightened understanding that had lent itself to the support of it, (Mr. Fox) and which common sense would refute. It had been said, "that what the Committees and the House "of Commons had *believed* as an existing conspiracy, had been "*disproved* by the juries, because they had acquitted the accused "conspirators."

This was a puzzle absolutely childish. It assumed, in the first place, that, by acquitting some of the accused conspirators, the juries had negatived the existence of a conspiracy, and it had been said, with an air of triumphant wit, "Here's a *conspiracy, without* "*conspirators*." But the *ardens verbum* is not always correct in reasoning. He would say, "Yes, there *is* a conspiracy, without conspi-"rators; that is, that there is a conspiracy, but there are no conspi-"rators whom the law has yet been able to reach, as guilty of high "treason." An honourable gentleman (Mr. Lambton) who had

opened the opposition of that night, had said, "that all inquiries "into guilt resolved themselves into a Latin hexameter:

"*Quis? quibus auxiliis, quid, quando, quomodo, quare.*"

The juries had answered the word "*Quis,*" by saying, "*not* Mr. Hardy, *not* Mr. Horne Tooke; *not* Mr. Thelwall." *Their* province was, to implicate or exculpate individuals. The House had a different and a more extensive duty; they were to determine the general fact, that a conspiracy did, or did not exist, and if they found its existence, to guard against the evil. The inference, that a conspiracy existed, they had legislatively collected, when they passed the Suspension bill, from the *facts* before them. Those *facts* were *proved*, at a later period, as well to the jury as to the Public. A learned friend of his (Mr Erskine) had said "the *fact* had been "proved, but the *conclusion disproved.*" If the fact was proved, and if the jury had even said, "We acquit Mr. Hardy, *because,* "from the facts proved, *we* infer no conspiracy." Though Mr. Hardy would be well acquitted, he, as a Member of Parliament, would abide by his own conclusion, and should think himself degraded in his legislative character, if he surrendered his judgement, in forming that conclusion, to the juries who had formed an opposite one.

Having said this, he was anxious to have it understood, that he entertained for the acquitted persons all the delicacy that was due to them, and that he considered them as being *innocent*. Could he say more? He was anxious equally to have it understood in general, that no human creature could be more an enthusiast for the right of juries, or (the palladium of our liberties) the Habeas Corpus act. He should be, of all men, the most ungrateful, and of the coldest heart, if he had not caught, in some degree, that enthusiasm from his noble relation (Earl Camden), with whom he had been incorporated, if he might use that phrase, for the best part of his life in the most affectionate habits, and the dearest friendship,; nor could he forget that it was to that noble person in the other House of Parliament that we owed the celebrated act upon the subject of libels, which restored and fixed upon a rock the right of juries over the whole of the case, in criminal proceedings, nor could he also forget, that it was the same *great man* (as he could venture to call him) who, with his friend, the Earl of Chatham, though he was then Attorney General, was in a minority, as a champion of this very Habeas Corpus act, which it was proposed now to suspend, in some parts of it. Having proved that such a peril did exist, he would next ask another question, which, in a manner, answered itself. Had it been supposed by the House of Commons, that, upon ac-

count of these acquittals, the Suspension bill should be repealed?—A recent vote had said the reverse, in opposition to a direct, a very laboured, and a very ingenious effort, the other night, for that purpose.

He admitted, however, that having proved these points, he was to *go farther*, and satisfy the House, if he could, that what existed then, existed equally at the moment in which he addressed them, in other words, that such a degree of treasonable conspiracy does exist, as to warrant a *farther* suspension of this law. He would not only assert this to be the fact, because it had not been proved, that what existed then had ceased, but he would meet the question fairly, take the bull by the horns, and from the verdict itself, under all the circumstances, infer the necessity of this bill. That verdict, accompanied as it was by the fact of an existing conspiracy, (which had been proved) amounts to this—to the legal impunity and the legal innocence of all those who had been yet put upon their trial, for their part in that conspiracy. The verdict, so accompanied, had left a body and mass of treason upon authenticated proofs, and which the rules of law had not enabled the interest of the Public to correct, by a verdict of conviction against any one conspirator. This would, of itself, encourage those who had embarked in their wicked councils—would heighten the alarm, and would make the peril accumulate.

That was not all.—Could it be forgot, that it was no *common treason* then before them? If it had been *English* treason, he might, perhaps, have been satisfied that no such interposition would be necessary to repress it, but it was *French* to the very bone, and *French*, at a moment, of all others, in which the fatal prevalence of that enemy in arms abroad, as well as in mischief here, was at the height. His learned friend (the Attorney General) having stated the intercourse of Jacobin Societies here with Jacobin Societies in France, he (Mr. Hardinge) had observed particular stress laid, by a kind of loud whisper, upon the date of those papers, which proved the intercourse, *a date prior to the commencement* of the war. The tone of that whisper seemed as if it came from a person (Mr. Fox) blessed with too sound a head, as he should have hoped, for so flimsy a difference. Has that intercourse, and have those principles, been ever disavowed, since the enemy had engaged us? since the war had made such an intercourse high treason?

It was the more necessary to mark the continuance of that mischievous intercourse, because a veil had been thrown over it, which had misled thousands into the real design, before they were themselves apprized of it. This veil had been removed, and, as he was

confident, removed for ever, in argument at leaſt, by his learned friend (Serjeant Adair) on a former night, who had not ſhewn the leaſt mercy to it, but with an ability that was never to be forgotten, in that place, or by the Public at large, had given a death's blow to its pretence. Could the Houſe forget, that it was part of the high treaſon imputed, and proved upon evidence that could not lie—upon authentic papers, to erect the enſigns of rebellion, if the enemy ſhould invade us? (for he would not ſo diſgrace himſelf or the Houſe as to argue that rebellion alone was the object of that meeting, which this event ſhould be the ſignal to convene. Would it be forgot, that we are now at war againſt the enemy of ourſelves, and of the human race, whoſe inordinate power we have not been able to repel; who are at our gates, and with whom it is the object of conſpirators and of *traitors* (for ſo he would call them) to unite? Upon theſe grounds, he ſhould vote in ſupport of his learned friend's propoſition.

Mr. FRSKINE did not intend to have riſen, but from what fell from the laſt ſpeaker. With regard to the verdicts of the juries on the late trials, he had believed that not only that Houſe, but every man in the country who had read them, had been fully convinced that no conſpiracy had ever exiſted, yet the learned gentleman, from the very ſame materials, was ſo far from being convinced, that he actually declared there was ſuch a maſs of treaſon, and ſo clear a proof of conſpiracy, that the ſuſpenſion of the Habeas Corpus act was more neceſſary now than even it was laſt year. The learned gentleman, at the ſame time that he had found out this maſs of treaſon, could not, nor did not pretend that it was poſſible, to find out the traitors. What could he mean by this? If in the papers of the different Societies in which all this maſs of treaſon was contained, the authors of them were unknown or undiſcovered, there might be ſomething in his argument, but what was the real ſtate of the caſe? Completely the reverſe. Theſe papers were all ſigned; the authors were known, and almoſt all of them had appeared for more than two years in the newſpapers daily. Thoſe perſons being known, and the members of all theſe Societies and Conventions known who had committed this maſs of treaſon, how came it that they had been allowed to go on ſo long before the ſuſpenſion of the Habeas Corpus laſt year? Or why did not the Attorney General proceed againſt them ſtill? Having gone through ſome other points of the learned gentleman's ſpeech, he expreſſed the higheſt friendſhip and regard for the learned Serjeant, who, on a former occaſion, had ſpoken on this ſubject ſo as to obtain much applauſe in that Houſe. He owned it to be an applauſe that gave

him much chagrin; not chagrin from any applauſe that could be paid to his learned friend, but becauſe it was beſtowed when he had uttered doctrines, in his opinion, inconſiſtent with the learned Serjeant's character as a ſound, conſtitutional lawyer, and an able Stateſman. He had endeavoured to carry the minds of gentlemen along with him, by giving as proofs and evidence partial extracts that favoured his arguments, without giving the context, or in fact the whole, as ought to have been done, before any judgement or juſt opinion could be made upon the caſe in queſtion. That this had been practiſed by the learned Serjeant, could not be made more evident, than by reminding the Houſe, that in his ſpeech he had compriſed and ſtated what he called the whole evidence, though that evidence had taken the grand jury four days before they could find a bill upon it, the petty jury ſeven days in trying that bill, and the Attorney General nine hours in opening his caſe. As to a reform of Parliament being a mere veil, which the learned Serjeant had torn to pieces, he denied that he had been able to do ſo here, and certainly he, with all the evidence that had come out for the proſecution, had not been able to do it to the ſatisfaction of an Engliſh jury, who had the whole caſe before them. Here Mr. Erſkine went into the nature of the evidence for the proſecution, ſpies, informers, and all ſorts of witneſſes, ſtating, that even with their aid, no ſuch crimes or intentions were brought home to the perſons tried, and that evidence for the Crown was ſo completely againſt the proſecution, that it had been wondered at by many that he had ever been called upon for any defence on behalf of the priſoners. He cautioned the Houſe againſt ſhewing too much jealouſy or apprehenſions about the people interfering with Parliamentary Reform. The beſt way was for that Houſe, by its conduct, to ſhew the people, that their intereſt was the thing moſt at the hearts of their Repreſentatives, and not by ſuch ſtrides and encroachments as had lately been made on their rights and freedom, to make them jealous of the corruption that was ſuppoſed to prevail in that Houſe. He ſhould follow the advice of a noble Lord, when he brought in a bill for licenſing dramatic performances. It was ſaid, "What! give leave to ſee ourſelves ridiculed on the ſtage!" To which the noble Lord who ſupported the bill replied, "Let us look to our own conduct, if that is what it ſhould be, we have nothing to fear; the cauſe for ridicule being gone, the ridicule cannot affect us." In this way, let that Houſe ſhew that no corruption exiſts, and the people will ſee no cauſe for reform; but, as things were, he hoped and truſted the people would not abandon what they ſaw ſo much neceſſity for, while they could, by the freedom of the preſs,

and every other right, make their sentiments and grievances known and redressed, and he hoped that they would not be resisted till the time came when Parliament left them no other choice but to command reform. It had been attempted to cast imputations of blame upon the verdicts of the juries, but he confessed he should have given precisely the same verdict, if he had stood in their situation; and as a right honourable friend of his (Mr. Fox) had remarked, if he were inclined at all to differ from them, it would have been in giving in the verdict immediately on the close of the Crown evidence. He firmly believed that they would have told him, at the conclusion of that evidence, that they were perfectly satisfied that no case could be made out against the prisoners, and that he need not trouble himself to enter upon the defence, but they had acted with prudence, in wishing to hear the whole, and in giving his learned friend, the Attorney General, an opportunity of saying every thing that could be said on that side of the question.

Some good had resulted from the discussion of this question; for gentlemen had to-night explained what they had on former occasions advanced to the disparagement of the trial by jury. The argument which had been made use of with respect to the prevention of guilt, appeared to him replete with absurdity. Was it consistent with any principle of justice or of the Constitution that men should be apprehended and confined on a charge of High Treason, when the utmost of their offence amounted only to a misdemeanor? Did gentlemen mean to say that this conduct proceeded from any tenderness which they had for the persons whom they prosecuted? Did they imagine that tenderness was manifested by confining persons several months, lest by some remote chance at a distant period their lives might be endangered? He wished very much to be informed, for he had yet heard nothing on the subject, whether any new motives were to be offered to the House for this fresh suspension of the *palladium* of English liberty? Or did they mean to say the old motives would be a sufficient justification of the measure. If not, he wished them to tell the people of England, how long they are to be terrified, how long they are to be libelled and calumniated. He asked them whether they had the least intention whatever to prosecute any of the 180 delegates to the British Convention, and if they did so, why did they not state that to be a ground for the further suspension? He enquired, if there did exist such dangers as they had asserted, why they had suffered them to proceed upwards of two years without notice, and why they had not suspended the Habeas Corpus act before? He desired the House to attend to the time when they moved for the first suspension. It was at the precise period when they had been

informed that a friend of his, a Member of the Society of the Friends of the People, intended to make a motion in that House, on an application from those societies. Will it be contended that this mass of treason existed, or that the traitors were not known, when both the papers were written by persons known, and the Crown had apprehended twelve persons, because they were supposed to be bringing the project to consummation? They should consider carefully whether, while they were passing this act, and accusing the people of conspiring against Government, the people might not retort upon them a conspiracy against the liberty of the country.—Let them shew that the Administration of justice could not be carried on, and that the Constitution of the country was in danger, and he should have no objection to give his vote for the suspension. It was a circumstance which had considerable weight on his mind, that it should be thought necessary by Administration to traduce and revile the people of England. It had been said, as it had formerly been said in the American war, that this was but a partial suspension of the Habeas Corpus. He should reply in the words of an eminent orator, whose loss must be deeply felt in that House, that "It was so much the worse, for the people would take alarm at once if the suspension were general; but when thus nibbled away by scraps they were not on their guard, and patiently suffered the greatest inroads upon their liberties." The greatest misfortunes were to be apprehended to the country from such an Administration, who had no principle of conduct but their own aggrandizement, and with such a House, which was so notoriously under their guidance at a time and under circumstances when it was difficult for liberty to be preserved, and equally difficult for that wise Administration to preserve their places. He feared much, because he had himself seen the consequences of such conduct, because he had seen, in a nation on the Continent the same tyrannical measures, producing, indeed, for the time, peace and tranquillity. But such a peace, which, like a calm before a storm, only lasted till the people's indignation was roused, forcing from them that *joyeuse entré*, which had been so pertinaciously denied them. He warned Ministers to take care, lest the same spirit of indignation should be roused in the people of England, who, irritated by the conduct of Administration, might not only hurl them from their places, but involve all in ruin. He said it was not Kings in general who produced mischief, but unfortunately Kings had friends, not that he meant to say the junto who were called the King's friends were really so, for the people were his best friends. He concluded with advising Ministers to give the benefit of the whole Constitution to the people, not to rule by terror, nor to deprive the subjects of

their rights, for by doing so they would gain no good, and would eventually do the greatest mischief to themselves.

Mr Serjeant ADAIR said, after the abilities evinced by his learned friends, it would not be necessary for him to trespass long on the patience of the House. After the written evidence that had been adduced, it was, in his opinion, impossible that any individual could doubt of the existence of a treasonable conspiracy. The learned gentleman who had just sat down had complained that the evidence had been selected by scraps. What were the proofs of his learned friend's position? He had rested on the declaration held out by the societies, namely, that they intended to effect a reform in the representation by legal and constitutional means. Because they chuse to make this declaration, is that a reason why this House should shut their eyes to the true meaning of those designs concealed under this specious veil? Were their proceedings on the 20th of January legal and constitutional means? Was their determination no more to petition Parliament, but to seek redress from their own laws, legal and constitutional means? Was their address to the Jacobins and the Convention legal and constitutional means? But his learned friend receded from his own argument, he had suppressed the verbal testimony which might have been obtained; what that verbal testimony was, he should submit to the House. The learned gentleman had himself cross-examined all the witnesses. In two of the trials his learned friend did not care to call those witnesses who best knew the transaction, and yet his learned friend had pushed his cross examination further than had ever been known upon former occasions. His learned friend had grounded his arguments against the written evidence upon the oral testimony which it was contended was the true criterion of judging the intentions of the parties. Was not the question put by his learned friend to all the witnesses he had thought proper to call—"Was it your intention to overturn the Constitution of the kingdom?" What answer could be given to such a question? Why did not his learned friend say at once—Are you a traitor? It was impossible, as the question was put, that any other answer could be given, than such as his learned friend had expected, but why was not Hardy examined? His learned friend had threatened this, but his prudence had superseded the impulse of the moment, and although Hardy could have given much information, yet his learned friend, knowing the simplicity of Hardy's nature, did not chuse to call him, because Hardy knew too much. The learned Serjeant replied to Mr. Erskine's arguments respecting the weight due to the verdict of a jury, but contended that that verdict could have no controul over the House

in the exercise of their legislative functions. He said, that his learned friend, at the trial of Hardy, in a speech of six hours, had chosen to occupy five hours and an half in extracts from Sidney and Locke, and only took up half an hour in replying to that which had occupied four days in stating, and had employed his learned friend, on the part of the Crown, nine hours in opening.

The learned Serjeant next commented upon the evidence given by Broomhead, whose evidence had torn aside the veil, and from the transactions between him and York, in assembling several thousand people, for the purpose of influencing their minds, and assuming the legislative functions of the country—from all these circumstances, the learned Serjeant contended, the real intentions of these persons were sufficiently perspicuous. But it is the duty of this House, it is both generous and patriotic to the public, to prevent those who are conspiring, from bringing their evil intentions to such mischievous maturity as may render our efforts to crush it ineffectual. There are many cases which might occur, to prevent which require timely legislative interposition, that, nevertheless, are not high treason: Conspiring to levy war, for instance, is not high treason by the statute of Edward III. What then, are we to wait till war be actually levied, before we are suffered to adopt preventive interposition? The time to interpose is, when we have just grounds to suspect, and prevent the communication of that contagion which may endanger, and perhaps destroy, the lives of others. In reply to what had been said by a right honourable gentleman on a former debate, relative to the insignificance of the numbers—those numbers had only been insignificant from the timely interposition of Government. With respect to the persons who had been acquitted, he hoped those verdicts would have one good effect, that they would deter those who had been treated with so much lenity by the laws, and make them cautious how they again brought their lives in danger, by the pursuit of similar practices. The same right honourable gentleman had also said, that he should not have hesitated in pronouncing the persons tried Not Guilty; because, in the opinion of the right honourable gentleman, the prosecutors had made out no case.—Was that the fact Did the Jury think this was the fact?—They did not, for they hesitated in one of the trials two hours before they delivered their verdict. The Jury, therefore, had no doubt of the existence of the conspiracy, and he hoped those who had received the benefit of their acquittal, would imitate the conduct of the Friends of the People, and not persist in groping like moles in the dark, lest they should meet with other Juries not quite so lenient as those by whom they had been acquitted. These ver-

dicts, the learned Serjeant contended, would clear them up to that time from all charges of treason; but if they persisted in these seditious practices, they would not be exempted from other charges of the same or a different nature, with an added load of responsibility from the lenity they had before experienced. In reply to the arguments used by his learned friend (Mr. Erskine), great attention, he said, ought and had been paid to the wishes of the people of England, when the sense of the people was duly and properly collected. There was already sufficient union between that House and the people; and he conceived, instead of arguments merely to catch popularity, it would be more consistent with the dignity of that House, if such arguments were not used at all. The learned Serjeant concluded with observing, that he most heartily concurred in the continuation of that power in the hands of Government, which had not hitherto been abused, he was bound to this from duty to the public, regard to the laws, and to that liberty consistent with law and order which this country had ever enjoyed, and which, he trusted, would constitute a bulwark of strength in the country, sufficient to defy foreign and domestic enemies.

Mr. FOX said, he had come down to the House full of curiosity, to hear what case would be made out to justify the renewal of the bill, for although he had heard much declamation on the subject, in the preceding debates, he had found so little argument, that he conceived it must have been all reserved for the present occasion. In one respect his curiosity had been gratified. Some of the arguments were not only new, but the most extravagant perhaps ever uttered in a House of Parliament. The Attorney General had said, that the object of the bill was, not to give a power of taking into custody, and prosecuting persons who might be guilty of treason, but to give a power of arresting and confining persons in *incboate guilt*, and preventing them from completing the crimes they would otherwise commit. This was a principle as inconsistent with English law, as it bore a near resemblance to what had been the former, and was too much the present practice of a neighbouring country, which for several years had been paying the penalties, and expiating the crimes of an absolute monarchy. This argument was not even supported by the bill of last year, for that went directly to the taking up and prosecuting of persons supposed to have committed acts of treason. To adopt such a system of prevention was to desert all the principles and policy of our ancestors, in favour of the infernal policy upon which the Bastiles and dungeons of tyranny had been peopled. It was to say, "We will take up men out of mercy and kindness, because we think them likely to commit crimes; but this

very mercy ſhall immure them in priſons, and cut them off from ſociety during our will and pleaſure." Members of Parliament were excepted; but might not any other man be deprived of his liberty by the will or miſtake of Miniſters, as much as in any country where there exiſted a power of arbitrary impriſonment? It was ſaid, that no man would be taken into cuſtody on ſuſpicion of a crime of which he had been previouſly acquitted; but Miniſters upon their own arguments muſt conſider the perſons lately acquitted of treaſon as more likely than any other to commit acts of treaſon; and what ſecurity was there againſt ſeeing that which had been declaimed upon as the climax of French injuſtice, viz. men who had been acquitted, and impriſoned as ſuſpected? The whole went upon the new French principles, which characterized every new act of Miniſters, while they were holding them up as the grand object of alarm.—What but caprice could prevent them from taking theſe men again into cuſtody? They would not take up Hardy—Why? Becauſe when men abandoned the plain road of the Conſtitution, they were involved in eternal contradictions. It was admitted that a conſpiracy to levy war was not treaſon, and then it was aſked, "Shall we not prevent the miſchief by taking the parties into cuſtody before war is actually levied?" The law ſaid diſtinctly, you ſhall not take them into cuſtody as guilty of treaſon; this was all the anſwer neceſſary to be given, and to ſay otherwiſe was to calumniate the ſtatutes of Edward III and Charles II. He was the leſs ſurpriſed to hear the law calumniated, when he heard the ſame perſons who did ſo, calumniate thoſe who were charged with the adminiſtration of the law. They talked of juries reſpectfully in words, but what was their argument? "We will not try any of the perſons implicated in the charges againſt the perſons lately acquitted; but if any ſhall be guilty of ſimilar offences, them we will proſecute and take our chance of the verdict of another jury." Thus they would reduce trial by jury to ſomething of equal value with a trial by chance. Thoſe who in colourable words ſo talked of the effects of the inſtitution, he could not but ſuſpect of diſliking the inſtitution itſelf. His learned friend (Mr. Serjeant Adair), had ſaid, that the croſs examination of witneſſes on the trial had been permitted to a latitude beyond all precedent. By whoſe fault? The fault of the Court undoubtedly, and if the Court was to blame, let the Court be cenſured, or rather let his learned friend own fairly the principles of thoſe with whom he now acted, and ſay, "When the Court and the law are in our favour, they are entitled to all poſſible deference; but when they happen to be againſt us, we owe them no reſpect." The entire ſpeeches and evidence of the learned

gentlemen on the trials, had not convinced the juries, and parts of the one, with scraps of the other, would not convince him. He would venture to assume, that they who heard part of the argument and evidence, and that only upon one side, could not form so good a judgement of the case, as the juries who heard the whole. All the means of prosecution and of evidence were in their hands; all the persons whom they thought fit to prosecute had been acquitted; they acknowledged the acquittals to be so decisive, that they did not think it adviseable to prosecute any more; it was not therefore very fanciful to say that every man and woman in England had been acquitted of the alledged conspiracy; and, notwithstanding all he had heard, his ideas were too gross and concrete to conceive a conspiracy without conspirators. The arguments of those who opposed the bill were said to be few. They had on their side the Law and the Constitution, and were only called upon to refute the strange arguments brought against them. If original arguments were ever so abundant, he would disdain to use any, for he was not so presumptuous as to set up any theory of his own in preference to the law of Edward III. and of Charles II. To suppose that any number of the people of this country was disaffected to the Constitution was a calumny. The House was called upon in 1795 to suspend the Habeas Corpus Act, for correspondence with France, which had taken place in 1792, two years before the first suspension was proposed. Ministers themselves owned that even in the suspected societies the greater part were deluded by the few, who, under the mask of Parliamentary Reform, wished to lead them to subvert the Government. What did this prove? but that the people were so well affected to the Constitution, that no man durst speak openly against it. Had there been a period since the accession of the House of Brunswick, when there were fewer persons in this country disaffected to His Majesty's person? Was any such period likely to occur? At what time, then could they hope for the restoration of the Habeas Corpus Act? Better would it be, to say at once, that they had taken their last leave of it; and that the state of Europe was incompatible with a limited Monarchy in Great Britain. Were we to wait till the London Corresponding Society dissolved themselves?—Ministers would say, that the dissolution was only a pretence. Were we to expect the death of all the members?—Few as they were, they would have successors; for, till all Governments were perfect, and all men wise and virtuous, there would be discontented persons in every country. Under arbitrary Governments the discontented were more numerous, though less active, and consequently apparent; but, when the awful crisis came, then it was found, that

curses had been uttered, not loud but deep. In 1768, 1769, and 1780, there had been popular tumults, which the authority of the Civil Magistate could not suppress; but, since the epoch of the French Revolution, the source of all our alarms, had there been a single instance of resistance to civil authority, except, indeed, when the zeal of loyalty was exerted to burn the houses of dissenters? Mr. Fox asked, how any man of sense or humanity could talk of the persons lately acquitted, having experienced the mercy of their country? Was it mercy to be torn from their families, to be imprisoned for six months, and then turned out into the world again, their means of subsistence perhaps cut off? they had experienced the justice of this country in their acquittal; but to talk of mercy was an insult. He paid a handsome compliment to the character, abilities, and public services of the Earl of Mansfield, with respect to whom, he understood an appeal had been made to him. He concluded with observing, that the trial by Jury, and the Representation of the People in the House of Commons, were the corner-stones of the Constitution. The latter, he had long been of opinion, stood in need of some reform; for although it was true that the House was capable of receiving an impression from the people, it had been most calamitously proved in the American war, that it did not receive that impression soon enough; and there were cases, such as the present war, still more calamitous, in which time was every thing, and delay might involve House, Lords, King and People in one common ruin.

Mr. Chancellor PITT said, that supposing the danger to exist, the only questions were, Whether the remedy proposed was applicable to the danger, and whether the application of it was likely to produce evil consequences? It was neither a deviation from the policy of our ancestors, nor a desertion of the principles of the Constitution; but a constitutional remedy often applied in cases of adequate danger, and fortunately always with the best effects. Was such a conspiracy as had been so often and so ably described, a case to which it was less applicable than any of those to which it had been applied in former times? Did a case, in which opinions of the most poisonous nature were circulated, with every degree of art, through every channel, when the most extraordinary exertions were made to put in motion a machine, the dreadful effects of which had been but too fatally experienced in another country, less demand vigorous and effective means of prevention than others, where, although the danger was great, it was not so active? Preventing the commission of crimes, which, if not prevented, it might be too late to punish, was the distinctive character of the

bill. This, it was said, was like the old policy of France, or like the new system of Roberspierre; but let it be remembered, that by this prevention the House of Orange, in the first instance, and the House of Brunswick, in the second, had been maintained upon the throne. In France, persons acquitted of imputed crimes, were imprisoned as suspected; here, and under the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, they were enlarged. The circumstances of the time demanded that a discretionary power should be given to Ministers, and there was no reason to fear that it would be abused, any more than it had been upon former occasions. No man would carry the plea of *autre fais acquit*, so far as to say, that it should operate as an indemnity for all future offences; and therefore if any of the persons lately acquitted, should be found pursuing such measures as those for which they had been tried, they would be as liable to be taken into custody as any other. A power must be given by the bill to commit on something less than legal proof of treason, or the bill itself must be nugatory. Conspiring to levy war was, by several temporary acts of the Legislature, a substantive treason; and in particular cases, such as if the conspiracy took effect, must endanger the life of the Sovereign, by the stream of authorities for more than a century, it was an overt-act of treason. The bill was, therefore, a measure of sound precaution, both for the individuals who might engage in such designs, but above all for the public. Even where persons were committed on legal proof of treason, it might take much time to explore all the connections and ramifications of the guilt, and consequently much time before the offender could be brought to trial, consistent with a due regard to the public safety. The alledged disrespect for the verdict of a jury proceeded on a misconstruction of words. It was no disrespect to say, that different juries might draw different conclusions from the same facts, or that a jury might have been misled by an advocate's eloquent and powerful statement of the law of treason.

He came next to examine whether a conspiracy of such magnitude as to call for the remedy proposed, had been proved. Here he took notice of the history, views, and intentions of the Societies. To this, he said, no answer had been given; but he heard with grief a right honourable gentleman, (Mr. Fox) who claimed being the champion of the constitution, say, that from all this he felt no alarm. He had heard with the less surprise, because he had observed, from session to session, and from day to day, gentlemen on the other side of the House, with more or less caution, decrying the danger to be apprehended from French principles. He recurred again to the machinations of the disaffected, which, he said, the

ſpeeches of gentlemen on the other ſide of the Houſe rendered ſtill more dangerous, and ſtill more neceſſary to be guarded againſt, by the ſound part of the Houſe, and of the country. All the facts charged in the Report of the Secret Committee had been admitted by the advocate for the accuſed, to have been proved upon their trials. The verdicts of the juries were not concluſive—

Mr. MAURICE ROBINSON called him to order, inſiſting that juries ſhould in that Houſe be treated with more reſpect; but being called to order himſelf, for improper interruption, was under the neceſſity of ſitting down.

Mr. Chancellor Pitt reſumed, and obſerved, that although the honourable gentleman himſelf had forgot, yet the Houſe could not, that this was not the firſt time he had ſo intemperately offended.— That honourable gentleman was as little acquainted with the duties of juries as he was with the order of parliamentary proceedings, if he denied that juries might have acquitted the priſoners, without deciding either that they were not conſpirators, or that no conſpiracy exiſted. The queſtion was more likely to turn upon the preciſe application of the letter of the law to the crime that was charged upon them. To refuſe to continue the ſuſpenſion of the Habeas Corpus act, would be to declare that all the acts proved upon the trials were innocent. It was really ſurpriſing to hear a right honourable gentleman (Mr. Fox) declare, that the Societies were the leſs dangerous for not being men of property, after the example in France, when thoſe of no property took the aſcendant over thoſe that had, and reduced them to a ſtate more deplorable than was formerly the condition of the meaneſt. The ſmallneſs of the number of thoſe Societies, which ſmallneſs, however, he believed to be only comparative, was undoubtedly a ſecurity to the majority, if they took the neceſſary precautions. But if they now by ſupineneſs expoſed themſelves, they would alſo expoſe the bulk of the people to be worked upon by theſe engines of inceſſant activity, which employed all the arts even of war in every ſpecies of deception. The Latin quotation made by Mr. Lambton, in the beginning of the debate, might be reduced to two queſtions, "*Quibus auxiliis? Et quando?*" Their auxiliaries were the champion writers of the Rights of Man, the Jacobins, and the French Convention. Their time was that which was to be the ſignal for the aſſembling their Secret Committee, when the French fleet was at ſea, and when they had hopes of an invaſion. He then concluded with an eloquent deſcription of the relative duties of the Parliament and the People. The Parliament, whilſt he explained to them the extent of their danger, would ſhew their fortitude and firmneſs in reſiſtance, and the People

would fupport them with confidence and loyalty. Thus, by their united efforts, they would both be happily refcued from all the dangers that affailed them.

Mr. MAURICE ROBINSON faid, that notwithftanding the high tone in which he had been rebuked, he muft ftill maintain, that a confpiracy, upon which the legal inqueft of the country had paffed, and found not proved, ought not to be faid to be proved.

Mr. FOX fpoke in explanation to two or three points. The right honourable gentleman had talked of his decrying the danger from French principles, as if meaning to convey that he approved of thofe principles. No, fo far was this from being true, that he confidered what the people of England had had an opportunity of fee-ing, the pernicious effects of thofe principles, as the beft fecurity that they would not adopt them.

Mr. WINDHAM entered into a juftification of the terms in which he had fpoken of the prifoners who had been tried, and complained that they were ftill ufed as watch words againft him.

Mr. GREY faid, that he fhould not, at that late hour, attempt to enter into the various topics which had been fo much dwelt upon by the honourable gentlemen on the other fide of the Houfe, in fupport of the queftion which was the fubject of debate, the more efpecially as nothing had been advanced by any of them that carried fufficient weight with it to call for a ferious reply. The right honourable gentleman oppofite him (Mr. Pitt) had, indeed, entered very largely into the fubject, but it derived no elucidation from any thing that he had faid, which was nothing more than what had been adduced by a learned Serjeant (Adair) who had taken an early part in the debate, and whofe arguments had been fo fully and completely anfwered by his right honourable friend (Mr. Fox), it happened on that as on moft other occafions, however, that declamation had been made to ferve the place of argument, but he trufted he had not much to apprehend from the effect which his eloquence had produced on the Houfe. The gentlemen with whom he had the honour to act, had been frequently upbraided, in the courfe of that night, with having exulted at the acquittal of the perfon who had been apprehended and tried under the fufpenfion of the Habeas Corpus act, and a fimilarity had been drawn by an honourable gentleman (Mr. Windham) between that exultation and what might be expected at the acquittal of a felon by his accomplices. He certainly never expected to have heard fuch an infinuation from any Member of that Houfe, and much lefs did he hope to find the verdict of an Englifh jury treated fo lightly and difrefpectfully. Let us examine (faid Mr. Grey) how the queftion ftands. Certain perfons had been ac-

cused of a treasonable conspiracy, and the grounds of charge against them were the publication of certain papers; on these a jury of their countrymen had formed a decision, by which the persons accused were pronounced innocent, and the charge unfounded.—What were we then to think of the censure and calumnies which were continued to be poured forth against the exercise of the invaluable trial by jury, which was the greatest blessing emanating from the British Constitution, and the most sacred birth-right of the people of this country? Would it be said, that it had not been fairly exercised, because it had brought to light the unfounded alarms with which Ministers endeavoured to affright the nation, for the purpose of answering their own views.—It had been argued, that there were precedents to warrant a suspension of the Habeas Corpus, and that, as no evil consequence had arisen to the liberty of the subject on those occasions, there was no apprehension to be entertained that the powers entrusted to Ministers by the present bill would be attended with more inconvenience now than on the occasions alluded to. To this he would answer, that a suspension of the act in question had never taken place on such trivial grounds as had characterised the passing of this bill in the last session of Parliament; and he defied all the ingenuity of those who supported the present question to adduce from precedent any single instance in which a renewal of the suspension was suffered to take place, after the acquittal of the persons apprehended under its sanction. To favour the measure, the watch-word "Jacobinism" was constantly brought forward, and the example of France held up to the view of the Public, which could have no possible relation to the condition of this country, or the temper of its inhabitants. The former despotism of France effected its own overthrow, from the intolerable abuses which had crept into it, and which it was itself unable to correct; but the Constitution of this country, which he loved and revered beyond any other on earth, and which he hoped would continue to the end of time, provided the means of reforming its errors, and consequently of perpetuating its blessings. —The French revolution had been termed a rebellion, obtained by outrage, and characterised by insult: this, however, was not the fact; he would insist that rebellion had never been accomplished by insult on the part of the people, but provoked by the oppression of rulers; and in this he was happy to be supported by the assertion of a right honourable gentleman (Mr. Burke) not then a Member of that House, and others who had acted with him in his opposition to the American war. If any discontent has been raised in the country, it could not be by Paine's and Barlow's books, without a previous

cause; but the discontent must have been excited by the Government.

" ———For love of grace,
" Lay not that flattering unction to your soul,
" That not your trespass, but my madness, speaks;
" It will but skin and film the ulcerous place;
" While rank corruption, mining all within,
" Infects unseen."

Let us, said Mr. Grey, review the discontent of France at the time of the revolution. That could not be said to proceed from want of power or imprisonment. There was an absolute Monarchy and a bastile. Let us review the conduct and motives of the Dutch. They have been accused of supineness. They were not supine under the oppressive tyranny of Philip the Second; nor would they have been supine now, if they had not wanted cause for exertion. The fact was, they were weary of their Government, and no longer thought it worth defending. It was indifferent to them whether they received a foreign power, or were subjected by a domestic one, they had nothing worth protecting or fighting for, and found an interest in ridding themselves of a Government which had, in a great measure, become intolerable, and deprived them of those privileges which they once possessed, and which it was their pride to maintain. Here was an example well worth the contemplation of all the Governments of Europe, which should teach them how dangerous it was to trifle with the most sacred rights of the people, so as to give them an interest in the overthrow of their oppressive rulers, and provoke rebellion in the breasts of the multitude. I am much surprised, continued Mr. Grey, that watch-words should be complained of, when the right honourable gentleman has availed himself of those worn-out watch-words, "French principles" and "Jacobinism," to support his desperate and corrupt measures. I acknowledge, said he, that they may excite the idea of danger when alarm ought to be diminished, but I hope the period is not far distant when the Constitution will be restored to that ancient and beautiful form from which the right honourable gentleman has seduced it. He said, he should give his negative to the motion, because he approved of that old exploded doctrine, that "the Habeas Corpus act ought never to be suspended except in cases of actual or very imminent danger." One remark appeared yet necessary upon the plea of responsibility which the right honourable gentleman brought forward when he called upon the House to repose its confidence in the measures of Administration. When Ministers claim the confidence of the House upon light and trivial occasions, Mr. Grey asserted they were entitled to no confi-

dence; and he afferted this, becaufe there had not appeared to him one clear, demonftrative and fufficient argument to juftify the difpofal of fo much power in the hands of the Executive Government.

Colonel ROLLE recommended the divifion upon a renewal of an act for the fufpenfion of the Habeas Corpus act at a former period (we believe in the year 1754) to be read, when the Ayes were 71, and the Noes 13. He did this, he faid, that the people might know what the opinions of that Houfe formerly were upon a fimilar occafion.

The queftion being now loudly called for from every quarter of the Houfe, a divifion took place.

For the motion 230; Againft it 53. Majority 177.

On the numbers being declared, the Attorney General moved, that the bill be committed on the morrow. On which a converfation took place acrofs the table.

Mr. ERSKINE, Mr. Fox, and Mr. Sheridan hoped the learned gentleman would not perfift in his intention of hurrying fo momentous a fubject through the Houfe, efpecially as the late hour to which they had then fat would render it highly inconvenient to many gentlemen to attend to the queftion with the minute confideration which it required.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL faid, he was anxious to have the bill committed as foon as poffible, otherwife there would not be fufficient time to pafs it into a law before the day on which the prefent expired, which would be attended with the great inconvenience of being obliged to commence the bufinefs *de novo*.

Mr. DUNDAS obferved that he thought there could be no objection to deferring the committal till Monday, if the gentleman on the other fide of the Houfe (Mr. Grey) whofe motion refpecting the war ftood for that day, would agree to change Monday to Tuefday.

Mr. GREY having expreffed his unwillingnefs to defer his motion any longer than Monday,

The ATTORNEY GENERAL would not confent to let the committal ftand over till Tuefday, and moved, "That the bill be now committed." On which

Mr. SHERIDAN moved an adjournment.

Mr. FOX hoped there was a reciprocal inclination on both fides to accommodate the matter, and expreffed a wifh that the farther confideration of the bill might ftand over to Tuefday, from which day, he was fure, there would be abundance of time to pafs it into a law, previous to the expiration of the exifting act.

Mr. Chancellor PITT, after fome converfation, agreed to Mr. Fox's defire; but trufted that, as he had conceded thus much, gen-

tlemen would not be surprised if he should move for the third reading of the bill on Tuesday night, after its committal.

Mr SHERIDAN assured the right honourable gentleman he should not be surprised at any proposition that might come from him, and after the unreasonable motion that had been made to go into a Committee at that late hour of the morning, he should not wonder if the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Pitt) persisted in the intention he had then given notice of.

The Attorney General and Mr. Sheridan agreed to withdraw their respective motions.

MINORITY on the Motion made to read a second Time the Bill for further suspending the Habeas Corpus Act.

Ai t n e, I e
Anson, Thomas
Aubrey, Sir John
B i c, Hon Edward
Burch, J. R.
Byng, George
C v , Lord G. H.
Ch r, J B.
Coke, T W.
Coke, Edward
Colh m, William
Courtenay, John
C e, John
Curwen, Christian
Fitzh, Hon. Thomas
Edwards, G N.
Featherstone, Sir Henry
Fitzpatrick, General
Fletcher, Sir Henry
Foley, Hon Edward
Fox, Right Hon. C. J
Francis, Philip
Hare, James
Harrison, John
Harcourt, John
Howard, Henry
Jekyl, Joseph
Jervoise, C. Jervoise
St. John, Hon St. Andrew
Lambton, William Henry
Lemon, Sir William
Maitland, Hon. Thomas
Mel l, General N.
North, Dudley
Peirse, Henry
Plumer, William
Powlett, W. Powlett
Rawdon, Hon. John
Robinson, Maurice
Russel, Lord William
Spencer, Lord Robert
Stewart, Shaw
Smith, William
Sturt, Charles
Tarleton, General
Thorold, Sir John
Thompson, Thomas
Townshend, Lord John
W n, James
Wharton, John
Whitbread, Samuel, jun.
Whitmore, Thomas
Wynne, R. W.

TELLERS.

Grey, Charles
Sheridan, R. B.

Total 55.

Monday, 26th January.

Mr. BALDWIN took the oaths and his seat for the Borough of Malton, in the County of York.

Mr. Alderman ANDERSON presented a petition from the Lord

Mayor, Alderman and Livery of the City of London, in Common-Hall assembled, of which the following is the substance:

"That your Petitioners deplore the evil consequences of war in general; but more particularly the calamitous effects of the present war on the trade, manufactures and commerce of the British Empire.

"Your Petitioners conceive that none of the ends proposed by the present war, either have been, or are likely to be obtained, although it has been carried on at an unprecedented expence to this country, and has already produced an alarming increase of the national debt, augmented by subsidies to allies, who have not fulfilled their solemn engagements, or rendered adequate service for large sums actually received by them.

"Your Petitioners, from their present view of public measures, presume humbly, but firmly, to express to this honourable House, their decided conviction, that the principle upon which the war appears now to be carried on, neither is nor can be essential to the prosperity, the liberty, or the glory of the British Empire.

"Your Petitioners therefore humbly pray, that this honourable House, disclaiming all right of interfering in the internal concerns of France, will be pleased to take such measures, as they in their wisdom shall think proper for the purpose of promoting a speedy peace, between Great Britain and the power with whom we are at war."

Ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. Chancellor PITT moved, That the Chaplain do preach before this House at St. Margaret's Church, on Friday, the 30th of January. Ordered.

General SMITH wished to know what measures were taken with respect to officers in India; this was a question which he had put to the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Dundas) last year, who had then promised that something should be done; as he did not know whether any measure had been taken, he was under the necessity of renewing his question; he hoped these officers would not be suffered to languish from year to year without some steps being taken to relieve them.

Mr. Secretary DUNDAS said, he was disposed to give the question of the honourable General the most explicit answer which he was able to give; and he hoped the honourable General had heard out of doors enough to shew him, that he (Mr. Dundas) had not been inactive upon this subject. Lord Cornwallis had been referred to upon this matter; and he had considered the whole, and had made his report upon it, in which there were many suggestions, which, he had no doubt, would be very useful. He had His Majesty's command to lay that Report before the Court of Directors; besides this, he had had private communications with several officers.—It was a question of very great magnitude, and on which, he feared, there would be much difference of opinion: Lord Cornwallis and the Court of Directors had already differed in some respects; and the

officers did not entirely agree with either. He ought not to say much of himself; but he would assert, that he had not been guilty of any delay; he had been considering information, which he received no longer ago than last Saturday:—it was an arduous task, and he would go through his duty in it as well as he was able. He trusted, that something might be done, even in the present year, so that the officers in India might have some information, on the arrival there of the next fleet.

Mr. FRANCIS agreed with the Secretary of State that this was a very important question, but he was sorry to hear that there was so much difference of opinion; it was unfortunate that such should be the case after so much consideration had been given to the subject. He hoped that the right honourable gentleman would lay the Report he alluded to before the House.

General SMITH then moved, that an humble Address be presented to His Majesty, praying that he would be graciously pleased to give directions, that there be laid before this House the petitions of the officers belonging to the East-India Company's service.

Mr. Secretary DUNDAS said, he had no objection to this motion, but he doubted extremely as to how far that would bring about the object which he believed the honourable gentleman to have in view.

The motion was then put and carried.

Mr. FRANCIS suggested that it might be proper to lay before the House, a copy of the Report to which the right honourable gentleman alluded.

Mr. Secretary DUNDAS said, he apprehended it to be quite unusual to lay before the House an instrument of that kind.

Mr. FRANCIS saw nothing extraordinary in calling for the production of such an instrument; however, as it was objected to, it was a thing which he should not press.

Mr. SHERIDAN observed that an order had been made for producing a copy of a commission, under which Sir Gilbert Elliot acted as Vice-roy of Corsica. He did not observe that such order had been yet complied with.

Mr. Secretary DUNDAS said he held in his hand the very paper which the honourable gentleman alluded to, and, with his permission, it should now be laid upon the table; which being read, it appeared to contain a memorandum, that Sir Gilbert Elliot had no salary, as yet given to him, as Vice-roy of Corsica.

Mr. SHERIDAN said, that an opportunity might occur for having a complete examination of this matter. He observed, that there was a memorandum that hitherto Sir Gilbert Elliot had had

no salary as Vice-roy of Corsica. That there was to be a salary, and that too to be paid out of the pockets of the people of this country, he took for granted. That, however, was a subject which might be discussed hereafter.

Mr. GREY rose in consequence of a notice which he had given of the motion which he intended to make, a motion which was unusual in point of form, and unusual as to the mode of bringing it forward. He had to bring before the House a question in its nature and in its consequences one of the most important on which that House ever exercised its deliberation or its power. It was not like many other subjects, which were frequently, perhaps too often agitated in that House. It was not merely a dispute between two opposite sides who should have the conduct and the direction of public affairs—not a question on any such narrow grounds or principles—it was not a question whether this or that denomination of men should hold or contend for a transfer of the power of Administration—not whether it should continue in one set of men, or should go into other hands—no, it was a question of much greater importance; it was to be decided on the broad ground of national interest, as it affected the happiness, the safety, nay, possibly the very existence, of this country. If, said Mr. Grey, in the course of debates, since the period in which this calamitous war commenced; if any thing of animosity had occurred; if passion had misled some persons to interest themselves in behalf of this war, and had led them to desire to carry it on; if individuals had been misled into it by false alarms, the case was now entirely changed; it was now a matter of real alarm to every man who had good wishes for the welfare of this country. If that House was what it professed to be—the real Guardian of the Public Safety; if it intended to act in its true character, it would then look with great attention upon this subject; if they would act with the feeling and the temper of good men, they would reflect on the importance of the subject, and remember that not only the money, but also the lives of thousands awaited the decision of this night. After two years war, marked with a mixture of brilliant successes and melancholy disasters, both of which had contributed to drain this country of its blood and of its treasure, we were not one point nearer to the object for which it was said to be undertaken, than at the moment of its commencement. A melancholy reflection this; still more so when the lives of perhaps 50,000 of our countrymen had been sacrificed, and when we had so enormously increased our debt; a debt which had contributed so much, and which will contribute much more to damp the ardour, cramp the genius, and check the industry of all ranks and

descriptions of people in this country; melancholy indeed was this reflection, for if the war were to terminate to-day we shall have added to our national debt perhaps seventy millions of money. The right honourable gentleman seemed not to assent to this. He believed it was not an exaggerated account, but in order to avoid disputes upon the sum, he would state it at fifty millions; that he knew was below the mark, but he was content to take it so. Surely then it became the House to deliberate again and again before they added to a burden already so enormous; it became them to pause before they would proceed one step farther, where the issue was in itself so hazardous, and the loss so large and certain. The proposition which he had to bring forward now, was such as every Member in the House had had an opportunity of considering, for when he gave his notice he not only explained the nature of the subject, but gave to the House the very terms of his motion; and he added at that time, in order that no ambiguity should be found in any branch of the subject, the substance of what he conceived to be the Minister's avowed opinion as to a form of Government in France, with which this country might safely and honourably treat. He should now re-state, as well as he was able, the words of that right honourable gentleman. He said, upon the Government with which we should treat, the best terms of security, he believed he added, the most satisfactory, to him were to be obtained from a Monarchy on something like the basis of the old Government of France; that he conceived it would be possible for this country to treat with a Republic, but that with the present Government of France we could not treat, nor should we treat, for we were not yet so reduced for want of resources as to make it necessary for us to treat with them, and there was nothing in the aspect of their resources which made them formidable to us. In fact, nothing short of the utter ruin of this country would induce the Minister to treat for peace. This, he understood, to be the meaning, and this he feared might be the effect of the right honourable gentleman's sentiments upon that subject, if that House should be pleased to follow them. And these sentiments were indeed alarming, when it was reflected that they came from a man who had the direction of public affairs, and on whose opinion, should the House support it, the dreadful issue of this war depended. This opinion, however, had not yet been countenanced by the House of Common. He hoped it never would, and he had now endeavoured to bring a question forward which should, as fairly as possible, put that point in issue. He hoped it was an opinion the right honourable gentleman himself would now abandon; and he trusted it was such as, if the Minister should ever persist in, the House would never counte-

nance. When he gave his notice of the motion with which he ſhould conclude, he aſked the Miniſter if the wording of the motion was fair and ſatisfactory to him; he added, that if any other terms were neceſſary, he had no objection to their being inſerted. The right honourable gentleman thought the motion perfectly fair, and expreſſed himſelf ſatisfied with them. The point, therefore, was ſo far ſimple and intelligible, and no man by agreeing to his motion, would acknowledge any thing which that Houſe had denied; the point to be diſcuſſed here was ſo clear, ſo ſimple and intelligible, that the Miniſter having agreed to put it upon that iſſue, ſtood now directly pledged to come to a direct vote upon the queſtion. This was an occaſion in which the feelings of the Houſe were moſt warmly engaged, and he would venture to ſay, that if they felt collectively as a body, what he was ſure they felt individually as men, all reſerve would be ſet aſide, all animoſity avoided, all artifice would be abandoned, all miſt which ſometimes obſcured political points would be diſpelled, the Houſe would not ſhun the queſtion, but would come forward honeſtly at once, and give their real opinion. This it was their duty to do, for they ſhould remember, they were to decide on the lives of a multitude of their countrymen. He would again ſay, it was abſolutely neceſſary, that the Houſe of Commons ſhould deal fairly and frankly with the people of this country, for without frankneſs and fair dealing with the people, the Houſe of Commons would neither have, nor deſerve to have, any reſpect from the people; the more eſpecially ſo when they were voting away the money, and ſacrificing the lives of their conſtituents. It was a queſtion, on the iſſue of which even the people of France had a right to expect the Houſe to come to a deciſion; they had a right to expect it from the juſtice and the candour of the Britiſh Houſe of Commons, for the people of France ought to know againſt what it is that they are fighting—they ought to know whether, in the opinion of that Houſe, they had a right, which he would contend, as a general principle, every nation under Heaven had, the right of determining what form of Government they ſhall have. There was another reaſon why the queſtion which he ſhould propoſe to-night ſhould be met by an explicit vote—it was neceſſary on account of the ſituation of the Miniſter himſelf; it was as important to him that he ſhould not be deceived, as it was important to the country that he ſhould not deceive the Houſe. It was neceſſary, that he ſhould know whether the Houſe was willing to go on with a *bellum ad internecionem*, as he had on former occaſions ſtated this war to be; and by his conduct ſince the commencement of it, he had incurred a ſevere reſponſibility, and which was every hour increaſing. It was neceſſary the

Houſe ſhould underſtand the Miniſter, and that the Miniſter ſhould underſtand the Houſe; that he ſhould know clearly and explicitly what ſort of ſupport the Houſe intended to give him during the continuance of the war.—His propoſition was framed with a view to all theſe points; it was plain, ſimple, and intelligible. It did not go to the full extent of his own opinion upon the ſubject. The effect of his motion went not the length, that we ſhall, or even that we ought to negociate now, but ſimply to ſay that negociation at this time is not precluded by the form of the Government of France. If he were to act up to his own opinion, he ſhould make his motion in much broader terms, and ſay, that under all circumſtances as they now are, it was the duty of the Miniſters of this country to proceed without delay to a negociation; but this his motion did not preſcribe, all that his motion went to effect was merely to put this country and France in a negociable ſtate. It would be nothing more, if carried, than a parliamentary declaration that the form of Government in France was not a bar between it and a negociation with this country. It did not proceed to tell Miniſters what he thought their duty, it merely aimed at putting the affairs of the two nations in a negociable ſtate; or, in other words, to render it poſſible for the French, if ſo diſpoſed, to agree to negociate with us. This, then, being the queſtion, he ſhould hope that the pledge which the Miniſter had entered into for meeting this ſubject fairly, would be acted up to, that the Houſe might come to a concluſion upon the iſſue of it, and that the queſtion might not be evaded. He was told, upon former occaſions, that the queſtion between this country and France, was not to be conſidered as a diſpute between nations in general at war, but was of a particular nature. Unfortunately that was true; but yet we ſhould know the ſpecific object of hoſtilities, and then we ſhould conſider what proſpect there was of our future ſucceſs from attending to the effect of our paſt endeavours; and then follow the queſtion, how far it would be politic to continue hoſtilities. But the queſtion, unfortunately for us, could hardly be ſaid to be now of that nature. He was told, when the diſpute aroſe, there were ſeveral cauſes for the commencement of the war; he was told when hoſtilities commenced, and he had heard but little more to inform him upon that ſubject ſince, that the fall of the Government of France was eſſential to the ſafety of our own, for that theirs was in direct hoſtility to ours, and that their ſucceſs was incompatible with our ſafety. He had no doubt but that he ſhould be told the ſame thing now, and that it might be inſiſted upon, that therefore we cannot now negociate. He had no doubt either, but that an attempt would be made to tell the Houſe, that

their former decisions were tantamount to this. He did not think that such could fairly be said to be the effect of any of the decisions of that House. If we could recur to a situation to which the Minister would be glad to recur, namely, the time when we were at peace, and who, if he had the opportunity, would observe a conduct directly the reverse of what he now pursued, we should find the House of Commons in express terms thanking His Majesty for abstaining from all interference in the affairs of the French nation. This was in the month of December 1792, long after the King of France had been deposed, and the French had established a Republican form of Government; and after also many of the excesses for which the French had been so much and so deservedly blamed had been perpetrated. Here Mr. Grey read a part of the Address to His Majesty in answer to his speech at the meeting of Parliament in 1792. He did this, he said, in order to shew that the conduct of the French was as objectionable at that time to our feelings as it had been since or could be now, and yet the House of Commons were then of opinion that the form of Government of France was not incompatible with our safety. He knew of nothing since in which the House of Commons had given a contrary opinion. He had heard indeed many arguments urged to support a contrary opinion; but he did not know of any decision of that House by which that opinion had been negatived, and therefore he did not propose now any thing incompatible with what the House had already done. It was for the House to consider now whether they would countenance to its full extent, the opinion which the Minister had often expressed upon the subject, and would take from him and impose upon themselves the great responsibility which had hitherto been attached to Administration only. He would ask the House to reflect upon the situation of the present war, and on the manner in which it had commenced. It was true that the declaration of the war originated in France; but did that decide the question of, Who in reality commenced the contest? Did we not refuse all satisfaction to France after complaints were stated? Did we not send away one of their Ministers, and refuse to receive another? Was therefore the mere declaration of war the commencement of hostilities? most indubitably it was not. He therefore regarded the war on our part as a war of aggravation, without shewing to the French how it might have been avoided, or how it now can be discontinued, and by this conduct on our part there was a complete bar to all treaty, to remove which was the only object of his motion.

How far the object of the war, on our part, as explained by the Minister, was attainable, and how far, under the present circum-

ſtances, it was politic on our part to purſue it, were points which ought to be conſidered. If the Houſe was indeed of opinion that the very exiſtence of this country depended on our being able to force the French to abandon their preſent form of Government; however diſtant and vain the hope might ſeem to him, he could have nothing to offer againſt our trying to accompliſh it; for he had no doubt that the Houſe and the country muſt determine to make every ſacrifice in their power; but he hoped that the exiſtence of the Government of France was not incompatible with, or its deſtruction neceſſary to, the ſafety of this country, and he was happy to ſay he ſaw nothing that ought to preclude our treating with them. In examining this queſtion, he ſhould not find it neceſſary to inquire into a point which had been often inſiſted upon, namely, that one nation in ſome caſes has a right to interfere with the internal government of another. As a general propoſition, he was ready to ſay he could not admit the right which one nation had to interfere with the government of another; but in certain particular caſes, he thought the propoſition might be admitted; he begged it to be underſtood that he did not ſubſcribe to the doctrine of interference with the governments of States to an unqualified extent. It was not, however, to be denied, that, generally ſpeaking, a nation has a right to form its own Government, and that other nations have no right to interpoſe; that was not a queſtion into which the diſcuſſion of this ſubject would properly lead, for ſuppoſing the deſtruction of the preſent Government of France to be a deſirable object for this country, it became us, before we ſhould ſet about it, to inquire into the proſpect which we had of ſucceeding in the attempt, and aſk ourſelves whether the probability of accompliſhing it was equal to the hazard of the enterprize. Here he muſt confeſs the view was very unfavourable. He did not wiſh to dwell on the circumſtances of the war, becauſe they were freſh in the recollection of every Member in the Houſe, and becauſe they were, the latter part of them, ſo extremely diſaſtrous, that no man of any feeling of ſenſibility could review them without concern for the fate of this country; he feared they afforded but an indifferent ſource of conſolation to thoſe who had predicted a favourable iſſue to our conteſt. He had heard with aſtoniſhment the foundation which the Miniſter laid for our ſucceſs in the termination of the preſent war—the weakneſs of the French, and the ſtrength of Great Britain. He was aſtoniſhed, he ſaid, at hearing this ſort of argument; however, that was the ground on which the queſtion ſhould be conſidered, the argument was divided into two branches—the chance of a counter-revolution in France, and the reduced ſtate of their finances. With regard to a counter-

revolution to be effected by force of arms, was it necessary that such a position should be argued? Was it necessary to recapitulate the circumstances which made up our daily experience upon the subject? It was true that the present Government of France had committed the most horrid acts of cruelty; but was it doubted, that with all its excesses, the mass of the people were attached to that Government; and if so, was it to be a question whether the moderation which that Government had lately shewn, would diminish that attachment? The truth was, and it would be criminal to attempt to conceal it, the people of France detested the very idea of a Monarchy at this moment, and whatever might be the defects of a republican form of Government, a Republic they were determined to have, and it was out of our power to prevent it. A Republic they would have, one and indivisible, whatever the Minister of this country might think or say; that would be the established form of Government in France, at least by force we should never be able to prevent it; this opinion he had formed at an early period of our contest, and every event which had happened since, had confirmed that opinion. But he was ready to admit, that those who maintain a contrary opinion, were not inconsistent with their premises; for they alledged, that the French revolution was brought about by the people having perused Republican writings. He, on the contrary, maintained that the French revolution was not the result of the theory and speculation of philosophers, but arose out of the hardships and misery which made the French hate and detest the tyranny and despotism from which they originated. It was ridiculous to say that any people will revolt under a good Government, merely to try the effect of theory and speculation. No, no; those who were really of this opinion, were unacquainted with the character of man. He should like to be shewn the page in any history in this world, where the mass of any people had revolted from the Government under which they enjoyed protection. In reality, mankind in general were inclined the other way; they were fond of a Government, and sometimes blind to its defects, when they were conscious they were protected by it. But he was sorry to say that he was afraid this was not always the case with Governments; those who managed them were not always satisfied with the affection and obedience of the people; they would often plunder and insult them: he was sorry to say also, that Governments in general seemed not to grow as wise as they ought by experience; and this was most unfortunately true in the history of Revolutions. It had been thought that the revolution of America might have taught the Ministers a lesson to proceed with more caution. But let us see a little how we stood,

and how the facts were upon which we ought to form our judgements: three campaigns had now passed—Had we gained any thing?—We were once so forward, as, in the opinion of an honourable gentleman (Mr. Jenkinson) we might be able to march triumphantly to Paris; and he believed, although he was not so sanguine as that honourable gentleman, that really at one time there was some idea that the allies might subdue the French, and that he believed might have been apprehended in the National Convention, at least they thought their situation a very serious one; but had we gained one inch since that period? We had made once an impression on the side of Alsace. Had we gained any thing since? We had gained the port of Toulon, as it was once said, by the affection of its inhabitants, and the hatred they had for the French Republic, but, as it has since appeared, by the treachery of a few individuals. Had we gained a single man in favour of our cause by that event? If we looked to the South of France for an insurrection, what prospect had we of gaining any thing by it? There we should see the main body of the people reconciled and attached to the present Government. In truth, they were united to their Government, and gave it extraordinary energy from a sense of common danger; that was sure to be the case in every Government. Was it not, at this very moment, the case in our own? Did we not see the hands of Government strengthened every hour, even upon the bare suspicion of a common danger? Had not the Habeas Corpus act, the pride of Englishmen, been suspended on that idea? Was it therefore the less likely to be the case in France, under all its circumstances, than in any other country? He would say, therefore, that with regard to every hope of a counter revolution in France, the question was at an end, either by force of arms or otherwise. The next point which had been insisted upon by the Minister as a reason why we should expect success in the present war, was the want of resources on the part of the French; that right honourable gentleman had stated, that the French were so exhausted, that he could prove, from calculation, they could not continue the war much longer. He had heard, he said, much upon this sort of reasoning by calculation of the strength of States. He had heard it from the commencement of the present war to this moment, and yet the French had been successful in proportion as we had depreciated their resources. He had heard it in His Majesty's speech. [Here he read part of the King's speech of last year.] This was the language in the year 1794, and such was the language now. But the history of the world proved the fallacy of this mode of argument. We were told of the progressive and rapid decay of the resources of the

French. Precifely in the fame ftyle the Houfe of Commons was addreffed in the year 1777, when the American war was hardly begun, and upon that occafion a fpeech was made by a perfon (the late Lord Chatham), to whofe authority the right honourable gentleman would certainly pay fome attention. That great Statefman had then afked, "Where is the man who has the forehead to fay he can prove it? I fhould be glad to fee his face; I fhould like to look at it." Now we all know that the Americans had iffued a great quantity of paper money, and they were faid on that account to want refources, and it was infifted that therefore they muft fall. It was then alfo ftated, by way of proof of that affertion, that the debts of the Americans would amount to fixty fix millions fterling, and that the whole value of their eftates did not amount to more than thirty-three millions. Such were the arguments then, and fuch they were now; this was the misfortune of having the affairs of this nation in the hands and under the direction of men who were unable to diftinguifh between the fallacy of fuch calculations and the energy of a people ftruggling for what appeared to them to be their freedom, men who thought that their knowledge upon fuch topics was fuperior to what was to be collected from the teftimony of experience and hiftory of nations. But, if we compared that ftatement of American refources with thofe of France, we fhould find that, even upon that calculation, there was a prodigious advantage in favour of France. The moft exaggerated account that had been given of the probable debt of France, amounted only to four hundred and twenty millions (about one hundred millions beyond the truth), and the value of their landed eftate was admitted to be above fix hundred millions fterling. What, then, was to be faid on the queftion of calculation, efpecially when we all knew that the French were now adding whole nations to their wealth; when they have in their poffeffion a Bank, which was once faid to be identified with the Bank of England? But this, in truth, great and mighty as the advantage was in favour of the French, was not by any means the real way to eftimate the refources of a people, who, in a ftate of revolution, were contending, as they thought, for their liberties and lives.—They were not to be meafured by the common efforts of a people; for while there was iron in the bowels, or grafs upon the furface, of the earth, there was no end to their refources. Befides, if we looked at the population of France, we fhould find that it amounted to one-fixth of the whole of Europe; add to this the diftracted and impoverifhed ftate of our allies, and then he believed no man in his fenfes would think of fuccefs in another campaign againft them; for

it was clear, however desirable the thing might be, it was impossible to conquer them. With regard to our own resources, he believed them to be, as the right honourable gentleman stated them to be, very great; equal, certainly, to every thing to which they ought to be applied, but not equal to the conquest of France, or the carrying on a war of aggravation, for so he must again state this war to be, as it was avowedly for the destruction of the government of France. He would say again, that whatever we might think of ourselves, we had not, nor could we, in the nature of things, have, in the prosecution of this war, the energy and spirit of the French, for they must fight while there was a man or a shilling left. What were our resources? Had the Emperor improved them? Let us hear what was said upon that subject in his own memorial, wherein he stated that he was drained of men and money, and that his army was destitute of provisions, and other necessaries, and that they must return home. [Here Mr. Grey read an extract from the memorial.] Was it from the exertion of the Italian States that we expected to derive essential assistance?—Was it from the King of Sardinia?—Was it from Spain?—or, was it from the maritime power of Naples?—or, was it from that disgraceful alliance with the Empress of Russia, who had authorised murder and devastation; who gave us promises in abundance, but who had not yet furnished us with a single man, or a single ruble?—Was it from our good ally, the King of Prussia, who had taken twelve hundred thousand pounds of our money? Let us hear his construction on the treaty which enabled him to receive that sum of us, as also the opinion of the Emperor on that subject. The Emperor complained that his Prussian Majesty had not brought into the field the sixty-two thousand men, agreeably to his engagement. The King of Prussia denied our right to command any of the Prussian troops, and asserted that they ought not to march against the French, but remain to defend Germany. [Here Mr. Grey read the Memorials of the Emperor and the King of Prussia on this subject.] He wished to know if any thing like an excuse could be given by Ministers for this wild waste and profligate squandering of the money of the people of this country. The right honourable gentleman had quoted a passage from an eloquent speech. He might, by looking a few lines back in the same speech, have found another, much more to the purpose:

"Spem si quam adscitis Aetolum habuistis in armis
"Ponite—

It had been stated by an honourable friend of his, that the better way would be to lessen our army, in order to enable us to in-

crease our navy in the present war; that, he admitted, would be proper enough in the conduct of a rational war, but it would be ineffectual for the success and prosecution of this. He believed, indeed, that very few gentlemen out of that House, who knew any thing of the resources of France—very few out of that House, who knew the resources of this country—very few out of that House, who knew the real state of our allies, would give the Minister credit for having the power, under any circumstances, of destroying the Government of France, or really believed, that at this hour, it was not wise and prudent, on our part, to endeavour to negociate.

He had often heard that the greatest reason which a great nation could have for entering into a war was to defend its honour; and he agreed to that, because it was by defending its honour it protected itself from insult, but he never understood it to be sound policy to cherish this principle beyond all limits; on the contrary, he took this to be, as every thing in human affairs ought to be, subject to the dictates of prudence; and here we had nothing to fear on that account, for we had vindicated our honour sufficiently to secure us from future insult. The only question for him to consider now, and that he confessed was the most difficult, was, the general question, How we were to submit to the disgrace of a negociation? He expected this to be urged to the House, as he had often heard it. His answer was, that his motion did not go to that length.—He was ready to confess, that as far as his opinion went, we ought, under our present circumstances, to begin the negociation, but his motion did not go to that effect; it was only to put the country in a negotiable state. He had heard also a great deal said upon the doctrine of the National Convention of France, by which they were said to avow a principle of intermeddling with the governments of other nations; and as a proof of it, the decree of the 19th of November had been quoted; now the House would be pleased to recollect that the French Convention had repealed that decree, and followed that repeal with a declaration that they would never interfere with the Government of any other country. He had heard it said, that we have not yet had any opportunity of negociating with the French. He wished to know to what period it would please gentlemen who asserted this, to allude. Gentlemen on his side of the House had proposed a negociation at the commencement of the misunderstanding between our Government and France. That was a proper period. We had been successful in several instances since the commencement of hostilities. There were proper periods to negociate, and in each of these instances a negociation was recommended from that side of

the House, and he was convinced that negociation at that time would have been effectual. It was not his fault, nor the fault of those with whom he acted; that this country was in so awful a situation now. It was not their fault that so much desolation had taken place; that so many thousands had lost their lives, that the helpless widow had been made to weep, or that the orphan was destitute of protection; for had the advice of his right honourable friend been taken at an early period, all the calamity which Europe had suffered for the last two years might have been avoided. When the time would come when the blessings of peace should be restored, it was impossible to foresee: if the right honourable gentleman was determined to persist, as he said he was, till the Republican Government of France was destroyed, the time but too probably will come, when he himself would be obliged to humble the tone of his quotations.

Ante equidem summa de re statuisse—
Et vellem, & fuerat melius; non tempore tali
Cogere concilium.——

He was asked, should we trust to the mercy of the French Government? Certainly not; we were a great power, and had great resources; but that was an additional reason why we should put our affairs in a train for negociation. If we did so now, we had the advantage of that power and of those resources; but should we exhaust them both, and be at last compelled to negociate, we should then indeed be at the mercy of the French. Should the right honourable gentleman say, after Hanover might possibly be added to the conquests of the French, we might then proceed, perhaps the fertile plains of Lombardy might be added also, and the whole of Spain. Would he then say that we were less at the mercy of the French than at present? Did the right honourable gentleman really believe, that the people in this country would submit for ever to be guided by such abominable policy? Did he really believe, that even at this hour the war was popular? Did any man in that House believe it? He was confident of the contrary. If the House of Commons was really disposed to trust the Ministers with the further prosecution of the war, would the right honourable gentleman declare that he could trust his allies? He believed that the Minister would not assure the House that he had any such confidence. This, therefore, was surely a time to put our affairs in a train of negociation, as the right honourable gentleman had been advised by his own friends. Should our attempts in that respect be fruitless, then the House of Commons would be unanimous, and the people would be unanimous, and we should prosecute the war

with vigour; we should then indeed resemble France in the only point for which she was to be envied. For his own part, he declared he should be ready to go into the field, and in the front of battle, and to fall in the service of his country. He had, within these few days, some reason to think that his motion should be altered, because an account had reached this country which ought to have some influence in that House, he meant an account of the debates of the Diet of the Empire, in which all parties agreed except the Landgrave of Hesse and the Elector of Hanover, that it was becoming at this time in the Empire, while preparations for the next campaign were continued, to make overtures to the enemy for a fair and equitable peace, and but for the notice he had already given of his motion, and of the precise words in which it was to be formed, perhaps the language of the Diet would be the most fitting for that House to adopt. This was a subject which it would become the House to consider attentively and gravely. He had stated the necessity we were under of taking some measure to avert the farther calamities of war. Let gentlemen of that House, who out of doors were against the war, declare it within. Let those Members of that House, who out of doors really thought the Ministers did not intend to prosecute the war, but that he was now actually negociating; let all such persons not deceive themselves; let them not deceive the Minister as to the prosecution of the war, or the extent of the support which he was to have in carrying it on; but let their votes follow the dictates of their hearts. This was not a question whether, as had been stated on a former night, the predictions of one set of men, or the opinions of another, had been justified by events, but a question of magnitude and importance to this country. He concluded with an elegant quotation, from a speech of Mr. Burke, in the conclusion of the American war, where that gentleman speaks of Ministers without sagacity to foresee the most obvious events, and without docility to profit from experience, and then drew the inference, that as the present Ministers had shewn nothing but incapacity on their part, it would not be prudent in that House to repose confidence in their future conduct. He then moved, "That it is the opinion of this House, that the existence of the present Government of France ought not to be considered as precluding, at this time, a [...]ation for peace.

[...]r. WILLIAM SMITH said, that every motive of a personal nature would certainly induce him to avoid being drawn into a comparison with the honourable mover of the question which he rose to second. It had indeed been treated with so much eloquence

and ability, so perspicuously and so completely, that he could scarcely hope to add any thing to the impression it must have made on the House. But in a crisis so awful, he conceived it to be his duty to throw his arguments, of how little weight soever, into the scale, and that there was a view of the subject which, though frequently adverted to, had never yet been considered so much in detail as its importance appeared to him to deserve.

To this point, therefore. *The resemblance of the present unhappy contest to that almost equally unfortunate one*, from the dreadful effects, of which we had but just begun to recover, (it could hardly be necessary to name *the American war)* he would solicit the attention of the House, and he earnestly entreated gentlemen to consider that, although by agreeing to the motion they would not be laid under any obligation whatever to ask for peace, yet that the rejection of it could not fail, in a most alarming degree, to increase the impediments which now lay in the way of our obtaining that most desirable object. If, indeed, it should be rejected on the grounds he had heard stated on former occasions; (an event which, for that reason, he most earnestly deprecated) he did not see the probability of a negociation being ever set on foot, unless he should be unfortunately compelled to it by the iron hand of an imperious necessity, before which the stiffest necks and proudest hearts were sometimes forced to bow. Analogical arguments, he confessed, were not always conclusive; because in all moral and political comparison, there could not fail to be many points of dissimilarity as well as of resemblance. It was, however, a mode of reasoning applicable, perhaps, most of all to politics, as experience, so justly deemed the surest guide in such cases, was in fact no other than a right discernment, and a judicious application of past analogies to present circumstances. In the momentous affair under consideration, he had, by an attentive review, discovered resemblances so numerous and so striking, that he should take the liberty of trespassing on the patience of the House, while he drew the parallel from the commencement of the contest. And in the first place, it was to be observed that the two revolutions in America and in France, had precisely the same origin, viz. a persuasion operating throughout the people, that their Government was unjust and oppressive, which produced open resistance. In what degree their opinion was well founded in either case, entered not into the present argument; it was sufficient that it existed, and that it did now almost universally exist in France, as formerly in America, he thought the events of which we had all been witnesses, were sufficient to convince any man not resolutely blind and hardened against conviction.

But were it seriously alledged that the Royalists in France were the superior party, in spite of all evidence to the contrary, he would remind the House that it was by similar assurances the country had been deluded both to attempt and to prosecute the subjugation of America.—In the speeches from the Throne, from the beginning of 1774 to the end of January 1781, this fallacy had been constantly maintained.* Nay, even in 1782, when the

* June 21, 1774. A very high eulogium on the measures which had been adopted for the purpose of reclaiming his *deluded subjects*; and on the firmness, temper, and unanimity, which had been displayed in the deliberations of Parliament, which *could not fail* of giving them the greatest weight.

November 29, 1774. Opening. A most daring spirit of resistance and disobedience still prevailed in the province of Massachusetts Bay, and had broken forth in fresh violences of a very criminal nature: that the most proper and effectual measures had been taken to prevent these mischiefs, and that they might depend upon a firm resolution to withstand every attempt to weaken, or impair the supreme authority of this Legislature over all the dominions of the Crown.

May 15, 1775. P. The most perfect satisfaction in the conduct of his Parliament, and his entire conviction, that the most salutary effects must result from *such measures*, formed and conducted on *such principles*.

October 26, 1775. Opening. Accusing Americans of a *desperate conspiracy*, and of harbouring a premeditated design to effect a total revolt; whilst taking advantage of the moderation and forbearance of Parliament, they hoped to amuse by vague expressions of attachment to the Parent State, and of loyalty to the Sovereign. This rebellious war, it is affirmed, is manifestly carried on for the purpose of establishing an independent empire; and it is now become the part of wisdom, and in its effects of clemency, to put a speedy end to these disorders, by the most decisive exertions—for which purpose, His Majesty had greatly increased his military and naval establishments; and he had also received the most friendly offers of foreign assistance. When the unhappy and deluded multitude against whom this great force will be directed, shall become [illegible]ble of their error, he declared himself ready to receive the misled [illegible] tenderness and mercy; for which purpose he had given authority [illegible]tain persons upon the spot, to grant general or particular pardons [illegible]demnities, and to receive the submissions of any province or colony [illegible] should be disposed to return to its allegiance.

[illegible]y 28, 1776. Proclamation. His hope that his *rebellious subjects* [illegible] still be awakened to a sense of their errors, at the same time ex[illegible]ing his confidence that, if due (i. e. unconditional) submission could [illegible] be obtained by a voluntary return to their duty, it would be effectu[illegible] by [illegible] exertion of the great force intrusted to him.

October 31, 1776. Opening. That, so daring and desperate was the [illegible] leaders whose object has already been dominion and power, [illegible] have now openly renounced all allegiance to the Crown, and [illegible] connection with this country: they have rejected, with cir[illegible]stances of indignity and insult, the means of conciliation held out to them, and have *presumed to set up their rebellious confederacies* as *Indepen*[illegible]. If *their treason be suffered to take much root, mischief must* [illegible] *from it to the present system of all Europe.*

contest was perfectly decided, an honourable gentleman had hardily asserted, "that the unhappy faction in America, though less numerous than the party of the Royalists, could only be rooted out by force." Surely, then it was too much to expect that implicit credit should be given to the repetition of the same deceptions.

That the successes already obtained had been so important as to give the strongest hopes of the most decisive good consequences; but notwithstanding this fair prospect, it was necessary, at all events, to prepare for another campaign.

June 7, 1777. Proclamation. His thanks for the unquestionable proofs they had given of their clear discernment of the true interests of their country.

November 20. Opening. His confidence that the spirit and intrepidity of his forces would be attended with important success; but intimated the necessity of preparing for such farther operations as the contingencies of the war and the obstinacy of the rebels might render expedient. He expressed his determination steadily to pursue the measures in which they were engaged, and his hope that *the deluded and unhappy multitude* would finally return to their allegiance.

June 3, 1778. Proclamation. His thanks for the zeal shewn by Parliament in supporting the honour of the Crown, and their attention to the real interests of the nation, manifested in the wise, just, and humane laws which had been the result of their deliberations.

November 26, 1778. Opening. Regret was expressed that the efforts which had been made for disappointing the malignant designs of the Court of France, had not been attended with all the success which the justice of the cause and the vigorous exertions which had been made, seemed to promise.

July 3, 1779. Proclamation. A happy omen of the success of his arms, that the increase of difficulties seemed only to augment the courage and constancy of the nation.

Nov. 25, 1779. Opening. That they were, in concert with him, called upon by every principle of duty and every consideration of interest, to exert their efforts in the support and defence of their country, attacked by an unjust and unprovoked war, and contending with one of the most dangerous confederacies that was ever formed against the Crown and people of Britain.

October 31, 1780. Opening. He acknowledged the arduous situation of public affairs; but the late signal successes of his arms in Georgia and Carolina would, he trusted, have important consequences in bringing the war to a happy conclusion.

November 27, 1781. Opening. That the war was still unhappily prolonged, and that, to his great concern, the events of it had been very unfortunate to his army in Virginia, having ended in the total loss of his forces in that province. But he could not consent to sacrifice, either to his own desire of peace or to the temporary ease and relief of his subjects, those essential rights and permanent interests on which the strength and security of this country must ever principally depend—that he retained a firm confidence in the protection of Divine Providence, and a perfect conviction of the justice of his cause. He called for the concurrence and support of Parliament, and a vigorous, animated, and united exertion of the faculties and resources of his people.

What, however, of unanimity might be supposed wanting in either country, had been produced also in both by similar means—by cold and haughty treatment, not to say by the absolute rejection of every conciliating proposition in the early stages of the respective affairs—by violent and even abusive language, by furious and threatening manifestoes,* and above all, by the operations of armies apparently willing to execute such threats in their utmost extent, and determined to ravage what they were unable to subdue. In some of these points, perhaps, our allies, in the present war, may claim the largest share of guilt and folly; but the effect on France remained unaltered. With respect, also, to the quarter from whence both these calamitous measures took their rise, in the councils of this country, he thought much might be said. Certainly those most active on the former occasion, were now to be found in the list of His Majesty's advisers, but it must be allowed they never mixt with many of a very different description; for the right honourable Chancellor of the Exchequer, among numerous instances of resemblance to his illustrious father, had unhappily imitated one of his measures so closely in forming the present Administration, that the description of an honourable and most eloquent gentleman, would apply, with almost perfect precision, to the cabinet of this day. "He made," said Mr. Burke, "an Administration so chequered and speckled; he put together a piece of joinery so crossly invented, and whimsically dove-tailed; a cabinet so variously inlaid, such a piece of diversified mosaic, such a tessellated pavement without cement; here a bit of black stone, and there a bit of white; patriots and courtiers, King's friends and Republicans, whigs and tories, treacherous friends and open enemies, that it was indeed a curious shew, but utterly unsafe to touch, and unsure to stand upon."

In the commencement, too, of both these wars, the conduct of this country was stated to arise from a prudent and politic regard to the conservation of the system of Europe. The language lately used still rings in the ears of every one, but all might not be aware of its perfect co-incidence with the sentiments delivered from the Throne in 1776, when, in the same spirit of laudable and tender sollicitude for this important object, it was declared that, *If their treason be suffered to take root, much mischief must grow from it to the present system of all Europe.* How far, indeed, that prediction might be true, he would not pretend to say. If the systems of Europe were then completely despotic and shamefully oppressive, the example of successful resistance might certainly produce much mischief to such a system, and eventually, equal benefit to mankind;

but he thought the true advantage which Government might make of such examples, was to learn to correct their own errors in time, and not to delude themselves with the imagination that, "when one national union is formed against oppression, can it," to use the energetic words of Lord Chatham,* "be resisted by the tricks of office or ministerial manoeuvres?—Heaping papers on the table, or counting your majorities on a division, will not avert or postpone the hour of danger." This delusion, however, had prevailed in both cases to the most extravagant degree. The people of England had been imposed on by similar misrepresentations; the same pleas of justice and necessity, of the dignity of the Crown and the interests of the people, had been urged. The same assurances of speedy and complete success had been given: the same contempt of our enemy had been manifested, the same confidence in our own superiority, as in the *origin*, so also in the *object* of these wars, Mr. Smith said, they were similar. It was notorious that it had never been possible, for the two last years, to arrive at any definite idea of the point at which we were aiming. We were sometimes endeavouring to re-establish Monarchy in France, and at others disavowed it. Sometimes we fought for the defence of Holland and the navigation of the Scheldt, at others to prevent the importation of French principles into England. Now, for indemnity and security, and then again for security without indemnity; ever changing with the events of the hour. How exactly correspondent to the description given of the American war by an honourable gentleman (Mr. Powys) who, in 1781, had said, "The insidious pretence of revenue was grown too stale for imposition. The American war had been a war of delusion from beginning to end. Every promise had been broken, every assertion falsified, every object relinquished. It was now a war of this sort, then a war of that sort; now a war of revenue, then a war of supremacy; now a war of coertion, and then a war of friendship and affection for America." At last, however, we had arrived at an avowal of the true object: it had been declared that the present Government of France was not fit to be treated with, or, in other words, that we must make war, if not for the *express purpose* of changing the Government, at least *till* the Government should be changed.—And whatever colour might be put on such a declaration, he would only desire every gentleman to make it his own case, and then ask how far such language held to an independent nation differed from the unconditional submission demanded of America: and if three millions of men there, roused by the flagrant haughtiness and insolence of the demand, had successfully resisted it; what folly,

what infatuation was it, to expect a more favourable issue when tenfold numbers, with equal zeal, were enlisted in the same cause!"

Mr. Smith then proceeded to examine the means and conduct of the war; and here again he said we might trace the prevalence of the same temper. America was to be conquered by *starvation*, France was to be subdued by an artificial famine of our creation. American Loyalists and French Royalists, were to be embodied in such numbers as to carry all before them, in conjunction with British troops and German mercenaries hired from every "princely butcher, to whose extortions," Lord Chatham then said, "there were no limits: every corner of Germany was then, and had now been, ransacked for boors and ruffians to invade and ravage the country." Subsidies had been granted to every one whose assistance we could buy, while in both cases, the utmost violences had been committed, and the vile spirit of plunder, caught possibly from the intercourse of hirelings, had, in but too many instances, degraded the character of the British forces. In the present, as in the former, case the best disciplined veterans had been beaten by troops described as without courage, without arms, or even clothes—who scarcely knew the use of a musquet, and whose numbers would only facilitate defeat. Generals of the highest reputation and most established character, had fled with blighted laurels before men whose names were hardly to be found in any military list. As on the occasion it had been said, "that General Howe could not advance to the Delawar without madness:" so with equal truth to the *impossibility of advancing* had the Duke of Brunswick's retreat been attributed. In both cases the inferences might have been nearly decisive, but partial and inefficient successes had perpetually buoyed up the hopes and the spirits of Ministers, although from the commencement to the conclusion of each contest, not a town had been taken which had not been abandoned, nor a victory obtained which had not been speedily counterbalanced by as important a defeat. The victory of Camden was followed, not by the reduction of all the southern Provinces, with which the sanguine expectation of the American Secretary then flattered the country, but by the surrender of the victorious army. Fatally similar had been our reverses in the present war since the capture of Valenciennes, of Conde, Quesnoy, Landrecy, and Toulon! and even the proclamations we had issued in the temporary possession of any conquest, had resembled each other not less in style and spirit than in total inefficiency as to their object. How equally unforeseen and equally ruinous had been the protraction of both the disputes. How equally useless to our cause the defection of Arnold in the one, of Dumourier in the

other. How much had our comparative strength been diminished in the American war by the accession of force to our enemies, in the present misconduct, not to say the treacherous abandonment of the common cause by our allies, and the warnings and predictions of the opposition in both cases, as well as in all points relating to the general events of the war, had been disregarded with equal contempt, and equally verified by subsequent occurrences. Surely, so striking a resemblance in circumstances so numerous and so important, that it would almost seem as if the former had been expressly designed by Providence as a beacon to enable us to avoid a similar misfortune, might have guarded the Councils of this country from again plunging into so calamitous a situation. But it was the weakness of human nature to persist in a favourite plan even when its impracticability was become evident to all but its projectors; and in both these unhappy contests, though each grew more hopeless in proportion as it advanced, yet was each pursued with similar pertinacity. The American war was not closed till 1782, although on an enquiry in 1778, into the conduct of General Howe and some of the other commanders, the result was, "that no sufficient force had ever been sent to subjugate America; that the people were almost unanimous in their enmity and resistance to Great Britain, and that no subsequent attempt was likely to be attended with better success than those which had already failed. After a series of events, the counterpart of those which then produced this opinion, and after the experience of the mischiefs which ensued from the unyielding obstinacy of those times, the same disposition appears nevertheless to predominate, and threatens to involve us in still greater calamities.

There were several other points of similarity, Mr. Smith said, striking in themselves, but on which, at this moment, he would touch but slightly, though he could not resolve entirely to omit them, as they served to complete the parallel and to mark the identity of spirit by which our affairs were conducted. The insolence of the memorial presented to the States General by Sir Joseph Yorke was kept in countenance by the treatment which Sweden, Tuscany, and Genoa had lately experienced. The same extravagance in subsidies had distinguished both; 1,500,000l. had been then paid for the hire, &c. of 80,000 mercenaries, an extravagance then stated by Lord Chatham as unparalleled, but which could now no longer be so termed. Similar majorities had also emboldened Ministers to repeat towards the opponents of their measures, the identical terms of violent invective and false aspersion. In 1780, the country petitions for economy, were said by a noble Lord to

"be the *last efforts* of an expiring faction. Those who resisted the subjugation of America were represented, as the friends of peace now are, to aim at the subversion of order and the ruin of property. On summing up the whole, it appeared that the French and American revolutions had arisen from similar causes, that similar treatment had united each people; that the present resembled the American contest in its origin and its object, in the means employed and the effects produced. In equal promises of speedy success, and in equal protraction of their performance—in haughty and boastful confidence, and in the most mortifying and bitter disappointments; while the total and complete falsification of every prediction of the then Minister and of every calumny they threw on their antagonists, had not prevented the repetition of the same delusions, the same misrepresentations, and the same promises on the present occasion.

From such a similarity in all points hitherto, he must leave every one, Mr. Smith said, to deduce his own conclusions. For his part, he could not but think that the only rational one was to expect similar consequences of ultimate disgrace and defeat, which, from the greater strength of the enemy with whom we were now contending, might be attended with far worse effects than on the former occasion. For these reasons he could not but strenuously support the motion, and would conclude with the memorable words of Sir George Saville, in his address to his constituents on the dissolution of Parliament in 1780, being perfectly content to share with such characters the obloquy uniformly thrown on the opposers of these impolitic and fatal schemes

Some, said he, have been accused of exaggerating the public misfortunes, nay of having endeavoured to forward the mischief, that they might afterwards raise discontents.—I am willing to hope that neither my temper nor situation in life will be thought naturally to urge me to promote misery, discord, and confusion, or to exult in the subversion of order or the ruin of property. On this melancholy day, I deliver to you your share of a country maimed and weakened, its treasure lavished and mis-spent, its honours faded, its conduct the laughing-stock of Europe; but trust not to my report; look back on the measures which have been taken and approved by Parliament—reflect, compare, and judge for yourselves.

In comparing the past with the present situation of public affairs, one only consolation to me remains, that of being able to assert, that, of all the measures which have proved so ruinous and destructive, there has been no one which I have not resisted to the very utmost of my power."

Mr. ADAM rose and said, that he differed with the honourable gentleman who made the motion. He did not think this was a proper time to enter into a negociation; for that if the proposal of peace were even to come at this moment from the French to us, he

should much doubt whether it would not be detrimental to our interests to accept it; and even intended as a serious injury to us if acceded to. He had the greatest confidence in the exertions of our navy, which, he doubted not, would always prove the safeguard of this nation. He said he thought the honourable gentleman who made the motion had forgot a part of the address of the House to His Majesty, which he desired to be read. (The address was, so much of it, read) Mr. Adam then said, he thought that address was, and ought to be, a direct negative upon the purport of the present motion.

Mr. Chancellor PITT stated, that he rose at this period of the debate, as he was extremely desirous of taking the earliest opportunity to deliver his sentiments on the present important question. Before, however, stating the grounds of his objection to the resolution moved by the honourable gentleman, and proposing the amendment which he meant to submit to the House, he was anxious that they might be fully in possession, both of the repeated declarations of His Majesty, and the sentiments that had been expressed by Parliament on former occasions. For this purpose, he desired the clerk to read a passage from His Majesty's speech of the 21st of January 1794, and the answer of the House; and likewise part of the declaration of the 29th October, 1793, and the declaration of the 20th November 1793, at Toulon. He would take the liberty to assert that there was nothing, either in the situation of the country or of Europe, that ought to induce them in the present moment to depart from those sentiments repeatedly delivered from the Throne and sanctioned by that House—sentiments with which the resolution that had been moved by the honourable gentleman was entirely inconsistent. He would affirm that there was nothing in the present situation of affairs but what called upon them to repeat their firm determination to persevere in the same line of conduct, and to shew their conviction that they had not, on those former occasions, gone beyond the sober and rational principles to which they were invariably bound to adhere. But that they might be in possession of the precise nature of that view of the question to which he should now call their attention, he should first read to them the words of the amendment, which he meant to propose.

Resolved, that under the present circumstances, this House feels itself called upon to declare its determination firmly and steadily to support His Majesty in the vigorous prosecution of the present just and necessary war, as affording at this time the only reasonable expectation of permanent security and peace to this country; and that for the attainment of

these objects, this House relies with equal confidence on His Majesty's intention to employ vigorously the force and resources of the country in support of its essential interests; and on the desire uniformly manifested by His Majesty to effect a pacification on just and honourable grounds, with any Government in France, under whatever form, which shall appear capable of maintaining the accustomed relations of peace and amity with other countries.

It appeared, from His Majesty's declarations, that the form of Government with which it would be deemed preferable to treat in France, was that of a Monarchy. He believed that the sentiment was admitted by every man, that the most desirable consummation which could take place in the present disordered state of that country, would be the re-establishment of Monarchy. For this purpose, it was thought advisable to co-operate with all those in France who were friendly to that object, with a view to employ their assistance, either as a means of war or as a channel of peace, and to avail ourselves of any opportunity that might offer to facilitate the restoration of Monarchy. The language adopted in these declarations was plain and explicit. A monarchical Government was not held out as the *sine qua non*, without which no peace could take place between the two countries; no precise form of Government was pointed out; no desire had ever been expressed to interfere in the internal concerns of France, till it became necessary for us to repel aggression, until we were justified by every maxim of experience, and every principle of the law of Nations, in opposing the progress of a system hostile to the interests of this country and safety of Europe. The interference which was held out, was only so far as it was necessary for our own security, and for the safety of other nations. His Majesty looked at the French Government only with English views, and for English purposes. The declarations only went to the point of the establishment of a Government with which it might be possible to treat with that reasonable degree of security which was to be found in every existing system, with the exception only of the new and unexampled order of things which had arisen in France. No man, looking back to the declarations through this medium, could fail to acknowledge that they were made upon just principles, and from a view of the necessity of the case. The honourable gentleman had contended that no form of Government was necessary to the security of peace; that security was to be found only in the instrument of treaty. We were to treat then, without looking to the character or state of those with whom we were at war? The question was, Whether we would consent to make peace upon terms that did not offer security, or to maintain a contest which he must allow to be difficult and hazardous? The justice

and the necessity of the original grounds of the war were admitted, by some gentlemen who thought it advisable to treat under the present circumstances. The principles of the gentlemen on the other side were very different. They denied that the war had originated from the aggression of France, or had been just or necessary on the part of this country. He would only remark, that they who professed such principles were not likely to bring over others to adopt their conclusions. Those gentlemen had contended that it was equally proper to treat in the days of Brissot and Roberspierre, in those periods of blood and confiscation, as under the present system of moderantism. There was no one moment in which they had not held the same principle; as if, during all the changes which had taken place, during the reign of terror and proscription, there had existed in France a Government of sufficient stability, of sufficient community of interest, of sufficient moderation of sentiment, as to afford to this country a rational prospect of security, with respect to any treaty into which it might enter. There were two objects to which it was natural to look from the termination of war; the first was security in treating, the next was reparation for the loss we had incurred; but the greatest, and that which superseded every question of reparation, was necessarily the attainment of security. Would any man say that this object could be looked for from the present Government of France? Placed in a situation the reverse of all existing Governments, having destroyed what constituted the bond of all society, distinction of classes and security of property, attempting to produce an equality contrary to the physical inequality of men; and to that artificial inequality which was calculated to remedy the defects of the other, was this security to be hoped for from a Government constructed upon such principles, and avowing its disposition to propagate those principles by all the means of force and of artifice, employing every stratagem to seduce, and straining every nerve to compel others into an imitation of its own example; and, with respect to this country, following up the whole by an actual declaration of war? You had professed your intentions of observing the most sacred neutrality. To that neutrality you most strictly adhered; but, instead of reaping the reward of your moderation, instead of finding those principles of innovation and anarchy working, as might naturally have been expected, their own destruction, they had, at last, broke loose and forced the country into the war in which it was now engaged. In this situation of things would it be rational, or a comprehensible object, to look to a state of security in peace, without taking into consideration the principles which had produced the danger? The whole question

was then reduced to this one point of ſecurity. Either the ſtate of things in France muſt have become ſuch as to afford a greater proſpect of ſecurity, or the preſſure of the war have increaſed to ſuch a degree, as to render it expedient to treat upon any terms. War, he admitted to be the greateſt of all evils; a calamity never to be tolerated, where it poſſibly could be avoided by any exertions of human prudence. The queſtion was, Whether the preſent evil was greater than the riſque to be incurred by treating for peace? For perſons to imagine that they could explore the ſecrets of Providence, pronounce what might be the event of future operations, or determine to what point they might be able to contend, he conceived to be the height of preſumption. He affirmed that it was improper to treat in the preſent moment, unleſs gentlemen were prepared to lay down the general propoſition, that the internal ſtate of the country with which we were at war formed no part of our conſideration. It might be aſked, then, in what ſtate would it be proper to treat? In deciding upon that queſtion, he would firſt judge, from all the circumſtances before him, whether it was expedient to enter into treaty? And, ſecondly, from the general principle, not looking to the particular form, whether it was a Government of ſuch a ſort as afforded a reaſonable proſpect of ſecurity? The preſent ſtate of the French Government was ſuch as, in his mind, rendered a vigorous proſecution of the war preferable to any attempt to negociate. When he was aſked, with what ſort of ſyſtem he ſhould chuſe to treat? He would look to its probable authority and ſtability; and he ſhould have little heſitation to reject all propoſitions to treat with a ſyſtem that, ſo far from producing a ſtable Government, had only produced a conſtant ſeries of revolutions, which had now been ſuſpended for but little more than ſix months. Previous to that period, we had witneſſed the fall of Briſſot quickly ſucceeded by that of Roberſpierre, and paving the way for the preſent ſyſtem of moderantiſm. At each of theſe periods, the gentlemen on the other ſide had called for peace; they had referred to the object of ſecurity as equally to be obtained under the reign of Briſſot and of Roberſpierre, they had held them out as perſons with whom it was proper to treat, even when they were approaching to the period of their extinction. If ſuch had been the general ſtate of France, what was the ground of ſuppoſing the preſent party to be poſſeſſed of more ſtrength, or to promiſe more ſtability than thoſe of Briſſot and Roberſpierre, by which they had been preceded? Was the manner in which the pride and paſſions of the populace had been found to work upon the principle of the former Government likely to give much permanence to the preſent

system? Was it a sufficient ground of trust that they had been six months railing at a system of cruelty of which they had been the principal instruments; that they held out a mere name of moderation; or had thought proper somewhat to relax from the rigour of the measures formerly pursued? The degree of their moderation could be estimated only from comparison; they still retained the system of the revolutionary tribunals, not varied in principle, however in mode and degree they might have departed from the atrocity of the sanguinary proceedings under the reign of Roberspierre. The only ground of their stability was derived from public opinion. How that operated, had been stated by a noble Lord (Mornington) at the beginning of last session, with a force of language and of argument which had made too strong an impression upon the minds of those who heard him to be readily forgotten. He had then most clearly shewed the influence of public opinion, as unfavourable to the permanence of the Government, and paving the way for its destruction. He should now look at the means of revenue which the French possessed for carrying on the war. Within the last year and a half, their confiscations had amounted to no less a sum than three hundred millions. But by what means had this extraordinary sum been raised? Nor from the farther appropriation of the effects of the exiled nobility or the proprietors of land who had emigrated, but by treating as guilty all those who were possessed of landed property and had remained in the country. Whether the charge of guilt upon which that confiscation had been grounded, had been safely or truly applied, it equally made for his argument; since in the one point of view, it afforded a strong proof of the oppression of the Government, and in the other, of the division of sentiment among the people. It would appear, then, what weight was due to the assertion, that all the French were united in one cause, when the great resources by which they had been able to carry on the war had been derived almost entirely from the fund of confiscation and proscription, and had been the fruits and harvest of the bloody massacres which had marked the different periods of their revolution. If these had hitherto formed its principal resources, in renouncing the system of Roberspierre, the present Government had crippled their power of action, and deprived themselves of the means of exertion. What was the state of their agriculture and commerce? As some remarks had been made on the authorities from which he had drawn his former statements, he begged to say, that the reporters to whom he now appealed were not those who could have any good will to him. By the declarations of their own leaders, and the reports of their own Committees, he was justified in asserting

that agriculture was extinguished and commerce annihilated. If again they looked at the general course of justice, notwithstanding the dreadful cruelties committed through the medium of the Revolutionary Committee, that Committee was still allowed to subsist, the very existence of which could not but be regarded by the people as an intolerable grievance. If they looked at the state of religion, he would not say that they ought not to treat with them because they were a nation of atheists; God forbid that he should include the great body of the people under that description; he could not suppose that men who had so readily renounced the religion of their fathers, and forgotten all the principles in which they had been educated, had so completely extinguished the feelings of nature, and subdued the impressions of conscience; but in that boasted land of liberty they no longer allowed even freedom of conscience or toleration to religious sentiment. A proposition had been made again to tolerate the Christian religion; they immediately passed to the order of the day, while they testified the utmost eagerness to institute a set of Pagan festivals, that by introducing new customs, they might completely efface the impression of former principles. He asked whether these were not circumstances which might affect probable stability of the Government under which they existed? He again asserted that the very persons at the head of that Government, had themselves been the leading instruments of the cruelties exercised under the sanguinary reign of Roberspierre. He affirmed, that since the last means of terror had been abandoned, instead of any apparent unanimity, there existed, on the contrary, the greatest confusion, distraction and disorder. He did not say that the present Government of France must necessarily fall; he did not say that they were capable of no melioration; or that by adopting a more just, prudent, and moderate course, they might not recommend themselves to the affection and confidence of the people; he only said, that the period of such a change had not yet arrived, and that before we could expect to treat with security, we ought at least to wait for the return of such circumstances as would afford us a moral probability of success. Besides, even if we were disposed to treat, what assurance had we of their pacific dispositions towards this country? Had we not, on the contrary, reason to believe, from palpable inference, and from the testimony of facts, that they were still actuated by a spirit of hostility to all regal Government, and particularly to that of England? Had we not reason to believe, that if they should be induced to negociate in the present moment, they would treat with no other view than to their own advantage and the ruin of this country? Their system held out an universal code, by which their

own was represented as the only lawful government, and every other form proscribed as unlawful. Such was the ground upon which they had undertaken the war. Could they be supposed to be weary of carrying it on, except from the difficulties which they might have experienced in the prosecution?

They had stated that they desired peace with some Powers, only in order to ruin others, and afterwards involve in the same destruction those very Powers to whom they should be disposed to grant a short-lived tranquillity. They would exercise their moderation to Holland, and reserve their vindictive principles for Great Britain. Could such dispositions either give security to peace, or render it of long continuance? It had been stated, that the decree of the 19th of November had been repealed. He did not know that this was the case, but a decree had been passed, of the 13th of April, making it death for any man to propose a peace with a nation, unless it shall first acknowledge the Republic of France One and Indivisible, upon the principles of Liberty and Equality. They were not merely satisfied with a practical acknowledgment *de facto*; they required an acknowledgment of principle *de jure*. If those principles were admitted to be of universal application, were they to be excluded from any other State, or could they be admitted, without at the same time an acknowledgement of the usurpation and injustice of every other Government? Such was the preliminary which must ever precede a proposal to treat, and if peace should be made, (he would lay aside the consideration of the terms, though in proportion to their accession of territory, they might be expected to rise in their demands) were they prepared to look to the situation of laying open the country to all the emissaries of France, to renew those attempts against the existing Government in which they had been so active previous to the commencement of the war? The honourable gentleman contended that there existed no danger from any internal commotion. Did he suppose that there was nothing to awaken and rekindle the embers of that faction which he conceived to be extinguished? If such were the case, it was evident that the House, from their late conduct, did not agree in that feeling. If then a peace were to be made, it would produce, not a state of confidence and tranquillity, but of vigilance and suspicion. Were the country to disarm, few, he supposed, would be inclined to approve of that alternative; on the other hand, they could not remain armed without giving up in a certain degree, that pitch of force, to which they had brought the exertions of the country, and retaining an establishment burdensome to peace and ineffectual to war. It was impossible for any human being, in the present circumstances, to suppose a state of

[illegible] peace; it must be a state of watching each other, of inquietude, of distrust, merely a short truce, a state of partial inactivity and interrupted repose. In such a peace there could be no security; it was exposed to so much hazard, doubt, and danger, that no man could possibly look to it, except the exhausted state of our resources was such as to exclude the possibility of farther exertion. The question was not, whether we should make our option between peace and war, but whether we should make our option between a war attended with great difficulties and considerable pressure, and a peace without security? He would now say a few words with respect to what the honourable gentleman had stated of the relative situation of the two countries. He had contended that the resources of France were not exhausted, while he magnified them as so extraordinary and so difficult to be borne. But that honourable gentleman, who swept off millions from the Expenditure of France, had added them with as rough a hand to the account of this country. The Chancellor of the Exchequer stated the expences of the two years of the war 1793 and 1794, to amount to about twenty-five millions, and the capital to be created to about thirty. This calculation differed from the statement which had been made by the honourable gentleman, who had set down the expences of the war at sixty, and the capital at seventy millions only, in order to shew that we had now come to a situation in which our resources would no longer serve us to carry on the war. But what was the result of the comparison? While we, during these two years, had been spending thirty millions, the Expenditure of the French, even from their own statement, amounted to not less than two hundred and fifty. The means from which this immense expenditure had been supplied, had been attended with the desolation of the interior of the country, the extinction of agriculture, and the annihilation of commerce. In these circumstances, could they be supposed to be able to spend two hundred and fifty millions more easily than we thirty? To such a degree had the discount upon their paper increased, that one time it lost eighty-five per cent. The honourable gentleman said, you had been told the same thing last year, and that therefore no attention was to be paid to this sort of reasoning. Was this to be considered as a fair inference? Was it possible that a country should be able to prosecute a war where the resources by which it was supported, were rapidly decaying, though at the same time, this rapid decay might form no conclusive argument as to any precise period at which those resources should be entirely exhausted? No brilliant success, no acquisition of territory, was sufficient to compensate this internal decay of resources. The honourable gentleman had stated the

immense extent of the French empire, from the Baltic to Gibraltar, and after having assigned it such enormous limits, had with no great advantage to his own position, affirmed it at the same time, to be condensed and concentrated. The balance of resources was as much in our favour against France, as the balance of acquisitions was in the favour of France against other countries.

There were two or three other points, on which he wished to touch. It might be asked, what force we had to oppose to that of France? He would answer, an increased force on the part of this country. It had been stated by their own leaders, either that the French force now on foot must be diminished, or that their efforts must be exhausted. It would probably depend on the resolution and firmness of that House, whether the Emperor might not be enabled to bring such a force into the field, as would render it impossible for the French to relax in their exertions. He adverted to a mode of questioning adopted by the other side. One gentleman asked, Whether we expected a counter-revolution? Another, Whether we still hoped to be able to conquer France? And, a third, When we intended to march to Paris? He remarked that ridicule had unjustly been attached to this last expression of his honourable friend, Mr. Jenkinson, who at the time that he made use of it, expresly stated the apprehensions of the Convention, that the combined armies might be able to penetrate to Paris; and what to them was a ground of fear, was to us certainly a ground of hope. By a mode of arguing, not unusual with gentlemen on the other side, who first state positions in order that they afterwards may combat them, Ministers had been charged with looking to the conquest of France. They had never held out any such object; they had only professed their hope of making such an impression upon the interior of that country as might lead to a secure and stable peace, and of being able, by the assistance of those well-disposed persons who were enemies to the present system, to establish a government honourable to them and safe to ourselves. If a change had taken place in the government of France, which rendered it more expedient for us to treat in the present than at a former period, he would ask if nothing had been gained? We were now in a situation less remote from that in which we might be able to treat with security. It had been urged that we ought to have let France alone. What was the consequence of neutrality but to produce aggression? But now that war had been two years carried on, the detestable system of their Government had subsided into a state of less flagrant atrocity. It had been said that all France, to a man, was united for a Republic. What was meant by the phrase of a Republic? Was it merely a name at the top of a

sheet of paper? Was their desire of a Republic to be gathered from their submission to the tyranny of Robespierre? Was their unanimity to be inferred from the numerous proscriptions and massacres of Federalists and Royalists? The Chancellor of the Exchequer proceeded to recapitulate the general grounds on which he had opposed the original resolution, and the motives from which he had been induced to bring forward this amendment. Peace was not obstructed by any form of Government; but by a consideration of the internal circumstances of France. He remarked that there had been great misconstructions and misconceptions with respect to what he had stated on former occasions to be his sentiments, as to the re-establishment of Monarchy, which he by no means wished to be considered as a *sine qua non* to the attainment of peace, and therefore he had not contented himself with barely negativing the resolution, but had been induced in the amendment to substitute that language which, in his mind, it became Parliament to employ, as best adapted to the subject. There was one other consideration to which he should advert, namely, that the attempt to treat, though not likely to be successful, would yet be attended with advantage, both in France and this country. In France it was urged it would at least have the effect to shew that we were disposed to treat. If it were wise to treat, this certainly would be an advantage; but such a conduct, instead of forwarding peace, would only be productive of danger, it would lead to a proposition of terms from France, elated by its recent acquisitions, which it would be impossible for this country to accept. And he trusted that his honourable friend (Mr. Wilberforce), who had, he conceived, gone too far in his propositions with respect to peace on a former occasion, would be convinced, upon his own principles, that as the difficulty increased, any proposition to treat in the present moment would have the effect to encourage the enemy, and to bury the remains of opposition in France. In this country it would have the effect to sink the spirit of the people, and to tell them that it was right to look for peace, though it was impossible to look for security; it would be to insinuate a doubt of their zeal, energy and courage, and to add to the depression already produced by a succession of misfortunes and a series of misrepresentations. The honourable gentleman had said, that if his proposition to treat should not in the event be successful, he would then support the war. Upon what ground could he support a war which he had in the first instance conceived to be neither necessary nor just? But till the period should arrive at which it would be possible to treat with a rational prospect of security, and a degree of, at least, probable advantage, he, and those who thought with him, must continue to

support a war, of the justice and necessity of which they were firmly persuaded, and which they could not, in the present moment, abandon without a sacrifice of their opinion, their consistency, and their honour.

Sir WILLIAM YOUNG said, that he knew of no regular form of Government in France, to induce us to negociate with them for the purpose of peace. If any country in the world ought to be averse to dishonourable peace, surely this was the country, in possession of abundant resources, while France was completely exhausted. In the first, second, and third requisitions, of that furious people, they forced up all the internal strength and property in such a manner, that not all their plunder, even the riches of Holland, would ever be able to counter-balance it. The French armies had been hitherto collected by terror, and, as they had now disarmed themselvas of that weapon, they could not collect such armies in future. He was always for a declaration such as the amendment contained; and lamented that a declaration had not been made sooner. There could be no analogy between the American war, a war with our own subjects, and the present war. The French, who went to assist the Americans, had brought back with them all the principles of the anarchy which they afterwards introduced into their own country. The way in which the original motion was put did not altogether coincide with his sentiments, but nevertheless he should have been inclined rather to have given his vote for it, all circumstances considered, than to have given it an absolute negative. But the amendment which had been proposed by the right honourable gentleman who had just sat down, so perfectly accorded with his ideas, that he was happy in having the honour of seconding it.

Mr. T. W. COKE declared himself an advocate for peace, let the proposition come from whom, or in what shape it might. Every man in this country he believed to be so, except the immediate connections and dependents of Ministers, contractors and jobbers, who profited by the war. For the difficulty of obtaining it they had only the Minister's assertion, which the House ought not to take for proof. The people had been deluded into an approbation of the war in the first instance, but had at length seen their error. The Minister, he hoped, did not take his information that the war was popular from a right honourable gentleman near him (Mr. Windham.) If he did, that gentleman would soon be able to inform him, that the people of Norwich were against the war. Indeed, all the people in the county of Norfolk, felt the danger to which the coast was exposed by the French getting possession of Holland, and wished for peace. The experiment of trying to obtain it could do no harm,

and might do much good. If it should fail, the consequence would be uniting the heart and hand of every Englishman for a vigorous prosecution of the war. Any proposition tending to accelerate peace, should have his support, without regard to personal attachments. How great his attachment was to a right honourable gentleman, (Mr. Fox) whose Counsels, if followed, would have saved the country from the loss and disgrace in which it had been involved, he had no need to state upon this occasion. Of that great and illustrious statesman, the manly mind and unrivalled talents were known to the House, and to the Public, and rendered still more conspicuous by his disinterested conduct, in times of general corruption. The day was not far distant, when he would be called upon by the public voice, to save the nation from the calamities which the misconduct of others threatened to bring upon it.

Mr. YORKE said the honourable gentleman who moved the present question, contended, that the existing Government of France ought not to hinder our negociation for peace. Two questions naturally rise out of this—First, Whether any peace that can be had from France, in the present posture of affairs, can be good, so as to give us hopes of its duration? Second, Whether in our overtures of peace we are likely to meet success at all? The honourable gentleman was not a greater advocate for peace than he was. He gave his vote for Mr. Pitt's amendment, and he never gave a vote with greater pleasure in his life; because he not only thought the war just and necessary, but the most so of any war that ever we were engaged in. He must at the same time say, that it has been misrepresented, and that circumstance has led the people astray with regard to its object. The people conceive the object to be the restoration of Monarchy in France. The object of the war, he contended, was security, and the bringing that deluded people, the French, to their right senses. The present system of France aimed at the dissolution of all foreign powers: no security can be then had with such a Government. How great the stupidity and infatuation! Europe to look tamely on, and let such a state flourish to their own dissolution! Can the States of Germany see France in the possession of such extent of territory, and not force her to retire into herself? But again, if we consider the reduced state of the internal affairs of the French, we shall observe them on the brink of ruin. Let us take care then whether by such a vote we do not give France resources for another campaign, by increasing the value of assignats? With regard to the French system, it was said to be changed? No change of system, that can give any reasonable hopes to the House, in such a negociation, had taken place. They call themselves Moderatists, but it is only

a pretext to cover their designs. Will any one say, that in some future time, this revolutionary Government may not, did we accede to any pacific accommodations, seize the opportunity when our fleets and ships are scattered abroad again, to begin hostilities. His idea was, that the French Republic was a military state; and unless we counteract and crush this monster, by a grand alliance, he feared it would over-run all Europe. With such a vast revenue, such a powerful navy, and resources of all kinds, ought we to degrade the spirit of our ancestors, and adopt the expedient of suing for peace? Let us compare the consequences of the present war, with those of the American war. Are any of our territories captured? Is our trade injured? In the present struggle, we might rely with confidence on our powerful navy, and brave soldiers, and the contest would, he hoped, in the end, be crowned with success.

Mr. POWYS said that all the arguments had been so entirely exhausted by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that he rose not to attempt repeating any of them, but to declare his opinion more explicitly than by a silent vote. They who had taken an active part in supporting the war at its commencement, ought not now to shrink from their former opinions, because the success had not been equal to their hopes. He complimented Mr. Grey on the extraordinary candour with which he had brought forward his motion, but said he was so dull as not to comprehend the definite meaning of the words, or the consequences expected from it, if it were to be adopted. The House had used no term so strong as that the existence of the present Government of France, if the name of Government was not disgraced by being so applied, ought to preclude a negociation. Its existence was only an obstacle to negociation, although an obstacle, in his opinion, insurmountable at present. Gentlemen who talked of proposing peace, ought to state what terms of peace, if rejected by France, would unite every hand and heart in this country. He admitted that there was no near prospect of success; but that had always been the opinion of those who opposed the war, and wanted this country to join hands in amity with hands imbrued in the blood of their Sovereign. The Dutch had attempted to negociate for peace, and while they were attempting it their country had been over-run. He should be sorry to apply harsh terms to an unfortunate ally, but the loss of Holland, he feared, was to be imputed to a mean and mercenary spirit of calculation. He insisted that the war was a contest for our existence as a nation, and that were our resources to fail, we must still continue it, although we should be able to do nothing but bite with our teeth.

Mr. WILBERFORCE stated that the debate had chiefly turned

on two points, on both of which he should feel it necessary to trouble the House for a few moments: first, the general subject, whether the existence of the present form of Government in France ought alone to preclude a peace with France, if it could be effected on fair and honourable terms: and secondly, the question had been argued, as involving what had been the subject of debate on the first night of the session; namely, whether it was, on the whole, for the interest of this country, under the present circumstances, to make peace, or continue the war?

With regard to the first of these points, he stated, that on reading the terms in which the motion of the honourable gentleman (Mr. Grey) was expressed, he had been somewhat afraid lest it should be considered as implying, that provided it should pass, Ministers would be obliged immediately to offer peace, or, at best, to accept it, if it were offered. This was a question on which the sense of Parliament had been taken very lately; and for this reason, he rather wished that other terms of a more general description had been adopted, which might not seem again to propose to the House a question on which it had already decided. He added, that he should himself, therefore, move a resolution, not liable to the same objection, and which would be found to go precisely to the point on which it was stated, that it was expedient now to declare the opinion of the House. He then read his motion, which was to the following purport—"That the existence of any particular form of Govern-"ment in France, ought not to preclude such a peace between the "two countries, as both in itself, and in the manner of effecting "it, should be otherwise consistent with the safety, honour, and "interests of Great Britain."

Whatever differences of opinion has been expressed during the present debate, he congratulated the House and the Country, however, that there appeared a general concurrence in one particular, namely, that it was expedient that the House of Commons should come to a solemn declaration that the existence of any particular form of Government ought not alone to preclude a peace, which should be otherwise safe and honourable. The same reasons which rendered it proper to make any such declaration at all, reasons grounded on the effects it was likely to produce both in France and in England, rendered it equally necessary that it should be expressed in the clearest and most explicit terms: he could not say that the motion of his right honourable friend (Mr. Pitt) met his wishes in this particular. In the first place, there was something a little indefinite in the terms "such a Government as should be capable of maintaining the relations of amity and peace." It was a charge we had

always made against a French Republic, (a charge for which he frankly declared he feared there was but too much ground) that in its case we could not possess that security for the continuance of peace and amity, which we possessed in the case of ordinary Governments. This opinion he did not mean now to retract; and if not, whilst our general terms implied that we might make peace with a French Republic, the conditions with which they were coupled virtually did away most of their effect. If, when a doubt was thus thrown upon the real amount of the concession now made, we were to have recourse for its solution to the arguments and the language of those by whom the concession was made, we should come to no very satisfactory conclusion; both the one and the other proceeding upon the ground of the necessity of our effecting a complete change of the whole system of Government in France; but farther than this, the motion professed to speak exactly the same language as had been always held, and to mean nothing more than what His Majesty had uniformly expressed since the commencement of the war: now, it was undeniable that, whether rightly or wrongly, with reason or without, His Majesty's meaning had been understood to be different from that the present motion was designed to convey, and it was even for the avowed purpose of removing prejudices which were acknowledged to have greatly prevailed, that his honourable friend's motion was now brought forward. He would not go at large into the causes from which these opinions concerning the intentions of Government, in respect to the object of the war, had proceeded: he must notice, however, one or two particulars. In His Majesty's Declaration, of October, 1793, it was stated, "That he felt additional satisfaction from the hope of finding in "the other Powers engaged with him in the common cause, senti-"ments and views perfectly conformable to his own." The same declaration of conformity with our allies, was generally held forth in other places. It was therefore natural for any person in England, and still more in France, who should wish to judge of the intentions of Great Britain, to couple with her declaration of her intentions, the manifestos of the other combined Powers. The text of ours was not so clear as not to require a comment. What sort of a comment did it receive from other manifestos, issued by the Powers in conjunction with whom we were acting; those, for instance, of the emigrant Princes, of General Wurmser, and of the Emperor, not to insist on those of the King of Prussia and the Empress of Russia? Two of these went distinctly to the complete restitution of the old Government; the third, not quite so far; but even that abolished almost every thing which had been established since the begin-

ning of the revolution. These jarring declarations certainly rendered it desirable, if we meant now to say any thing which should clear up a point on which misconceptions had before prevailed, that the House should do it in such a manner as would perfectly answer the purpose: Mr. Wilberforce's words did, the other did not, come up to this description; it could not be contended that the latter were so perfectly clear, that they could not be misunderstood, because in fact they had been misunderstood. It was affirmed by Ministers themselves, that they were the same words which had been used for the last two years; and it was also confessed, that they had been so misconstrued, as to render a farther explanation now necessary.

The motion, however, had been treated also as involving, to a considerable degree, the same question which had been agitated on the first night of the session; and here he should begin, by remarking, that his honourable friends always forgot, throughout the whole of their reasonings on his arguments in favour of peace, that he had always declared that we were in a situation in which we had only a choice of evils, he did not now, nor did he before, contend, that peace, when effected, would be attended with so much comfort and security, as under the circumstances of ordinary Governments, but the true question was, whether, all things considered, if it could be effected on fair terms, and in an honourable manner, it was not to be preferred to the continuance of the war? And still more, whether, if we continued the war, the country might not very probably be compelled hereafter to make a peace, liable to the same evils and dangers which were likely to result from this, but in fuller measure, and under worse circumstances. What was the great danger which had been stated as likely to follow from the making of peace? The mischiefs which would probably result from the endeavours of our enemies to foment our internal discontents. To this he would reply, answering at the same time the argument of an honourable friend opposite to him (Mr. Powys), that if we were now to make peace, we should do it whilst the minds of the mass of our people were in general quiet, and well disposed to Government; and as for the disaffected, the force which the country was capable of bringing into action, by the many volunteer corps which had been raised, would be sufficiently great to prevent any apprehensions; but if, from our continuing the war one or two years longer with but indifferent success, which must be considered as a case not altogether improbable, the bulk of the people of this country should grow clamorous and discontented, then, indeed, we should be in a situation wherein we could neither be able to carry on war with sufficient vigour, nor to make peace with real security; there-

there would be, indeed, reason to apprehend danger from the designs of factious and bad men operating on the minds of an irritated and oppressed multitude, who, we all knew, were ready enough to be misled, and to ascribe all their sufferings to any cause to which it was said they were to be attributed. But much stress, on this as on a former night, had been laid on the humiliation of our now engaging in a negociation for peace; and here, Mr. Wilberforce declared, that he must frankly confess that he felt the force of his right honourable friend's appeal to him, on what had lately passed on the Continent. Certainly, it was not a moment to attempt a peace, when an enemy was triumphant; but the House, and the country, and all Europe, would know that the propositions for peace had been made in that House, before any of the events alluded to had taken place; and he could not help adding, that perhaps if Parliament's meeting on the day on which it had been originally summoned, had afforded him the opportunity of making his motion at that period, and if the House had then agreed to it, the misfortunes which had since happened, might have been prevented, or at least might not have happened in an equal degree: but with respect to this charge, that he was humiliating the country, he was glad to take this opportunity of explaining himself: he had never meant, if his motion had been acceded to, that we should send an Ambassador to Paris to treat for peace; his idea was, that Government should employ some proper person (and such, he conceived, were always to be found) to intimate to the Government of France, that, provided they were really disposed to make peace, on equitable and honourable terms, and that the business would be so conducted as, in the manner of effecting it, to be discreditable to neither party, Great Britain would be ready to meet them half way. The great reason, he should repeat, why he thought we could now make peace, without humiliation, was, that we were evidently capable of making vigorous exertions in the prosecution of the war. The notoriety of this truth must prevent their conduct from being misconstrued, but when it was urged to him, that the line of conduct he had before recommended was likely to humiliate this country, he must state that there was at least one circumstance of humiliation from which it must be exempt, and to which the opposite line might eventually be liable. Should we succeed in our endeavours at drawing into action a number of French malcontents, might we not be compelled, if a counter revolution should not be effected, to leave them exposed to the vindictive malice of their enemies, and what humiliation could appear so great as this to the feelings of every generous mind?

His right honourable friend had argued ſtrongly on the greater danger of making peace than continuing war. One grand reaſon why he could not be of this opinion, in addition to thoſe already urged, was, that he thought a counter revolution more likely to take place, if peace ſhould be made, than during the continuance of war.

He would aſſign a few of the reaſons on which this perſuaſion was grounded. In the firſt place, we ought fairly to conſider what effect was likely to be produced on the French nation by the attacks of foreign Powers, who were believed to be endeavouring to force a Government on them. This, on the general principles of human nature, muſt be likely to produce reſiſtance in any people, but more particularly in the caſe of the French, who are certainly a high-ſpirited people. He would not go ſo far as to ſay that the operation of this principle had been ſuch, as to produce, in favour of their own ſyſtem, any thing of a general enthuſiaſm throughout the country, the prevalence of which in France was ſometimes aſſerted and ſometimes denied, but there was reaſon to believe that it was in no ſmall degree to be aſcribed to that ſtriking circumſtance, that all the various armies of the Republic in every quarter of that vaſt circumference which they lined, preſſed out vigorouſly againſt the external enemy which was oppoſed to them, there were few or no deſertions; and however people might be forced by terror to enter into the army, it was but too evident that when once entered, they were actuated by one common principle of ſympathy. If, as there was good reaſon to believe, it was this powerful principle which kept the nation, and ſtill more, which kept the armies united, when this ſhould be no more, a principle of diſunion and relaxation would be introduced. The capital was filled with conflicting factions; theſe would ſeverally endeavour to draw bodies of the army to their ſide, and, as had often happened under ſimilar circumſtances, the moſt dangerous diſſentions would probably enſue. He then referred to a pamphlet lately publiſhed by an intelligent and well-informed author, who ſtated, that from the beſt accounts he could obtain, the diſpoſitions of the French might be thus deſcribed: They abhorred the emigrants; they deteſted the combined Powers, becauſe they believed theſe meant to force on them their old Government; and next to theſe two, they hated the Convention. Now, was it not a clear conſequence, from theſe facts, that ſo long as we continued the preſſure of external war, in conjunction with the combined Powers, and ſtill more by employing regiments of emigrants, we prevented their hatred of the Convention from having any ſcope or operation; whereas if peace were made, theſe two more powerful

hatreds would cease, and no longer counteracting the third, it would be left to produce its full effect. He drew also some arguments for the probability of a counter revolution, if peace should have been effected, from the statement of the present situation of France, which had been made by his right honourable friend; statements which, he believed, were but too accurate. If commerce, if agriculture, were no more; if the administration of justice had ceased; if religion had been almost abolished; was a country, in such a state of things, likely to remain in a condition of internal tranquillity? He enlarged on this topic, insisting that the want of the religious principle would then be felt, in its effects on the civil and domestic happiness and tranquillity of the country. During the continuance of war also the nation, as was the case of every country, would be more patient under its sufferings, believing they were only temporary; but this by no means proved that they would quietly sit down under them in a state of peace.

He then argued concerning a system of moderation, and maintained that he had never contended in favour of the principle on which it was introduced, or of the motives of the persons by whom it was practised; but only that it was likely to prevent that co-operation from within against the French Government, which we might otherwise have looked for, because it infused a hope of better days, and would render those who had already suffered so much, disposed rather to acquiesce in the fond expectation, than to begin anew the work of overturning their Government. Here also he observed on the discouragement it must afford to all the malcontents, when, on reviewing past transactions, and from them drawing inferences as to the future, they should observe the different situation of affairs in which they would now have to assist their cause, from the situation of the year before, when there had been such a multitude of insurrections in the interior, which were now repressed, and when these had been aided by the attack from without of a powerful confederacy, which was now so much weakened. Mr. Wilberforce declared, that so strong was his impression that a counter revolution was more likely to happen, if the compression of the external enemies of France should be withdrawn, than now when it was so much relaxed, he declared he was not without very strong hopes of a material change in the Government of that country. He begged also that it might be remarked, that if a counter revolution were to happen, without our active co-operation, it would be a very different thing to us from one which we had been the means of producing: in the latter case, he must fairly ask, would it not probably, however desirable in other views, pledge this country in honour to guarantee it?

And might not this embroil us in French affairs for an indefinite period? He wished, in particular, that this consideration might be seriously weighed by those who objected to making peace, because it would not be a state of complete security; it shewed, that even if we should be so successful in prosecuting the war, as thereby even to effect a counter revolution, that even this situation would not be without its difficulties and dangers, the nature and extent of which might justly alarm every lover of his country.

He next adverted to an argument which had been used by an honourable friend of his (Mr. Yorke) who had strongly recommended to them, on the present occasion, to consider what had been the uniform conduct of their ancestors inn a king and carrying on wars; the honourable gentleman particularly referred to the speech of King William in the year 1696, and to the determination then expressed by the Houses of Parliament, when the war had continued for eight years, to persevere in the contest in which they were engaged: Mr. Wilberforce declared, that it was his decided opinion that Great Britain, as well as every other nation, was too ready to enter into wars, and to carry them on too long, and he owned he thought that it was the true policy of this country to meddle with Continental politics as little as possible. But it was not requisite to agree with him as to foreign politics, in order to admit the truth of the position he had laid down concerning wars. His opinions here were confirmed by Mr. Hume, in his Essay on the Balance of Power, who, writing in defence of it, and going much farther in support of this system than he was himself disposed to, observed, however, that

"Our wars with France have been begun with justice, and even perhaps from necessity, but have always been too far pushed from obstinacy and passion. The same peace which was afterwards made at Ryswick in 1697, was offered so early as the year 1692; that concluded at Utrecht in 1712, might have been finished on as good conditions at Gertruytenberg in the year 1708, and we might have given at Frankfort, in 1743, the same terms which we were glad to accept of at Aix-la Chapelle in the year 1748. Here then we see, that above half of our wars with France, and all our public debts, are owing more to our own imprudent vehemence, than to the ambition of our neighbours.

"In the second place, we are so declared in our opposition to French power, and so alert in defence of our allies, that they always reckon upon our force as upon their own; and expecting to carry on war at our expence, refuse all reasonable terms of accommodation.

"In the third place, we are such true combatants, that when once engaged, we lose all concern for ourselves and our posterity, and consider only how we may best annoy the enemy."

He begged leave to recommend the truths contained in the extracts he had just read, to the serious consideration of the House;

and his honourable friend (Mr. Yorke) could not but see how much it did away the force of his admonition.

Mr. Wilberforce, in the course of his speech, vindicated the consistency of himself and his friends, in having changed their line of conduct now that the circumstances of the case were so materially altered; it would rather have been inconsistent if, these being so extremely altered, their conduct would have remained the same. He observed also upon the argument which had been again used, respecting the exhausted state of the French finances: surely, his right honourable friend did not think so well of the French Government, as to conceive that they would issue assignats to no greater an amount than that of the value of the land for which they were issued. Here the argument of the American paper money must have great weight, like this, the assignats would be continually sinking in value, but so long as they had any value at all, they would be emitted; by this, and other means, until the physical resources of the country should be exhausted, they would continue to get them into their hands. This subject of the assignats, viewed in another light, could not but tend to lessen their hopes of success in prosecuting the war, for the sake of effecting a counter revolution. It was to be expected as a natural consequence of such an event, that assignats would lose their value, and therefore we could hardly expect any thing like a general co operation to produce it, at a time when almost the whole property of the country was invested in this shape.

Mr. Wilberforce concluded with recapitulating the arguments he had urged in the beginning of his speech, to prove that his amendment ought to be adopted in preference to that of his right honourable friend, because it asserted, clearly and explicitly, that which it was the object of their coming to any parliamentary declaration at all to render clear and explicit, whereas his right honourable friend's must be granted to be at least liable to misunderstanding, because, in fact, it had been actually misunderstood.

Mr. MONTAGU said that all wished for peace, if it could be obtained on honourable terms, if on disgraceful and reproachful, no man could wish for it. Gentlemen ought not to be led away by rash conclusions; his right honourable friend had avowed his disposition for peace, if we can have it on terms of security and honour; though an honourable gentleman on his side said, that the amendment was couched in ambiguous, and not sufficiently explicit terms. More, he pledged himself that the Parliament of England would bind down the hands of Ministers to make a peace, did a favourable opportunity offer. He himself as a Member had every reason to join with the Minister in his present measures, since he had now re-

moved his fears. In the midst of the victories and successes of the French, was not, he observed, the proper time to call for peace. The strength of the French Government, he observed, was increased from the acquisition of Holland, and if England now should relax her military force, she would give France an occasion of attacking her to advantage. He contended also, that a counter-revolution was more likely to be effected by war than peace.

Mr. FOX began by desiring the original motion and the two amendments to be read, and said, that, before he proceeded to give his reasons for preferring the original motion of his honourable friend, to that which had been made by Mr. Wilberforce, though the difference between them was not very essential, he must take notice of the amendment which had been so unexpectedly made by the right honourable gentleman.—He said unexpectedly made; because, when the motion of his honourable friend was originally announced, which was three weeks ago, the terms of it even were settled, for his honourable friend, with more candour than prudence, had stated the precise words upon which they were to come to issue. The right honourable gentleman pledged himself to come to issue upon these words: but, however, he did not now feel so bold as he did three weeks ago, he did not choose to meet the question directly. In his conscience, he said, he believed the majority of the people were still for the war. This was his declaration: but the House and the public would infer from his conduct, that he had not very great confidence in the truth of his own declaration; for, instead of meeting the question, which he had pledged himself to do, he had proposed an amendment, by which he was to avoid a direct decision on it. In his speech, indeed, he still denied the proposition of his honourable friend. Then, why not fairly and openly negative it by a vote? After which, if he wished for a declaration, he might have moved his own amendment, as a specific question. He took this course, he said, to avoid misrepresentation; and but for his desire of avoiding a misrepresentation, which he has never incurred, he would have negatived the original question; when on the other side, the honourable seconder of the amendment confessed, that but for that amendment, he would have voted for the original question. What then was the true meaning and intention of all this petty warfare, but that the amendment was designed to evade the great and material question, upon which the right honourable gentleman stood committed, and to delude the House by a little temporary concession which meant nothing? Already the matter was loaded with contradictions; the mover and the seconder were at variance, the one affirmed, the other denied,

and the whole was done merely to draw us from the clear specific question, that had been for so many days in the contemplation of the House. The right honourable gentleman was undoubtedly a man of superior talents; but those talents being directed to delusion and quibbling, rather than to what was grand, manly, and open, he did not shew himself possessed of a mind equal to the circumstances in which he found himself. Instead of meeting the exigency of our present situation with measures proportioned to our critical condition, he seemed only anxious, by a little evasive management for the day, to gain over a few votes of irresolute Members, as if a few votes more or less could alter the eternal nature of truth and falsehood, or to baffle a few petititions that might be coming to Parliament, as if by lulling a few individuals into a continuance of their apathy for a time, he could extricate the nation from the deplorable situation into which he had plunged it. These were not the resources of a great mind; this was not the conduct of a statesman in a moment like the present; it was as false to himself in policy, as it was unworthy of the occasion, for it could serve only to deaden the feelings of mankind for the day, and would collect the public indignation to burst upon him with greater force when the moment of delusion was past. As to the amendment itself, which the right honourable gentleman had moved, though he disliked it in many particulars, yet in some things he did not dislike it. In so far as it stated, that there was nothing in the present form of the Government of France, which prevented our negociating with them, he must approve of the proposition. He had moved an amendment both this year and the last, to the same effect. Little did he think when he was making such proposition that he was only speaking the sentiments of His Majesty's Ministers. But these Ministers, it seems, were the victims of misrepresentation. So powerful, it seemed, was the opposition, so full of wealth, and so invested with the influence of bribes, places, pensions, jobs, contracts, and emoluments of every kind, and so much had they the means of circulating newspapers, that they had it in their power successfully to misrepresent His Majesty's Ministers; and to mislead and delude the public, so as effectually to taint and abuse the public mind, and to make them the unhappy subjects of misrepresentation. Now what had they done? They had for two years successively moved an amendment to the Address to His Majesty on the first day of the session of Parliament, that there was nothing in the form of the Government of France that ought to prevent this country from negociating with them for peace, and for this they had been called the Advocates of France, Jacobins, Republicans, the Enemies of their

King and Countrymen, who were desirous to lower the British Government at the feet of France, to introduce French anarchy into England, and even to destroy the Constitution of England, and to bring His Majesty to the block. Now, however, all this was over, and it was found, that they did not know it, that in reality they were speaking only the sentiments of Ministers. We were now come to a crisis when all this shuffling would be found unavailing, when these delusions would no longer succeed; their own contradiction was a good omen for the country, it proved that the unfortunate speech of His Majesty at the opening of the session had made a serious impression on the public mind, and the right honourable gentleman therefore found, that he must soften and lower his language; he must now attempt to do away the effects of that absurd, impolitic, and he might say diabolical speech which he had put into the mouth of His Majesty, in which our gracious Sovereign had been made to stand between Heaven and the happiness of mankind, had been made to pronounce the doom of millions, and to denounce an almost eternal war, for no possible purpose of rational benefit to his species; and that too when all other Princes of Europe, awakened from the delusion into which they had been equally led by their Ministers, had manifested their dispositions to peace. He desired to know what was the meaning of the present conduct? Was he to understand that the right honourable gentleman meant to negative the proposition of his honourable friend? In truth he had done understanding him at all. If he meant to negative it, why not do so by a vote? He knew that the present Administration was composed of various and discordant characters. He did not know whether they all agreed in the present proposition, it would soon be seen whether they did so or not, but he could say that it would not redound much to their honour. If he were to describe it he should say, it went far enough to disgrace the new colleagues of the right honourable gentleman, but not far enough to restore to him the confidence of the country. As to the argument that had been used upon the occasion he should have little to say. There had been so much novelty in his conduct that day, that he had not thought it necessary to introduce any novelty into his reasoning. The same trite, hackneyed, and refuted arguments, with which they had been fatigued so often, were again renewed. France was declining fast in her resources, and this was a matter of rejoicing to England! How long were they to go on rejoicing in this decline? Their assignats were at a discount; there were a number of Royalists, and much ridicule was thrown upon a simile of the honourable gentleman, who had truly said, that all the same nonsense had been talked

during the American war. But it ſeems we had been ſucceſsful in France. The various revolutions that had been produced in France had been effectuated through our means. This was a moſt ſingular argument, and went perhaps farther than the right honourable gentleman intended, for it ſo happened that thoſe revolutions had been good or bad, in proportion as we had been beaten or proſperous. Whenever we had made the ſlighteſt impreſſion upon France, or had the appearance of temporary good fortune, it was ſure to be followed, and perhaps to have produced, ſome dreadful revolution, accompliſhed by the horrors of maſſacre and devaſtation. But, on the contrary, whenever we had been defeated and forced to fly from the territory of France, they had never failed to ſubſide into a comparative tranquillity, and to have their internal condition meliorated. The argument of the right honourable gentleman was, therefore, that if they would permit him to go on in a ſyſtem of diſaſters and defeats, it was incalculable what good it might do in France. Then, when the Duke of Brunſwick had penetrated to within ſixty miles of Paris, there happened the revolution fatal to the Monarchy of the 10th of Auguſt. When we were in the poſſeſſion of Toulon, there happened the ſhocking and diabolical maſſacres at Lyons: but no ſooner had we evacuated the place, than they began to make atonement for the ſcandalous devaſtations. Immediately after the battle of Fleurus, there happened the fall of Roberſpierre, and certainly it was true, that in proportion as we had been diſcomfited and driven from the French territory, whenever the French felt themſelves relieved from our attack, they had exerted themſelves for their own deliverance from internal tyranny; and nothing could be more natural than this, for, animated by the enthuſiaſm of the cauſe of liberty, when attacked, as they were, they gave up every conſideration, but that of preſerving their independence, but when relieved from this fear, they had as conſtantly rid themſelves of their domeſtic tyrant. It was ſaid that Miniſters never had propoſed to themſelves the conqueſt of France. The conqueſt of France never was imputed to them; it was only ſaid that they had propoſed to themſelves an object, which nothing but the conqueſt of France could obtain. He had long ago ſtated his opinion on the extravagance of that propoſition, and his ſentiments were in point. Surely any man who ever did flatter himſelf with the poſſibility of making any impreſſion on France would now be convinced of his error. A remarkable expreſſion uſed in the American war was moſt applicable to this: it was ſaid by a Member of that Houſe, ſo early as in the year 1777 or 1778, That he had looked at the American army every way: he had looked at their front, he had

looked at their rear, he had looked at their flanks, and he could not *accommodate* himself any where: and yet, after this opinion of a General Officer, the war had been continued for four or five years. In the same manner we might truly be said to have tried France: we had tried the East, the North, the South, and we could not accommodate ourselves any where. He hoped in God we would not continue the experiment, as we had done in the case of America. It was said, as an argument against the proposition of his honourable friend, that it would bind the hands of Ministers in negociating. It would certainly be impossible for them, after such a resolution, to say to the persons holding the Government of France, that they could not treat with them, but so far would that be from binding their hands, that it would remove an obstacle, and surely it could not prevent them from stipulating the terms of peace. In truth, without this declaration, there would be an obstacle in the way of treating, since the persons holding the Government of France knew that it had been uniformly declared by our Ministers that they could not treat with them. But the consistency of the House of Commons stood in the way. He thought that there might now be an end of such declamatory nonsense.

In all questions of policy, nations must yield to imperious necessity; it would be obstinacy, and not honour, to persevere in an opinion, when you became convinced that it was wrong, it was plain that men might at first have thought the present war just and necessary, who were now convinced of the contrary, and surely they would act more according to the rules of honour, to confess their errors the moment they were convinced of them. But there was nothing more curious than to hear the right honourable gentleman talk of the consistency of the House of Commons. What would become of his old steady friends, existing circumstances? In the case of Oczakow, he had not hesitated to retract without a blush, when he found the public opinion against him. He came forward and said that our means were not equal to the object: why could not he therefore now compare the object with the means? Surely the disasters that had happened, and the change in the present case, more than in the Russian armament, would justify him for retracting his opinion. He would do it with great advantage to himself, it would give vigour to England, and take it from France. But why, it was said, should we be the first to negociate? It would be a humiliation forsooth to propose to treat because we were unsuccessful. Upon this principle, it was almost hopeless that we could ever treat, for could it be expected that the French Government would be the first to propose to negociate when they knew that our Ministers had twenty

times faid that no poffible peace could be made while they continued in power. Let Englifhmen afk themfelves what would be their feelings if the fame language had been ufed to us that we have ufed to them? If, for inftance, they had declared in the Convention that they never would treat for peace with England until there fhould take place a reform in the Government of England;—would not every Englifhman die before he would fubmit to afk to negociate under fuch a declaration?—Yet fuch a declaration we had made towards France. We muft therefore do away the effect of our arrogant and impolitic expreffions, and he had no hefitation in faying what he believed in his heart, that if we took away that obftacle, we fhould have peace, or, if not, we fhould fight them upon equal terms, we fhould take from them the caufe of their enthufiafm; we fhould take from them that which aroufed every national feeling; which had carried them to thofe unparallcled exertions that had aftonifhed and confounded the world. They would then no longer feel that they had to fight to extremity, or that they were befieged in their own country, for daring to give to their own country fuch a Government as they liked. Did he propofe to unman one fhip, to difband one regiment? No, for on the contrary his propofition was to add vigour to the country, and furely we fhould fight as well after we had made a declaration, that it was not our intention to reduce any people to flavery. Nor fhould we treat for peace upon worfe terms, if we were to treat before we were reduced to extremity. He referred to the hiftory of the war of King William, and of his having had the wifdom to conceal his defign of altering the French Government. The want of fecurity for the continuance of peace, might be pleaded for going on with any war. There was no pofitive fecurity. Certainly we fhould have as much fecurity now as in any former inftance. If peace were to take place, they muft difband their armies, and, if the mighty machine, which nothing but the diabolical confederacy of defpots had put in motion, were once ftopped, it would be impoffible again to put it in motion. If this country had acted right in interfering to prevent that diabolical confederacy, all might have been well, France, though perhaps a more powerful neighbour, would have been lefs obnoxious; the King might have been now upon his throne, and all the horrors and maffacres that had defolated that unhappy country might have been prevented. He ridiculed the idea of the influx of French principles into this country, for our own Conftitution could only flourifh here: it had been more deeply rooted in our affections by the fatal experiments that had been made in France. He called to the recollection of Mr. Pitt, the memorable expreffion of his venerable

father, that they should die on the last breach before they granted the independence of America, and that the first act of his political life was to sign that very independence which his father had deprecated. Necessity dictated the act, and he must now retract in the same manner his system with respect to France. Mr Fox concluded by saying, that he certainly preferred the motion of his honourable friend, which he had opened and supported with such luminous argument and irresistible persuasion, to the amendment of Mr Wilberforce; but at the same time that amendment should have his support, if the House thought fit to prefer the one proposition to the other.

Mr. WILBERFORCE rose again to propose his amendment.

The SPEAKER said, the honourable gentleman was at liberty to move his amendment, after that now before the House should be disposed of.

Mr. DUNDAS considered the original motion as couched in such general terms that the House could not vote for it with safety; whereas the amendment declaring the sentiments of the House in a clear and positive manner, could be adopted with consistency to the vote of the House, on the opening of the session. Ever since he had been a Member of Parliament he had been of opinion, that a declaration of the House of Commons tending to peace was pregnant with mischiefs; it was so in the American war, the effects of similar declarations were productive of many difficulties, which it was probable would be the case again. Having dwelt on this point, he next gave it as his most serious and conscientious opinion, that at no period whatever could we be in a worse situation to enter into negociation for peace. Are we to be told, that at such a distressful time, when France is in possession of Holland, and victorious wherever she carries her arms, that this is the moment to treat for peace? And after their declaration, that they would meet the new Carthage on the banks of the Thames? He was apprehensive that gentlemen did not consider the terms which we were likely to obtain, were a negociation for peace set on foot. Would they wish France to keep quiet possession of Holland and Flanders? Yet was there a bare probability that they would relinquish those conquests? He would not refer gentlemen to the circumstances of the American war, but he would refer them to the proceedings of this House, recorded upon the Journals since the opening of the present session of Parliament. It was but three weeks ago, that this House came to a determination to prosecute the war with energy and vigour, and he would ask, had any thing happened since of a nature to induce the House to pass a resolution diametrically opposite?—He thought quite the contrary, the events that had intervened had proved, in his opinion, the ne-

cessity of adhering to that first declaration. Having declared his sentiments on the impolicy of the motion, he would next deliver them on the amendment proposed by his right honourable friend; he did not wonder that the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Fox) was so angry at that amendment, because, had his right honourable friend only negatived the motion it would have been published in every dirty newspaper and circulated through every petty town and village in the kingdom, that Ministers would not treat with any Government in France but the Monarchial, and that the object of the present contest was the destruction of the Republic at present established in that country.—The amendment would prevent such misrepresentation; it was explicit, and gentlemen would vote for it with greater confidence. Mr. Dundas next adverted to the origin of the war; for this purpose he read the declaration of Monsieur Chauvelin of the 10th of May, 1792, and contended that France had violated every article of that declaration by her subsequent acts; and the point of dispute which produced the rupture, was not so much, he said, the contest of the Scheldt, but that declaration of November, 1792, offering assistance to any number of persons in any country, dissatisfied with their form of Government and inclined to destroy the same—we had much to fear from the influx of Frenchmen coming to this country, if peace was made during the existing principles of that country. The lateness of the hour, the right honourable Secretary said, prevented his going farther into the consideration of the question, on which he had much more to remark. He concluded by again commending the amendment of his right honourable friend, which he said amounted to this, that we still adhered to our determination to support His Majesty in the war, and at the same time declaring that we should be ready to treat whenever an orderly Government was established in France, which should promise stability and security to such treaty.

Mr. FOX explained.

Mr. HENRY HIPPESLY COX said, he had formerly given his support to Ministers, on the ground that it would add to the vigour and success of their measures; but he thought that the motion made to-day was so candid and fair, that he should certainly vote for it.

Mr. S. COCKS delivered his sentiments against the motion. He said, he should not have risen on the occasion, had he not been fearful that he might be mistaken for the honourable gentleman of his name, who had spoken in favour of the question.

Mr. H. THORNTON (Member for Southwark) said, that he rose to prevent the House from being under any misconception, in

respect to the object of his honourable friend's (Mr. Wilberforce) amendment. It had been opposed, on the ground of its conveying a direction to the Government to treat for peace. It, in fact, however, did no such thing; he shewed himself not to have liked an amendment which conveyed an implication of this sort, and for two reasons, the one was, that the House had already decided that point, having lately pledged themselves to carry on the war, and he should be sorry to press upon them any question which they had recently rejected: another reason was, that he himself thought that this was not a moment for bringing forward a proposition for peace, insomuch, that if any motion of that nature had been intended, he should have wished to put it off, on the ground of the public events which had lately happened, lest Parliament should be suspected of acting under the impression of fear. The amendment of his honourable friend amounted merely to a general declaration that no particular form of Government in France should preclude a negociation for peace, without at all prescribing the time when the negociation should take place. He thought this amendment preferable to that of the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Pitt), because it was more clear and explicit, at the same time he considered the amendment of the right honourable gentleman as speaking, on the whole, a more pacific language than had been hitherto held by Parliament; and he trusted that every symptom of a disposition to peace, whether in Great Britain or in France, would tend to encourage the same disposition in the other country, and to bring forward the time which all so ardently wished, when a pacification would take place.

Sir FRANCIS BASSET said, I am seldom induced to trouble the House for any length of time, and I most certainly shall not do so at this late hour; but as I did not vote on the first day of the session, I am desirous to give my reasons for my conduct then, as well as these which induce me to give the vote I intend this night. I believe those who know me, are convinced that it is not my custom to shrink from the decision of any question on which I can possibly make up my mind. I think it right, therefore, to say, that I could not vote for the Address on the first day of the session, because it appeared to me to pledge us completely to the war, without leaving any opening for peace, this was my objection to the Address, and I could not vote for the amendment, because I thought it laid us in a manner at the feet of France: there is the same objection, in my opinion, to the question moved by the honourable gentleman opposite to me: I should, however, have felt considerable difficulty in my vote this night, if it had been proposed to ne-

gative that question; and I believe many other gentlemen are in the same predicament; the same reasons which prevented me from voting on the first day of the session, would have probably induced me to follow the same line of conduct on this day, if the amendment proposed by the right honourable gentleman had not been moved: that amendment most perfectly meets my wishes, and will have my chearful and ready assent. It tells those of our constituents who wish for peace, that we are ready to make it, whenever it can be obtained on fair and honourable terms: the amendment does not determine whether peace is now attainable, but it says, both to friends and enemies, that whenever it is so, no mode of government either now prevailing, or which may prevail, in France, will be considered as an obstacle to it, and by the amendment, we still tell our enemies that we are determined to carry on this just and necessary war with vigour and effect, for the purpose of attaining what ought to be the object of all wars—a safe and honourable peace.

Mr. DUNDAS (Member for Berkshire) said, he would vote for the original question, although he had been disposed to vote in general with Ministers.

Mr. GREY then rose to reply to the arguments advanced in the course of the debate against his proposition.—He said, that, from the lateness of the Hour, he had neither the power nor the inclination to trespass on the indulgence which it was the custom of the House to grant to the mover of a question. He could not, however, pass unnoticed many things that occurred in the course of the evening, and first, he must observe on the conduct of the right honourable gentleman opposite, (Mr. Pitt) in treating his motion in so unfair a manner as he had done, in evading the question, by moving an amendment, instead of declaring the principles on which he acted with regard to France, by giving his vote openly and candidly, and leaving the House to form their uninfluenced judgment on the business. By the line of conduct which he has taken, it was plain that he did not dare to meet the question fairly, and he gave no satisfaction to the House or the Public with respect to the question of peace, for he did not acknowledge whether he was or was not disposed to restore the blessings of peace to the country at the present melancholy juncture.—It had been advanced by an honourable gentleman, that no terms, either honourable or secure, could be expected from an inveterate and victorious enemy, at the present time, than which a more unfortunate period to treat could not possibly occur, and until the fate of war should render the situation of our affairs less unfavourable, we ought to persist to the last extremity. This was a declaration truly alarming indeed. It was allowed that

we had brought ourſelves into the moſt unfortunate and diſaſtrous predicament, and he was ſorry to ſubſcribe to the juſtice of the remark; but where did the means exiſt of recovering ourſelves from the alarming preſſure of the ſituation into which we have thus been wantonly and unneceſſarily led?—He could not diſcover them. But the honourable gentleman aſks how peace is to be obtained, and what terms he would propoſe to bring it about? This was a queſtion which, being unfairly put, was entitled to no anſwer from him, although the propoſition was ſelf evident. Can we conſent, ſay they, to leave the enemy in the quiet poſſeſſion of Holland and the Netherlands, without ſtraining every nerve to regain theſe poſſeſſions for our allies, in whoſe hands they would be much more ſafe than in thoſe of their preſent occupiers? Could not he, with more propriety, aſk Miniſters where were the means of repelling the enemy, for ſurely no one can ſuppoſe for a moment that the ſtrength of France does not admit of more reſources for carrying on the war than any other country in Europe. It has been ſaid, how can we make peace with a people who have declared that they will never treat with us until they have blown our fleet out of the ſea, and buried Carthage in the Thames? Thus, taking advantage of every fooliſh ſaying or mad figure that may be employed by an individual enthuſiaſt, which it would be ridiculous to aſcribe to the Government of France. The favourite argument, that no faith could be held with the preſent French Rulers, was completely refuted in the example of Denmark, Sweden, and America, with whom France has, in no one inſtance, violated any of her engagements—But then it was ſaid, ſhould we treat with a power which would only be treated with by ſuch as would acknowledge the French Republic, one and indiviſible, and recognize in them the principles of liberty and equality?—Certainly theſe conſiderations ſhould be no obſtacle in the way of ſuch a meaſure; whatever Government they might think proper to confer on themſelves, reſted entirely with them, and no nation had any right to object to their conduct in ſuch a caſe. If this was not the fact, we might object to treating with the Emperor of Morocco, becauſe he aſſumes to himſelf the title of King of the Sun, Moon, and Stars, and France might refuſe to treat with Great Britain, becauſe her Sovereign calls himſelf King of France. All theſe objections on our part, he looked upon as ſilly ſubterfuges to cover the real intention of Miniſters, which was the impracticable ſcheme of reſtoring Monarchy in France; for they refuſed to treat with Briſſot, with Roberſpierre, and now that a moderate party has gained the aſcendancy, their plea is ſtill the ſame, namely, the inſtability of their councils; but, however this might be the caſe, he

defied any gentleman to produce a single instance in which they have not scrupulously respected all their connections with foreign powers; but supposing that it should so turn out, that a party should succeed the present ruling one, whom Ministers might feel less hesitation to treat with, what security would there be for their stability any more than for that of any of their predecessors? A right honourable gentleman, (Mr. Dundas) had said, that the decree of the Convention, offering protection to the subjects of such countries as might wish to rid themselves of despotism, had not been repealed; but he would insist that it was done away to all intents and purposes. The National Convention, it was true, was not so regular in their mode of proceeding as that House was, which was to be seen in many other cases beside the one in question. It would not, however be denied, that on finding the decree of fraternization obnoxious to the other nations of Europe, they passed another, which amounted to a complete repeal of it—that, notwithstanding any thing to the contrary, they disclaimed all intention of interfering with the internal concerns of foreign nations. It appeared to him the meaning of what had been advanced by some gentlemen, that until our armies should regain some of the advantages they had lost, we ought not to think of suing for peace. Such an event he could not, for his own part, hope for a moment; but supposing it should happen, would there be any more inclination, on the part of our Ministers, to treat, than there was when we had by far the advantage of the contest?—He thought not, and that it would only encourage us to pursue a visionary prospect, to the ultimate ruin of the country; for the real object, the restoration of the French Monarchy, was as desperate as it was ridiculous. He then took a view of the finances of the enemy, and insisted that they were in such a state as to render them capable of withstanding all the efforts that could possibly be devised to subdue them, by any means whatever; their resources were incalculable, and the people were emulous to strain every nerve in support of their independence, liberty, and existence. He concluded, by making some remarks on the present situation of affairs on the Continent, the possession of the Dutch navy by the French, and on the condition of our brave countrymen in arms, of whom nothing was now known, but whom he sincerely hoped to be placed in a situation of safety.

Mr. WINDHAM said, he would only rise to answer a point that had been started, and on which he conceived he had been much misrepresented, and that was, that he had asserted the restoration of Monarchy in France to be the *sine qua non* upon which the country

ſhou'd treat. He entertained no ſuch idea, and, as far as he could recollect, he never had made ſuch an aſſertion.

The queſtion was then put upon Mr. Chancellor Pitt's amendment.

For the amendment, Ayes, 268, Noes, 86. Majority, 182.

A ſecond diviſion took place upon Mr. Wilberforce's amendment, when the numbers were, againſt it,

Noes, 254, Ayes, 90. Majority, 164.

The gallery doors were not opened again, but we underſtand that after Mr. Wilberforce's amendment was diſpoſed of, Mr. Sheridan propoſed a third amendment, to be added to Mr. Pitt's reſolution. He charged the Miniſter with having ſelected words of ambiguity and prevarication to miſlead the Public, on a ſubject and on a day peculiarly devoted to perſpicuity and explanation. The wiſh of the country was for a ſpeedy peace, without regarding the conſtruction or principles of the preſent exiſting Government of France. He was confident the Miniſter, and many who voted with him, meant differently. His amendment would bring their meaning to a fair trial, if negatived, the country would underſtand that peace was as far off as ever, and that the war was ſtill, in fact, carried on to change the Government of France.

This brought on a warm altercation, and particularly between Mr. FOX and Mr. WINDHAM.

The addition propoſed by Mr. Sheridan was—

" And that this Houſe are not of opinion that there are circum-
" ſtances in the preſent exiſting Government of France which pre-
" clude all negociation with the ſaid Government, or render it in-
" capable of maintaining the accuſtomed relations of peace and
" amity with other countries."

It paſſed in the negative.

MINORITY on the Amendment of Mr. Chancellor PITT to the Motion of Mr. GREY.

Anſon, Thomas	Litc' field
Antonie, Lee	Great Marlow
Aubrey, Sir John	Clitheroe.
Bankes, Henry	Corff Caſtle
Banham, J. P.	Stockbridge
Baring, Sir Francis	Wycomb
Baring, John	Exeter
Bouverie, Hon. Edward	Northampton
Bouverie, Hon. William	Old Sarum
Bradyll, Wilſon	Carliſle
Buller, James	Exeter
Burch, J. R.	Thetford

Byng, George	Middlesex County
Church, J. B.	Wendover
Clayton, Sir Robert	Blechingly
Coke, T. W.	Norfolk County
Coke, Edward	Derby
Coke, D. Parker	Nottingham
Colhoun, William	Bedford
Courtenay, John	Tamworth
Coxe, H. Hippesley	Somerset County
Crespigny, T. C.	Sudbury
Crewe, John	Cheshire County
Curwen, J. Christian	Carlisle
Davers, Sir Charles	St. Edmond's Bury
Dimsdale, Baron	Hertford
Dolben, Sir William	Oxford University
Dundas, Charles	Berkshire
Erskine, Hon. Thomas	Portsmouth
Featherstone, Sir Henry	Ditto
Fitzpatrick, General	Tavistock
Fletcher, Sir Henry	Cumberland County
Foley, Hon. Edward	Worcestershire
Folkes, Sir M. B.	King's Lynn
Fox, Right Hon. C. J.	Westminster
Francis, Philip	Blechingly
Glover, Richard	Penryn
Grey, Charles	Northumberland County
Harcourt, John	Ilchester
Hare, James	Knaresborough
Harrison, John	Great Grimsby
Hill, Sir Richard	Salop County
Howard, Henry	Arundel
Hussey, William	New Sarum
Jekyl, Joseph	Calne
Jervoise, C. Jervoise	Yarmouth, Isle of Wight
Kemp, Thomas	Lewes
Knight, R. Payne	Ludlow
Ladbroke, Robert	Oakhampton
Lambton, William Henry	Durham
Langston, John	Bridgewater
Lechmere, Edmund	Worcester
Lemon, Sir William	Cornwall County
Long, Samuel	Ilchester
Ludlow, Earl	Huntingdonshire
M'Leod, General N.	Invernessshire
Maitland, Hon. Thomas	Jedburgh
Martin, James	Tewkesbury
Milbanke, Ralph	Durham County
Milner, Sir William	York
Moystyn, Sir R.	Flintshire
North, Dudley	Great Grimsby
Pierse, Henry	Northallerton
Plumer, William	Hertfordshire
Powlett, W. Powlett	Totness
Rawdon, Hon. John	Appleby

Ridley, Sir M. W.	Newcastle
Russell, Lord William	Surry County
St. John, Hon. St. Andrew	Bedford County
Sheridan, R. B.	Stafford
Smith, William	Camelford
Spencer, Lord Robert	Wareham
Sturt, Charles	Bridport
Tarleton, General	Liverpool
Taylor, Clement	Maidstone
Thornton, Henry J.	Southwark
Thorold, Sir John	Lincoln County
Townshend, Lord John	Knaresborough
Vansittart, George	Berkshire
Vyner, Robert	Thirsk
Walwyn, James	Hereford
Wharton, John	Beverley
Whitbread, Samuel, jun.	Bedford
Whitmore, Thomas	Bridgenorth
Wilberforce, William	Yorkshire
Wilbraham, Roger	Bodmyn
Wynne, R. W.	Denbeigh County
Wyndham, Hon. P. C.	Midhurst

TELLERS.

Sheridan, R. B.	Whitbread, Samuel, jun.

Second Division on Mr. WILBERFORCE's Amendment.

Bond, John	Corff Castle
Ford, Sir Francis	Newcastle-under-Lime
Gordon, James	Truro
Mills, William	St. Ives
Powlett, Charles	Truro
Salisbury, Robert	Monmouth County
Wilmot, John	Coventry

N.B. The following Members voted in the Minority, on the Amendment to the Address, the first day of the Session, and in the Majority to support Mr. Pitt's Amentment to Mr. Grey's Motion:

Anderson, J. W.	Mainwaring, William
Burdon, Rowland	

Wednesday, 28th January.

Mr. HUSSEY moved, "That an account of the national debt, as it stood on the 5th of January, should be laid upon the table, with an account of the interest thereon."

Mr. Chancellor PITT said, that he had some time since given notice of his intention to move for a Committee, to take into consideration a plan for the more speedily and effectually manning his Majesty's navy. This motion he meant to bring forward on Monday next; and should now present an outline of the plan, which he then meant to submit for discussion. The first proposition which

he meant to make was, that a supply of seamen should be furnished from the different merchants' ships, previous to their clearing out, in proportion to their tonnage, so that while a sufficient number of men should be left to navigate the ships, there might likewise be a force adequate to the protection of the convoys. On this subject he had already had much communication with mercantile men, and would be glad to receive any farther communication. The second proposition was, that as there was a great number of men employed on water in different parts of the kingdom, who, from the nature of their employment, were qualified for sea service, though not regularly trained to be seamen, that out of these there should also be furnished a certain proportion. Besides, it was conceived, that a considerable number of landmen might be applied to the naval service. With this view it was proposed to make a call upon the different counties to furnish a certain number of landmen, in proportion to the number of inhabited houses not exempted from taxes. The mode of raising these men was to be left to the Magistrates, with this provision, that there should be imposed upon every parish, in case of default, a fine to such an amount as would exceed the bounty which it might be necessary to offer. These were certainly strong measures; the situation of the country required that strong and effectual measures should be taken, and from the sentiments that had been expressed from all sides, he had reason to believe that they were such as would meet with concurrence. He concluded with moving, "That the subject should be taken into consideration in a Committee on Monday."

Mr. GREY said, that it was necessary not only to get as many men from the number of those already trained to service, but to protect the nursery of seamen. He stated, that he understood there existed two obstacles to this nursery: first, the circumstance of impressing apprentices, which deterred young men from entering into the service; and secondly, the high bounties given in sea-port towns by the recruiting parties.

Mr. JEKYL asked what period of notice was to be given to the merchant ships to furnish their quota of men, that it might not operate as an embargo?

Mr. Chancellor PITT said, that it was intended to operate as the most effectual embargo, and the object of the Committee was, to consider the best means in which that embargo could be applied; the operation would affect every ship as soon as the act had passed.

Mr. GREY said, that in consequence of the event of his motion on Monday, so unsatisfactory to him, and, he understood, as little satisfactory to the Public, at a period the most important and pres-

ſing that had ever occurred in the annals of the country, he ſhould now give notice of his intention to bring forward a ſimilar motion, in order to aſcertain the principle on which the war was ſtill perſiſted to be carried on, a point which he had by no means been able to gather from any thing expreſſed in the amendment moved by the right honourable gentleman on the former evening. He ſhould take an opportunity to give farther notice of this motion on Monday.

Mr. Chancellor PITT ſtated, that on Monday he expected to be authoriſed by His Majeſty to bring down a meſſage reſpecting the Auſtrian loan, which would of courſe be taken into conſideration the day following.

Mr. HUSSEY obſerved, that this was a meaſure not only new and unprecedented, but on the conſequences of which depended the public credit; before, therefore, the Houſe ſhould conſent to give away ſuch a ſum for foreign ſervice, it was important that they ſhould be in poſſeſſion of every information that could be obtained with reſpect to the effects of ſuch a ſtep in the preſent ſtate of affairs. He ſhould therefore make a motion, "That the Governor and Deputy Governor of the Bank of England be deſired to attend this Houſe, in order to ſtate their information on this meaſure."

Mr. Chancellor PITT objected to this motion, as irregular in the preſent ſtage of the buſineſs, and gave notice of his intention afterwards to oppoſe it.

The SPEAKER ſtated, that conſiſtently with the forms of the Houſe, what had been ſaid by the honourable gentleman, could be conſidered only as an intimation of a future motion.

The order of the day being read for the Houſe to reſolve itſelf into a Committee on the bill for ſuſpending the Habeas Corpus,

The ATTORNEY GENERAL moved, that the Speaker do now leave the Chair.

Mr. FOX ſaid, that having on a former night given notice of his intention to oppoſe the Houſe going into a Committee on this bill, though he meant to object to the Speaker leaving the Chair, it was not on the ground of moving for a call of the Houſe. There was nothing aſſerted in the preamble of the bill which had any reference to the law of treaſon. He would not pledge himſelf to the meaſure of bringing in a declaratory act to explain the law of treaſon. But if in the late trials doubts and conſtructions had been attempted to be introduced upon the ſtatute of Edward III. which was in his mind the moſt ſimple and explicit upon the Statute Book, it was of importance that theſe ſhould be done away, and that the ſtatute ſhould be put upon the footing of clearneſs and preciſion, for which it had originally been introduced. He meant to oppoſe the

motion for leaving the Chair, on the general grounds which had already been ſtated, and which he ſhould not now recapitulate. It had been ſaid, that in ſuſpending the Habeas Corpus we only imitated the example of our fathers; the Habeas Corpus had indeed been ſuſpended, but the continuance of that ſuſpenſion, after the period for which it had originally been fixed, was rare indeed. No ſuch farther ſuſpenſion, he believed, had ever taken place, where there had been no perſons in cuſtody. He referred to the inſtances in the reigns of William III. and of George I. and II. In theſe inſtances it had been ſuſpended either during the period of rebellion, when it was of conſequence to prevent any acceſſion to the rebel force, or from the dread of attempts to aſſaſſinate the King, which from the inſtantaneouſneſs with which they could be executed, it was expedient and neceſſary to meet by means of immediate prevention, neither of which circumſtances applied to the preſent period. He concluded, therefore, that the preſent meaſure was not more warranted by precedents, than it was by the general principles of the Conſtitution, and the conſideration of the exiſting circumſtances.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL declined entering into the general diſcuſſion, but deprecated any attempt to draw the law of treaſon into queſtion.

Mr. Chancellor PITT ſaid, that for the honour of the country no caſe ſimilar to the preſent had ever occurred. The danger, which we had now to encounter, aroſe from the progreſs of thoſe principles, the dreadful conſequences of which we had for ſome years paſt had the misfortune to witneſs. Since the revolution the Habeas Corpus had been twelve times ſuſpended, and in three or four of theſe inſtances the ſuſpenſion had been continued without bringing forward any freſh grounds, only ſtating the general prevalence of danger. He referred to the preamble of one of the acts of William III. the year after the revolution, ſtating, that "Whereas there were juſt grounds to ſuſpect treaſonable practices," &c. The only queſtion then was, whether becauſe the danger at the preſent moment was not preciſely the ſame, though in the minds of many rational perſons it was of a nature infinitely more dreadful and alarming, we ought not to adopt the ſame means of precaution that were employed in thoſe former inſtances.

The Houſe divided on the queſtion "Whether the Speaker do now leave the Chair?" Ayes 68, Noes 14.

The bill then went through the Committee, in which it was agreed that it ſhould continue in force till the end of the ſeſſion. The Report was then received, and the bill ordered to be read a third time to-morrow.

The Committee of Supply and of Ways and Means were deferred till Monday.

Thursday, 29th January.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL moved the order of the day, that the bill for continuing the suspension of the Habeas Corpus act be read a third time.

Agreed to.

He then moved that the said bill do pass.

Mr. SHERIDAN rose and said, he was extremely sorry he had not been present the preceding evening when some very strong observations were made by a right honourable friend of his (Mr. Fox) on the subject of the legal doctrines which had lately been delivered relative to the construction of the statute 25 Edward III. He said, he perfectly coincided with his right honourable friend in the observations he had made, though he would not press his sentiments on the House at that time, but should reserve them for some future opportunity. He declared that he had opposed the bill in every stage, because he totally disapproved both of the principle and provisions of it—so much so that he could not suffer it to pass now without giving it his positive negative.

The question was then put, that the bill do pass, and on a division the numbers were,

Ayes 68, Noes 4. Majority 64.

The Attorney General, Solicitor General, Mr. Pitt, Sir Peter Burrell, Mr. Baldwin, and others, were then appointed to take the same to the Lords.

Mr. MAURICE ROBINSON gave notice, that he should on the first open day move for a Committee of the whole House, to take into consideration the most effectual means for preventing the mixture of flour in hair powder; a mischief which at the present moment called for the most serious attention of Parliament.

Mr. SHERIDAN said, that several communications had been made to him upon the subject, but one in particular, which he thought it peculiarly incumbent on him to mention now to the House, and that was the astonishing quantity of flour which was used as a substitute for hair powder by the soldiers of this country. This, in a moment of apprehended scarcity of corn, deserved the most deliberate and attentive consideration of Parliament. He was sorry he had not the calculation about him; but he would assure the House that it was of such a magnitude as to be almost beyond conception, and which when they heard would very greatly surprise them. As the honourable Member, however, had mentioned his intention of

bringing the subject before the House, he thought it his duty to take the opportunity of saying thus much on the subject, in order that His Majesty's servants might take the earliest opportunity of availing themselves of all the information on the subject that their situation so well enabled them to do.

Mr. ROBINSON said, that as he understood Thursday next to be an open day, he should take that opportunity of bringing the matter on.

Adjourned to Monday.

Monday, 2d February.

Mr. Chancellor PITT said, that the message which he thought he should be able to lay before the House relative to the Austrian loan, to-day, he must defer until Wednesday; and therefore he now proposed, that the discussion on that subject should take place on Thursday.

Mr. GREY proposed that the motion, of which he had given notice, and which related in some degree to the last he brought forward on the subject of the war, might be brought forward on Wednesday, as he thought the object was of a pressing nature, in point of time as well as importance.

Mr. Chancellor PITT thought that it would be inconvenient to have two nights succeeding each other for the discussion of subjects of such great importance, he had no desire to postpone the discussion of the motion of the honourable gentleman, but it appeared to him that the proposed arrangement would be very inconvenient.

It was then understood that Mr. Grey's motion should come on on Friday.

Mr. GREY then presented a petition from the merchants and other inhabitants of Southampton, complaining of the indefinite object of the war, the loss of blood and treasure by which it has been attended, and the manner in which we had been defeated by our allies, and praying that the House would exert every means which its wisdom could direct for procuring peace.

Ordered to be laid on the table.

Mr. Alderman CURTIS presented a petition of the Liverymen of London, whose names are thereunto subscribed; setting forth, that the petitioners feel it their duty, at this time, to express to the House their firm attachment to the constitution of this country, as established at the glorious Revolution: That the petitioners have seen, with concern, that the measures which have been hitherto exerted for bringing this war to a happy conclusion, have not yet accomplished that desirable end, but they firmly rely on Divine Pro-

vidence that the bravery and ardour of our navy and army will be ultimately succefsful, and therefore praying, that the Houfe will, in their wifdom, adopt fuch meafures as fhall effectually defend this country againft its enemies, and obtain the bleffings of peace, whenever it can be effected confiftently with the honour and dignity of the State, and with that permanent fecurity for which alone peace is defirable, as important to the very exiftence of our trade, commerce, and profperity.

The queftion being put, "That this petition be laid on the table,"

Mr. SHERIDAN obferved, that the worthy Alderman called this petition, the petition of the Liverymen of London. Now, as the Houfe were likely to have petitions in abundance for a peace, it would be right that thofe who directed their reprefentatives to prefent them, fhould know, when petitions were figned, whether they were to be underftood in that Houfe as petitions for war, or petitions for peace. There were many names, he obferved, to the prefent petition, he did not mean to infinuate that they were not refpectable men, on the contrary, he had no doubt they were fo; but when it was ftated that this was the petition of the Livery of London, it was neceffary that neither the Houfe of Commons nor the Public fhould be mifinformed upon that point. There had already been held a very numerous meeting of the Livery of London, who had petitioned that Houfe for peace. Did the worthy Alderman mean to deny that the fenfe of the Livery of London, in Common Hall affembled, had not been decidedly expreffed in favour of peace, and that peace as fpeedily as poffible? It was abfolutely neceffary, therefore, that petitioners fhould underftand the precife terms of their petitions, and above all, the ufe that their Reprefentatives made of them. Many Liverymen figned the petition which was agreed upon at the Common Hall, and which had been already laid upon the table of that Houfe, was it to be now infinuated that this petition came from a more refpectable body of the fame Livery, and was intended to pafs in that Houfe as a fort of counter-petition? He had no doubt but that many of the refpectable perfons who figned this petition, might have been told that this petition was worded in a more temperate and refpectful manner than that which had been agreed upon at the Common Hall, and that fuch a reprefentation of the matter might have induced many who figned it to do fo, and yet the intention might be, to ufe it as a petition for a continuance of war. He was juftified in fufpecting this to be the cafe, and in faying fo, for he knew the tricks and fhuffles by which the Public were impofed upon. The whole fyftem upon which the war had

been commenced, and carried on, was misrepresentation and delusion. It was in this manner some persons had already been induced to sign some petitions, and he had no doubt that others would be tampered with in the same way; it was the Minister's system. Nothing would better illustrate the answer which the Minister had advised His Majesty to give to the Address of the Court of Common Council of the city of London. Did not the Common Council understand they were asking for peace as speedily as could be obtained, consistently with the honour and safety of this country? In His Majesty's answer was there to be found one word about peace? On the contrary, did he not declare he considered it as an encouragement to continue the war. This was the system of Ministers. Now, if they really wished for petitions for carrying on a vigorous prosecution of the war, upon their own plan, why did they not come at once boldly forward, and say that such was their intention? Why did not Members who presented such petitions avow it candidly to be their intentions to support the Minister in his own way, until he shall establish a Government of his own forming in France, or until this country was ruined? If that was what they meant, let them come boldly forward and avow it. If this was fairly and honestly explained, they would not get the names of honest men to any petitions so ambiguously worded, as to admit of the possibility of making more than one construction upon them. If this was properly understood by the people, he would venture to say, they would not get the names of twenty men to any petition that asked for any thing but peace, unless they were contractors, pensioners, and jobbers, who derived all their wealth from the bowels of the poor. He should be happy to hear any explanation upon this petition from the worthy Alderman who presented it.

Mr. Alderman CURTIS said, that with regard to the proceedings at the Common-hall, which the honourable gentleman had alluded to, the Majority there were a violent party, determined to hear only one side of the question, and they refused to hear him—They were not all Liverymen—Not one half of them were Liverymen; there were some, no doubt, respectable men among them, but the majority were not of the Livery. With regard to the petition now presented to the House, he could only say it was left at the London Tavern for signatures, and there had been no interference, on his part at least. Those who had signed, whom he knew, were respectable persons; they expressed themselves as friends of peace, but how was a permanent peace to be obtained under the present circumstances? By a vigorous prosecution of the war. He wished for

peace as much as any man, but the way he had mentioned was the only way to obtain peace.

Mr. GREY adverted to the ſort of explanation which the worthy Alderman had been pleaſed to give upon this ſubject: What was the meaning of that explanation?—He told the Houſe he was a ſincere well-wiſher for peace! If he meant, generally, a well-wiſher to peace, it amounted to nothing, for that we muſt all be: he ſaid, he was convinced, that the only way to procure a permanent peace was, a vigorous proſecution of the war—that was, in other words, to continue the war, on the principle of eſtabliſhing in France a Government capable, in the Miniſter's opinion, of maintaining the relations of peace and amity.—We were at war now for the purpoſe of deſtroying the preſent form of Government of France.—Then let the Liverymen of London underſtand, that their repreſentative declared he preſented a petition for peace only when it can be obtained, by the deſtruction of the preſent Government of France—Was this ſo, or was it not? Indeed, Mr. Grey ſaid, he believed the whole of this buſineſs to be founded on a ſyſtem of deluſion. If any body doubted what uſe was to be made of petitions of this kind, let them look at the King's anſwer to one of them, which had been taken notice of by his honourable friend, in which there was not one word ſaid of peace. Let the citizens of London know, that the uſe which was to be made of their laſt petition was to uſe it as an inſtrument for the encouragement of the proſecution of the war.

Mr. Alderman NEWNHAM ſaid, that the proportion of Liverymen at the Common Hall, which had been alluded to, was very ſmall indeed. Many ſtrangers took the places of Liverymen, and aſſumed their privileges. He had no difficulty in ſaying that the preſent was a direct counter-petition to that which had been agreed upon in that Common Hall. He was confident that if the opinions of the Livery were taken, they would be for the continuance of this war, until ſuch a peace could be brought about, as might be permanent. He would ſay, that the Government of France, in its preſent form, ought not to be treated with; he would go farther, and ſay that he did not think that any Government of France ought to be treated with poſſeſſing the territory which France now poſſeſſed. He ſhould prefer any war to peace with France, while it poſſeſſed its preſent territory, becauſe if we agreed with France for peace, in its preſent poſſeſſions, we ſhould ſign the death warrant of this country. He was aſtoniſhed it could be thought of in any place; he ſhould be aſtoniſhed, indeed, if a majority of that Houſe ſhould agree to make peace with France at the preſent moment;

[illegible]r h[illegible] part, he would advife the nation to come to its laft ftruggle, [illegible]r than do fo. This, he believed, was the opinion of a large maj[illegible]y of the Livery of London: but at the Common Hall the fentimen[illegible] of the Company were collected very unfairly.

Mr. Alde[illegible]man ANDERSON agreed with his worthy colleagues as to the petit[illegible]n now before the Houfe. He faid it was figned by 1655 perfons, [illegible]d they all knew the contents of it. They wifhed for peace only o[illegible] an honourable footing. They figned it of their own accord, withou[illegible] any influence or folicitation whatever.

Mr. SHERIDAN faid, he did not mean to make any infinuation againft the petitioners, but he was glad that the matter had been in fome degree explained, and that this was now to be underftood as a counter-petition to that agreed upon at the Common Hall. But the worthy Aldermen had thrown out fomething like an infinuation againft the Common Hall, by which he believed they would not abide. They had faid, that the proceedings of that Common Hall did not exprefs the fenfe of a majority of the Livery of London. Let them try the effect in another Common Hall.

Mr. Alderman LE MESURIER faid, he rofe to confirm what had been faid by his brother magiftrates refpecting the Common Hall; fo tumultuous and diforderly an affembly he had never feen at Guildhall; and he could compare the proceedings to nothing fo like as what he had heard of the meeting at Chalk Farm, with this difference, however, that at Chalk Farm, as he underftood it from the evidence given at the ftate trials, the refolutions to be moved were all printed and previoufly diftributed, fo that thofe who there held up their hands might be fuppofed to know what it was they were voting. It was not fo at the Common Hall, the perfons prefent did not know; and he was fure very few of them could hear the contents of the petition they then voted. He would complain that neither himfelf nor his brother magiftrates were fuffered to be heard. He would fay that in this Houfe he did not expect to be heard—he had not the ability to arreft the attention of the Houfe; but at Guildhall, holding as he did a refponfible fituation in the magiftracy of the city, it was the duty of the Common Hall to hear him, as much as it was his to offer his fentiments to them. But it was not of himfelf, or of his brother magiftrates only, that he complained; when any other gentleman offered himfelf to the Livery, if, after fpeaking a fentence or two, he let drop a word that feemed hoftile to the motion, a fignal was given from the Huftings, and inftantly a torrent of hiffes and hootings iffued. It was notorious that the affemblage at this Common Hall was like to any thing but a meeting of the Livery—He had been informed by fome who had figned

the petition now offered to the Houſe, that they were at the Common Hall, but felt themſelves ſo uncomfortable at being, as they were, ſurrounded by thoſe who were not Liverymen, that they retired before the queſtion was put—Others, whoſe bodily ſtrength enabled them to ſtay, had their hands forcibly kept down when they attempted to hold them up againſt the queſtion; and yet the reſult of this Common Hall was called the ſenſe of the Livery, *fully* and *fairly* taken. He imputed no blame to the worthy Chief Magiſtrate; but certain it was, that the barriers which were erected, as uſual, for the admiſſion of the Livery, were early in the day broke down, and perſons of every deſcription forced their way in. There were Americans and other foreigners, who came in ſix at a time; and he underſtood there were on that day ſeveral commiſſions of bankruptcy ſitting, which helped to ſwell the maſs in the hall. He muſt complain, that ſo much animadverſion ſhould take place on the petition of 1654 of the moſt reſpectable Liverymen, when none had been made when the petition of the Common Hall had been preſented, ſigned by only 35 names; and on behalf of that very reſpectable number of the livery with whom he acted, who were neither contractors nor jobbers, nor yet ſtruggling for power or places. He would complain that while the ſingle difference between them and his opponents was, that they prayed for a ſafe and honourable peace, while their opponents aſked for a ſpeedy peace, they could not learn from thoſe gentlemen what it was they meant by this ſpeedy peace they aſked for. Did they mean to lay this country at the feet of the National Convention of France? When gentlemen called for an explicit declaration, he wiſhed they would declare what themſelves wiſhed and expected. He had heard that the National Convention had declared on what terms they would treat with this country—He had heard that they had ſaid in the Convention, "You muſt give up all your conqueſts, diſband your army, and diſmantle your navy, and then we will give you peace." If England could poſſibly liſten to ſuch terms, ſhe would put herſelf in the ſituation of the lion in the fable, who conſented to have his teeth and his fangs drawn, and then inſtead of embracing a beautiful young lady, he was ſaluted with a club, which put an end to his exiſtence.

Mr. FOX obſerved, that with regard to the company at the Common Hall not having the civility of hearing the worthy Alderman with patience, it was too often, perhaps, the caſe in popular meetings; companies of that ſort did not very often liſten very attentively to what they did not like; but if the deſcription, which had been given of that meeting by the worthy Magiſtrates, be juſt, it was a

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itle singular they should have contended for the honour of presenting to the House of Commons, the very petition which that company agreed upon, and that it had actually been presented without the least intimation to the House that it was voted by persons, a large majority of whom were not liverymen. On the contrary, it was opened by the worthy Alderman as the Petition of the Liverymen of London in Common Hall assembled. As to the cavil about a speedy peace, the public common sense of that sentence was not that we should make a hasty and dishonourable peace, but that Ministers should set about putting our affairs in a train that might accelerate the period of negociation; this was meant by endeavouring to negociate; that was his sense of the duty of Ministers when he talked of a speedy peace, and that he believed to be the sense of a very large portion of the public.

Mr. Alderman CURTIS disclaimed any idea of throwing odium on the Liverymen who attended the Common Hall. He said, the meeting had been legally and fairly summoned by the Lord Mayor, and of course he was bound to deliver the petition agreed upon at that meeting.

The petition was then ordered to be laid on the table.

Mr. FOX observed, that as most of the objects for which he moved the Call of the House had been answered, and as many Members had since obtained leave of absence from the House, he should now move that the Call of the House, which stood for to-morrow, be discharged.—Ordered.

Mr. GREY adverted to the importance of the subject which was to be brought forward to-night, relative to the more effectually supplying the naval service. It was necessary the House should have full information upon the subject. He had been told that there were actually, in this country, at this time, a body of seamen, who were either not employed at all, or employed in such a manner as made them but of little use. He understood that they amounted to near 10,000: He therefore moved, "That there be laid before the House an account of the number of men and boys employed in barges, boats, &c. in the service of the Board of Admiralty, and who enjoy protection from them."

The like motions with regard to the Navy Board, Victualling, Ordnance, Excise, and Customs—as also those employed on the river, in the Watermen's Company; all which were ordered.

Some conversation then took place on similar motions relative to account of press-gangs, &c. which, with some limitation, were ordered to be laid before the House; as also an account relative to

bounties given at different ports, from January, 1793, to January, 1795.

Mr. Chancellor PITT moved, that the order of the day should be read, for "the House to resolve itself into a Committee, to consider of a plan for the more speedy and effectual manning of His Majesty's Navy."

The House accordingly resolved itself into a Committee, Lord Arden in the Chair.

Mr. Chancellor Pitt stated, that it was not at present his object to enter at large into the nature of the plan which he should now submit to the Committee. With respect to the necessity and expediency of the measure, in the situation in which the country was placed, all sides of the House had unanimously concurred; so that it would only be wasting their time, to dwell on points which had already so frequently and fervently called forth the support and approbation of every Member present. Except, then, any gentleman should be particularly desirous of any explanation in the present stage, his wish was, rather to meet the discussion, by bringing in a bill, and then proceeding as fast as possible to the Committee, when the blanks might be filled up and the bill printed, allowing a sufficient interval for all the parts of the kingdom to take the different clauses into their consideration, and to communicate any information that might appear to them to be material. There was only one general consideration to which he should call their attention in the outset of the business. All had expressed, and, he trusted, sincerely felt, the necessity of great and unusual burdens, in order to meet the scale of exertion which it was incumbent upon the country to make in the present crisis. If they felt, as they ought, the pressure of that necessity, they must likewise make up their minds to the consequence—a great degree of inconvenience which must unavoidably be sustained. To this consequence they must be prepared to submit, except it could be proved either that the inconvenience was such as to outweigh the benefit to be reaped from the measure, or that some more convenient mode should be devised of carrying the same measure into effect. He trusted that, in the present instance, instead of attempts being made to throw the burden upon one particular class, instead of jealousy being produced between interests, mistakenly considered as opposite, all classes of the community would cheerfully unite to consider what was the proportion which each could afford to bear, and in what manner the exertions of the country could be most effectually called forth. In proposing the means by which the plan now before the Committee might best be carried into effect, he must necessarily look to the principal

sources of the national force. The principal of these undoubtedly was the trade. He should look to the mercantile marine;—first, as it was the quarter best qualified to supply the exertions, which were now called for; and, secondly, because so far as there was a separate interest, none were more interested than the ship-owners and merchants, that the country should be able to meet the naval force of the enemy, to maintain its superiority by sea, and to supply adequate convoys. The plan which he had to propose would be attended with two advantages. It would first relieve the outward-bound trade of the country from the inconvenience resulting from an uncertain degree of pressing men; and, secondly, it would prevent the necessity of an embargo, a measure which had been resorted to in many former wars. The plan which he had to propose went to fix a certain number of men to be furnished by every vessel, in proportion to its tonnage, for the service of the Royal Navy, previous to clearing out. This would operate as an embargo on every individual ship, till it had furnished its particular quota; and the convenience with which it would be able to prosecute its voyage, would depend on the alacrity with which it contributed to the public service. On examining the Custom-house books for 1793, down to the month of September, he found that the total of the shipping of Scotland and England employed 100,000 men, and that the proportion of men to the tonnage was about one man for every fourteen tons. He proposed to take about one seaman out of every seven who were employed; though indeed it was not necessary that they should be able men, as he would put an alternative, that the ship-owners, if they were so disposed, might, instead of one seaman, provide two landmen. No proportion was to be required from any vessel of less than thirty-five tons burthen; every vessel above thirty-five and less than seventy, to find one landman, every vessel above seventy up to one hundred and five, to find one seaman or two landmen; and so on to an hundred and forty; and above that, to find one landman progressively for the proportion of every fifty tons. The reason why he made this distinction between larger and smaller vessels, requiring the one to furnish a landman in the proportion of every thirty-five, and the other where above a certain tonnage only one in the proportion of every fifty was, that the larger vessels made a voyage perhaps only once a year, whereas the smaller vessels employed in the coasting trade made several, and had therefore much more occasion for protection of convoy. He computed that the whole number of men obtained in this way might amount to between eighteen and twenty thousand. As it was intended to prevent the vessels from clearing out, till they should have furnished

their limited number of men, it was his object, that they should then be permitted to clear out as speedily as possible. From the communications which he had had with gentlemen, from different parts of the country, he had the satisfaction to understand, that there was no part of his plan liable to insuperable objections. It was his intention also to call upon the country for some supply of landmen, for the service of the navy. This supply he meant to raise according to the number of parishes in the kingdom, and reckoning one man for the proportion, it might produce a force of about ten thousand men. Some parishes might not be able singly to furnish one— others perhaps more. The way in which he meant to ascertain the number, was by a list of the inhabited houses, not exempted from taxes. The mode of distributing the proportion, and of arranging the means by which it was to be raised, he would leave to the Justices of Peace, at a special sessions, to be held for the purpose— providing only that a larger sum than should be adequate to the bounty given to volunteers, should be levied on every parish which should be a defaulter. By this means all those who came forward would be volunteers, and in consequence [illegible] levied upon defaulters being larger than the bounty [illegible], an inducement would be afforded to all the parishes to exert themselves to the utmost in the way of raising men. There was another quarter to which he meant to have recourse; the extent of the assistance to be derived from which, he was yet unable to estimate: this was, by raising a certain number of men out of those who were employed in the inland navigation, on navigable rivers and canals. To this quarter he looked as an excellent nursery for our seamen, as those engaged in the inland navigation, from the mode of their education and the habits of their life, were well qualified for the sea-service. Before, however, he could ascertain the probable amount of this supply, it would be necessary to procure a list of the barges employed in different parts of the kingdom. There was only one other measure which he should submit to the Committee, a measure which had been adopted in former wars, though not with all the effect which it might have been calculated to produce. This was, to pass an act enabling the Magistrates to apprehend all idle and disorderly persons who might be able to serve His Majesty, and who could give no account of their means of procuring a livelihood. This measure had been adopted in 1778 and 1779; it was then employed for the purpose of recruiting the army; it was now intended to be exclusively applied to the service of the navy. He had thus stated the general outline of his plan, which was all that he proposed upon the present occasion; he would now conclude with moving for

leave to bring in the bills for the different purposes he had stated. He therefore moved for leave to bring in a bill requiring owners and masters of ships to furnish a certain number of men, &c.

Mr. HARRISON acknowledged that the present propositions were conducted, on the part of the right honourable gentleman who brought them forward, with great candour, and he by no means dissented from him in opinion, that great exertions are at present necessary towards manning the navy. He would not give his decided opinion at present whether these were the most adviseable means to be resorted to, but he was rather inclined to think that they were not, as they appeared to operate in a manner which he apprehended would be deemed by many, not only partial but oppressive. He thought they bore particularly hard upon the commercial and trading interests of the country, and also upon the landed in a certain degree. And, he said, whenever the bill or bills, for carrying them into effect, should be brought before the House, he should certainly move a clause, which should have for its object the taxing of all sorts of places and pensions above a certain yearly sum. He thought it absolutely necessary, that when the merchant, the trader, and the landholder, were called upon in the severe manner they would be by these propositions, if carried into effect, to contribute to the service of the State over and above what they paid to the general taxes of the kingdom—those who derived such splendid incomes of the places and pensions they held, ought to contribute, in an equal proportion at least, to any additional taxes which it might be necessary to burden any other parts of the subjects with, in consequence of any extraordinary measures which it might be adviseable to resort to on any particular occasions. In the present case, as he before observed, these provisions would operate very heavily upon the landholder, the trader, and the merchant, and he therefore gave notice, that in some proper stage of the bill, he would certainly move a clause to the following effect:—"That every person holding or enjoying a place or pension of 300l. a year, should provide one seaman, or two landmen, for the service of the navy; persons possessing 500l. a year, two seamen, or four landmen; and for every 100l. above 500l. to whatever extent of sum, that one man should be added." This, he said, would be only fair and reasonable; it would be only bringing those gentlemen, and others, who received so very liberally from the bounty of the State, to contribute in some degree to the necessities of the State; and he thought no reasonable or impartial man would hesitate to say, that when great emergencies demanded such extraordinary exertions, it would ill become men, situated as were those he was now speaking of, to

shrink from such a proposal, or to endeavour to counteract it. Indeed, he only mentioned the matter now in order to give notice to the gentlemen on the other side of the House, of what he intended to do in case His Majesty's Ministers should not anticipate him on the subject. As the right honourable gentleman had only given the outline of his plan, he might possibly intend to bring some such measure as he had mentioned into the body of his bill. If such were his intentions now, or if, upon considering what had fallen from him, the right honourable gentleman should introduce any clause to the same effect, it would give him great pleasure to see it proceed from a quarter from which it would issue with so much greater weight, force, and propriety.

Mr. JOLLIFFE said, that notwithstanding he must acknowledge the pressure of the occasion to be very great, and that he would by no means wish to throw any obstacles in the way of effectually manning the navy with as much speed as possible; yet he could not let the present occasion pass without observing, that the mode proposed to be adopted tended greatly to partiality, and bore, in a very great degree of proportion, heavier on many classes of men than it did on others. He said, the right honourable gentleman had, by his propositions, stated that he intended to take a considerable number of men from our inland navigations, and from the flats plying on our rivers. These, he observed, were a very useful and laborious body of men, and it was essentially necessary to the good of the country that they should remain in it. Why were the honest, industrious, and laborious part of the community to be thus harrassed, and called from their homes and families, when there were so many idle and useless members of it suffered to remain quietly at home, to the infinite detriment of the other sex, on whose stations and privileges they very materially encroached? We had crowds of men-milliners, and men-haberdashers, and shoals of stout able-bodied footmen, both of whom materially curtailed the places, and injured the wages of females, many thousands of whom would be employed in houses and shops, into which they now cannot gain admission, on account of men being employed in these female occupations. He wished, therefore, the right honourable gentleman would endeavour to find some other means of raising men, particularly landmen, than that which was at present directed against the labourers in the country; for really he was of opinion, that at present the country could not afford to part with many men of that description.

Mr. FOX allowed that every degree of exertion was necessary towards effectually manning the navy; it was the great bulwark of our strength; and to carry so important a measure into execution at

the present moment, would certainly meet with his approbation and concurrence. It only remained to be considered whether the mode of doing it as now proposed was the most proper or not. For his own part, he could not help thinking that the mode of enforcing the ship-owners to provide such a number of men, according to the tonnage of their respective ships, as stated in those propositions before the House, could only operate as a tax, and if so, it was certainly a tax which fell very heavily and partially on certain descriptions of men. On the commercial and trading interests it fell with very great weight, taken in the view both of external and internal navigation. He said, the measure was of the greatest importance, and he thought the greatest care and caution necessary in carrying it into effect, otherwise it would certainly defeat the very end which it was intended to promote. At the present moment, when the people were called upon to make such extraordinary exertions, and when such very strong measures were proposed to be adopted, he was well assured that a very great majority of the nation were ardently wishing for peace. They had heard many motions in that House in favour of a speedy peace, and he did not wish to hear such motions always opposed, on the exact meaning of this word—the extent of that word—or the forced interpretation of another; it was become absolutely necessary, he said, that the people should be satisfied one way or other what they had to expect from those mighty exertions they were called upon to make.

If he could be happy enough to see the preamble of the bill for carrying those propositions into effect run in these words: "Whereas all just and honourable means have been tried towards obtaining a secure and permanent peace," &c. then, he said, he was certain that, in that case, let the amount of the taxes be what it might—let the number of men required be ever so extensive, he was certain the people of Great Britain would contribute their utmost efforts towards raising both, without the smallest murmur. But riveted as he was assured the country now is, in their sentiments for peace, he was very apprehensive they would never cordially enter into the measures proposed, so as to give them that effect which ought always to be expected, to a degree next to a certainty, before measures so extremely harsh and momentous were resorted to. He was convinced, in his own mind, he said, that the majority of the People were desirous of seeing a negociation for a speedy peace entered into with the present Government of France. Some satire had been used, and ridicule attempted to be thrown, on the expression used on that side of the House where he had the honour to sit, "of a speedy and immediate peace:" for his part, if there was any thing

wrong in the expreſſion, he, for one, begged to take a ſhare of the ridicule. But he contended, that the expreſſion was perfectly right. He, and thoſe who made uſe of it, certainly did not mean by it a ſpeedy and immediate peace, to be obtained on any conditions whatever; but they meant, that ſpeedy and immediate means ſhould be adopted for the purpoſe of negociating a peace with the preſent Government of France, on ſuch terms and conditions as this country might fairly and honourably agree to. It was time, he ſaid, that the people ſhould be treated with candour and openneſs, and fairly informed what were the deſigns of Miniſters in making thoſe vaſt exertions for carrying on the war. Whether it was to be continued till ſuch a Government in France was ſettled, as ſhould be entirely agreeable to the preſent Miniſters, or until we ſhould be able to conquer the French people, by deſtroying the preſent Government, and dictating another to them. This was not the time for ſhuffling off explanation, and ſkulking behind evaſive words admitting of a variety of interpretations. It was time to ſpeak out, openly and boldly. For his part, he would ſay, that the great majority of the people of this country were anxiouſly panting after a peace—yes, and a peace with the preſent Government of France, and in this he thought they were right, and he would lift up his voice in joining them in their deſire to obtain ſo great a bleſſing as peace would at this moment be to this country. He ſaid, he wiſhed when gentlemen brought petitions, expreſſing the wiſhes of the people for peace, as had been lately done, they would take the trouble ſo far to conſider the ſubject, as not to word thoſe petitions in ſuch a manner as to make them appear as if prompting the moſt vigorous and active proſecution of the war. He alluded to the petition lately preſented, he ſaid, by the Common Council to the King, to which His Majeſty's gracious anſwer conveys to the mind of every man, that His Majeſty conceived the petition to be the very reverſe of what it was; for the anſwer promiſes them that the moſt active and vigorous exertions ſhall be employed for carrying on the war, without one ſingle word in it relative to peace—when at the ſame time the petition was profeſſed to be a petition for peace. He would not, he ſaid, treſpaſs much longer on the time of the Houſe: he had thought it neceſſary to make theſe obſervations in this ſtage of the buſineſs: he ſhould ſay no more till he ſaw the bill. He had no preciſe clauſe in his own mind to offer at preſent—he ſhould endeavour to obtain every degree of information on the ſubject between this time and that of the diſcuſſion. So far as the right honourable gentleman had mentioned his deſign of conducting the buſineſs, by having the bill printed, the blanks filled up in the Committee, and afterwards time

allowed, he did not mean a great length of time, but sufficient time for those so deeply interested in the business, to derive every benefit to, and advantage from, information—met, he said, with his fullest approbation. He should, therefore, postpone saying any more till the proper time came for discussing the merits or demerits of the bill.

Mr. CURWEN considered the regulations proposed as amounting to a partial and heavy tax. He thought the coal trade, especially at this inclement season, would be greatly injured; that a laborious and expensive task would be inflicted on the merchants; and that it might be finally considered as a general tax on property.

Mr. Chancellor PITT replied to those objections—First, that the outward-bound vessels in the coal trade would have a longer notice; and to counterbalance the other difficulties they might experience in comparison with other outward-bound ships, on account of the frequency of their voyages, they would be subjected to find their supplies, not by the single voyage, but by a certain number of them.

Next, in reply to the observation on the merchants, they were not bound to furnish men for His Majesty's navy, but merely to find them with equal activity and industry as for their own vessels, which they might do with much more ease while making up their own complement. By such a mutual accommodation, therefore, between the merchants and the State, it is evident that both must derive a peculiar and considerable advantage.

Sir FRANCIS BARING said, that he could not let the present opportunity pass, without stating a few circumstances which struck him forcibly as tending to weaken the effects intended to be produced by the present propositions, if carried into execution. He feared they would tend to injure, in no small degree, the ship-owners and merchants of this country, by imposing an additional burden upon them at a time when those already existing were found too heavy to bear. This measure, he said, called upon the owners of ships to provide a certain number of men over and above their own proper complement, and was to operate as a complete embargo on the sailing of their ships till such men were actually found for the service of Government. When the ship-owners came to resort to the different ports and places where it is said fifty seamen are to be found at one, and an hundred at another, they, on inquiring what is become of this hundred, are told that forty out of that hundred are in prisons in France.—[A Member said, in a low voice, across the House, "No, not so.]—The honourable Baronet replied, "Indeed, Sir, I believe you will find it is true."

Mr. BURDON wished one proposition to be relinquished; for

unlefs failors entered more freely, the burdens would more feverely fall upon thofe who felt the firft impreffions of the meafure than upon the interior. The fhip-owners, he faid, had been anxious to fhew themfelves fpirited in the neceffary exertions, and therefore it was incumbent on the right honourable gentleman not to place them in hard circumftances. Notwithftanding what the right honourable gentleman had advanced in favour of his plan, he viewed it as a meafure of extreme embarraffment to the merchants. If any facrifice were to be made, he thought it ought to be upon the part of Government, although he had ever been as penurious of the public money as was confiftent with the neceffity and honour of the nation. His conftituents, he obferved, were willing to grant taxes to any amount, if equally and impartially levied.

Mr. BRANDLING wifhed, in order to make the bill more palatable, that the failors fhould experience as much liberality as the foldiers had lately done. By the ufual drawback, they receive about twenty-two fhillings per month, and the prize money is commonly divided into fix-eighths, by which means the officers receive a larger fhare in proportion. This he concluded to be no more than reafonable; but as he was well affured of the liberality of the officers, he had no doubt, but in a moment of fuch emergency they would readily agree to divide the prize money into twelfths. He was proceeding to ftate other particulars, when

Mr. VYNER called to order, urging, as his reafon, that the honourable gentleman feemed infenfibly to be difcuffing fuch plans as would come with more propriety in another ftage of the proceeding.

An explanation followed.

Mr. GREY paid the right honourable gentleman a very handfome and manly compliment on the fair and candid manner in which he had brought forward his propofitions, and intimated his intention of proceeding with the bill. He faid the meafure was undoubtedly of the greateft importance, and deferved the moft ferious attention of every Member, whofe duty it was to bring forward every degree of information in his power. Many things had been mentioned to-night, of which, no doubt, the right honourable gentleman would take care to avail himfelf. He particularly coincided in opinion with an honourable friend of his, who fat near him. He faid, he thought alfo what had fallen from an honourable Baronet (Sir F. Baring) deferved the utmoft attention. He had likewife underftood, by information from various quarters, that there was too much truth in what that honourable Member had related refpecting fo many of our feamen being in the prifons of the French.

This was a thing, he said, unheard of to such an extent in any former wars. Forty thousand of our sailors were confidently said to be now in confinement in the hands of the enemy. This was a tremendous number to be deprived of in the hour of need, and shewed how very absurd it was for Ministers to persist in such ridiculous pride and obstinacy. They would not even acknowledge the French Government so far as to make an exchange of prisoners. For his part, he thought it was their duty to acknowledge immediately the French Republic, not only for the purpose of effecting so desirable a measure as that of an exchange of prisoners, but for the farther and more important one of opening the way for a negociation for a speedy and immediate peace.

Mr. Chancellor PITT said, several honourable gentlemen had misapprehended the measure respecting the ship owners, and had said, that they would be greatly injured by the delay which must inevitably happen, from their ships being detained till such time as the number of men they were to find were actually provided; whereas, in his opinion, it would be found to have the direct contrary tendency. It was true, an actual embargo would take place on their ships till the men were provided; but still this would serve towards expediting their sailing in the end; for if this mode was not resorted to, they must apply to one of two others, which would still far more distress them. They must either resort to a very strong and general press, which is not so legal or constitutional a remedy, or else make use of a general embargo, which would stop them altogether from proceeding on their voyages. In the latter case, they might lose all their men, who were liable to be impressed—in the former, they would certainly lose so many, as to render it equally impossible for them to proceed to sea. The effectual manning of the navy was necessary for the security of their particular interests, and they must be content to put up with the particular hardships and difficulties which the servants of Government were obliged to impose upon them, for the support of those interests; as such, he was of opinion, that when they came coolly to consider the subject, divested of those prejudices which the novelty of the measure might at the first glance impress their minds with, he was assured they would find it, as he had stated it, to be the best and most favourable of any that could, under existing circumstances, be devised for the purpose.

Mr. Alderman CURTIS agreed in general with the measures proposed by the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Pitt,) and was disposed to the utmost of his power to support the navy. As violent diseases required violent remedies, he was of opinion that the present remedy was the best calculated to effect the end proposed by it.

The resolutions were then put and carried, and the House immediately resumed.

The SPEAKER having taken the Chair, Lord Arden reported the resolutions of the Committee, which were immediately brought up and agreed to, and leave given to Mr. Pitt, Mr. Dundas, Lord Arden, the Lords of the Admiralty, the Attorney and Solicitor Generals, to bring in bills on the same.

The Mutiny bill was read a second time, and upon the question that it now be committed,

Mr. MAINWARING observed, that on a former night he had presented to the House a petition of the innholders, relative to certain grievances under which they laboured from the billeting of soldiers; he therefore thought that in this stage of the Mutiny bill some cognizance ought to be taken of it, which he conceived had been promised by two right honourable gentlemen.

Mr. Chancellor PITT and Mr. Windham explained what was spoken by them on a former night on this subject, and stated that they had been misunderstood on this head; they had no objection to the petition becoming the subject of a Committee, without discussing its merits in the clauses of the Mutiny bill.

The SPEAKER recommended that the petition should be referred to a Committee, after the Mutiny bill had passed the House.

The question was then put, that the Mutiny bill be committed—Agreed.

Tuesday, 3d February.

Mr. MAURICE ROBINSON moved, "That there be laid upon the table an account of all the starch, made out of wheat and other materials, that had paid duty from the 1st of January, 1794, to the 1st of January, 1795;" and also, "that there should be laid upon the table an account of all the hair-powder made out of wheat-flour, and other materials."

Mr. Secretary DUNDAS brought up an account of the troops of the King of Prussia, employed in the last campaign, agreeably to the treaty made at the Hague in the month of April, 1794; and also an account of the British troops killed, wounded, and missing, in the course of the last campaign.

The bill for the purpose of more effectually manning His Majesty's navy, by raising a certain number of men, in proportion to the tonnage of every outward-bound merchant ship, &c. was read a second time, and ordered to be committed to-morrow.

The bill for more effectually manning the navy, by raising a certain number of men for the sea-service, in proportion to the

number of parishes; was read a first time, and ordered to be read a second time to-morrow.

Wednesday, 4th February.

Mr. Chancellor PITT brought down a message from His Majesty, of which the following is a copy:

G. R.

His Majesty thinks proper to acquaint the House, that he has received from the Emperor strong assurances of a disposition to make the greatest exertions for the common cause, in the course of the next campaign. But it is represented on the part of His Imperial Majesty, that these efforts cannot be made without the assistance of a loan, which His Imperial Majesty is desirous of raising, on the credit of the revenues of his hereditary dominions, under the guarantee of His Majesty, with the concurrence of Parliament, to the extent of four millions; and it is stated, that such a loan, in addition to his other resources, would enable His Imperial Majesty to employ against the common enemy the force of 200,000 effective men.—His Majesty is of opinion that, on these grounds, such an arrangement would be beneficial to the common cause, but thinks that it would be still more advantageous, if, by the means of a similar loan to a larger extent, the Emperor should be enabled to employ a force still more considerable; and His Majesty has desired his Minister at Vienna, to express his readiness to recommend to his Parliament an arrangement founded on that principle.—Some temporary advances which His Majesty was induced to make for the immediate supply of the Austrian army, under the pressure of unforeseen circumstances in the latter part of the last campaign, will be included in any arrangement of this nature: as soon as the negociation is concluded, His Majesty will not fail to communicate the result to Parliament, but as any measure of this sort is necessarily connected with the consideration of the provision to be made for the current service of the year, His Majesty has thought it right not to delay making this communication; and he relies on the zeal and public spirit of his faithful Commons, for taking such measures, as, on full consideration of all the circumstances, they may think most conducive to the immediate interests of this country, at the present conjuncture, and to the great object of re-establishing, on secure and honourable grounds, the peace and tranquillity of these kingdoms, and of Europe.

Mr. Chancellor PITT moved, that the message of His Majesty should be taken into consideration to-morrow.—Ordered.

Mr. HUSSEY said, that as the message was to be taken into consideration to-morrow, he conceived that there was a measure pre-

viously neceſſary. He was extremely glad to perceive, that the ſum to be granted to the Emperor was now reduced to four millions. [A cry of *No*, from the other ſide.]—Then, if the reduction was not to take place, and the ſum was to be ſix millions, or perhaps to a larger amount, this ſtatement would make ſtill more for his argument. This ſum was to be added to the ſum neceſſary for our own troops, for foreign troops in our ſervice, and for our ſubſidiaries. Beſides, he underſtood that there was another ſum, which had not yet been brought forward, namely, the ſum to be paid to neutral powers for the capture of their ſhips. All theſe ſums added together, made an amount truly alarming." The quantity of ſpecie in the country formed the baſis of the credit of the paper circulation, of which the right honourable gentleman had lately occaſion to experience the advantages. The effect, therefore, that might be produced by this loan to the Emperor was of the utmoſt importance. It was neceſſary, in order to keep up the confidence in the paper circulation, that a ſufficient quantity of ſpecie ſhould be left in the country. The perſons to whom he meant to move that the Houſe ſhould apply, previous to the diſcuſſion of His Majeſty's meſſage, were the beſt qualified to give information on the ſubject. Thoſe perſons were the Governor and Deputy Governor of the Bank of England; if any money was to be ſent out of the kingdom, it was the Bank who muſt furniſh it, and they, from their ſituation, muſt be acquainted with the extent of any ſpecie brought into the country. They therefore muſt both be beſt acquainted with the ſtate of ſpecie at preſent in the country, and the effect of the fluctuation that muſt be produced by ſending ſo large a ſum, as was propoſed, to the Emperor. He concluded with moving, "That the Governor and Deputy Governor of the Bank of England ſhould attend to-morrow, at the bar of the Houſe of Commons, &c."

Mr. Chancellor PITT ſaid, that in oppoſing the motion of the honourable gentleman, he did not at preſent mean to enter much at large into the ſubject. He believed that the honourable gentleman could ſcarcely have made a motion more unwelcome to thoſe who were its objects, than by requiring the Governor and Deputy Governor of the Bank of England to attend the bar of the Houſe of Commons, in order to be examined on a ſpeculative opinion, "What were the effects of ſending ſuch a ſum of money out of the country?" He knew of no way in which they could communicate the information that was required, except by giving an account of their own banking tranſactions. The Bank of England, though upon a different ſcale, he compared to a great Banking Houſe, and it would not be poſſible to inſtitute the enquiry that was propoſed,

without injuſtice, impolicy, and violence. Though the motion brought forward by the honourable gentleman was ſuch as ought rather to furniſh a ground of argument to-morrow, he could not help taking the preſent opportunity to warn gentlemen againſt adopting a principle, which, however ſanctioned by prejudice, or plauſible in appearance, had been refuted by the experience of enlightened times, and by the preſent flouriſhing ſtate of the commerce of the country. The exportation of ſpecie had been held out as deſtructive to the wealth of a country, whereas the exportation of ſpecie was to be conſidered merely in the ſame light as any other exportation of commerce. Too rigid an adherence to the maxim of hoarding up their ſpecie in countries where they had accumulated a large quantity of ſilver, had been found to be ruinous to their commerce. On the other hand, he was not ignorant that a ſudden exportation to a large and irrecoverable amount, that is, to ſuch an amount as could not be eaſily compenſated for by the influx and reflux of merchandize, might make a ſudden and alarming revulſion. But on the preſent occaſion it was matter of conſolation that the ſame ſtate of Europe that called for new and unheard-of exertions, had produced alſo an influx of wealth, not leſs unuſual and extraordinary. For the truth of this aſſertion, he appealed to facts. From the ſecurity which this country afforded to the perſons and property of thoſe who had fled here for an aſylum, it had become the centre of the wealth of Europe. In proof of this he mentioned the unuſual drains, which had been laſt year made from the country by the ſubſidy to the King of Pruſſia, and the extraordinary ſervices of the year, without at all affecting the ſtate of domeſtic commerce: the temporary depreſſion which had before taken place, had only ſerved to eſtabliſh credit upon a more firm and ſolid baſis; this was the ſureſt criterion of the flouriſhing and permanent reſources of the country. At preſent the rate of exchange between this and foreign markets, was more favourable to this country than it had been at any interval of peace, and the price of dollars leſs than it had been at any former period. He ſtated theſe facts in order to do away the effects of the propoſition, that the exportation of ſpecie muſt be ruinous to the wealth of a country. But he remarked that the objections which had been urged on this ground, which even if true in theory, carried with them ſo little force, reſted in the preſent inſtance upon a ſtatement of facts which was not well founded.—It was not neceſſary that the loan to the Emperor ſhould be paid from this country in ſpecie. There were many perſons in foreign countries who would be glad of the opportunity to ſubſcribe to the loan under the guarantee of this country. The money might be remitted by all the circuitous means ſuch

as bills of exchange, ufually reforted to in fending remittances out of the kingdom: and the only bad effect which could refult from the meafure, would be to lower the exchange in favour of this country.

Mr. Alderman ANDERSON faid, that it was impoffible to add any thing to what had been fo ably ftated by the right honourable gentleman; and he had only to remark on the injurious effect of fome queftions that might be propofed to the Governor and Deputy Governor of the Bank of England, by Members of that Houfe, if the motion of the honourable gentleman fhould be carried.

Mr. HARRISON remarked on the abfurdity of the comparifon of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, with regard to the exportation of fpecie in the courfe of commerce, and for a purpofe fuch as the prefent. Where the exportation of fpecie in mercantile tranfactions is reftrained or prohibited, the nations, it is true, are confequently cramped in their manufactures and refources, for where money is exchanged for raw materials, the raw materials are ufed in the manufactures of the country, which, by their exportation, produce employment for induftry, an increafed accompt to the merchant, and a large revenue to the State. But can the right honourable gentleman, he afked, affirm that the exportation of fpecie, which will do all this in mercantile affairs, will have the fame effect? He fupported the motion, as he confidered the meafure of fending fo large a fum out of the country in the prefent crifis, to be a circumftance truly alarming.

Mr. THORNTON requefted the honourable gentleman to withdraw his motion, as one that might be inconvenient in its confequences, and that could not be acceptable to his relation, whofe attendance was required at the bar.

Mr. HUSSEY faid, that to be fure if the Governor and Deputy Governor were to appear at the bar, it would be impoffible to prevent the Members of that Houfe from putting to them any queftions they might think proper, and this was what appeared to him the only plaufible objection to his motion. As to every thing that had been faid with refpect to the exportation of fpecie for mercantile purpofes, the cafe here was entirely different: the right honourable gentleman well knew that the money which was now propofed to be fent out of the country would never return. As to perfons in foreign parts fubfcribing to the loan, the prefent was too flimfy almoft to deferve an anfwer. Thofe perfons muft be guaranteed by bills upon this country, and it was of little confequence whether we paid the fum in money, or in money's worth. It was impoffible for the right honourable gentleman to judge of the operation, of fending fo

large a sum of money out of the country; it was for that reason that he wished to apply for information to those who were best able to estimate the consequences of such a measure. He had brought forward his motion, not as a party question, but from a regard to the safety of the country. He feared that the loan now proposed would be extremely prejudicial to the state of Public Credit: how far his apprehensions were well founded, the sequel would prove; but he must consider it as a measure full fraught with danger and alarm. He paid a compliment to the distinguished eloquence of the Chancellor of the Exchequer; but said, that if any thing was wanting to strengthen his disapprobation of the measure, nothing could be more effectual for that purpose, than the very arguments which the right honourable gentleman had urged in its support.

The motion was then put, and negatived without a division.

Mr. Chancellor PITT proposed that the blanks in the bill for the increase of the manning the navy, should be now filled up and the bill printed; that the Members might be able to consult with their Constituents, and bring in new clauses, if necessary, and that the bill should be recommitted on Friday se'nnight.

Mr. HARRISON offered a new clause to the following effect: "Be it further enacted, that every person enjoying a place or pension of the value of 300l. per annum, shall find one seaman, or two landmen; that every person enjoying a place or pension of the value of 500l. two seamen or four landmen; and for every addition of 200l. per annum, one seaman or two landmen."

Mr. Chancellor PITT said, that he scarcely knew whether this clause belonged to the present bill, or to the bill for raising men from the parishes, it had so little relation to either. He was at a loss to determine whether the honourable gentleman meant it as a joke upon the bill, or upon the motion which he had last year brought forward with respect to sinecures and pensions.

Mr. HARRISON disclaimed all idea of a joke; he was convinced that the principle upon which he had founded his clause, was that which must ultimately prevail; but admitted, that it more properly belonged to the bill for raising men from the parishes.

The bill then went through the Committee, the blanks were filled up, and the House being resumed, the report was received, and on the motion of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, ordered to be taken into consideration on Friday se'nnight.

The bill for raising men from the parishes, &c. was read a second time.—Ordered to be committed to to-morrow.

Received, by a message from the upper House, the bill for suf-

pending the Habeas Corpus, and agreed to the amendments made by the Lords.

Thursday, February 5.

Mr. HOBART presented a petition from the city of Norwich, praying for a speedy conclusion to the war, by abstaining from all interference in the internal affairs of France, and all other means that might be conducive to that desirable object. He at the same time stated, that he believed the sentiments contained in that petition, to be those of the majority of the inhabitants of Norwich.

Mr. COKE, Member for Norfolk, said, that the sentiments contained in the petition were the unanimous voice of the people of Norwich, who were now tired of the system of imposture and delusion that had been so long successfully carried on by Ministers. The honourable gentleman would have acted with more candour if he had admitted this fact, instead of barely stating, that such were the sentiments of a majority of the inhabitants. The right honourable the Chancellor of the Exchequer had lately affirmed, that the great body of the people of the country were still in favour of the war. If he applied to his right honourable friend (Mr. Windham), he would at least find himself mistaken with regard to the people of Norwich, since the very persons who had proposed his petition, were those who had formerly supported the interests of that right honourable gentleman, and had now become desirous to extricate the country from the ruinous situation in which it had been involved by his pernicious councils.

The Speaker, on his return from the House of Lords, to which he had been summoned to attend his Majesty's Commission, stated that the royal assent had been given to the bill for the farther suspension of the Habeas Corpus.

The order of the day was read for committing a bill for the purpose of more effectually manning His Majesty's navy, by raising a certain number of men out of the counties. The House went into a Committee, in which the Chancellor of the Exchequer stated, that it was his intention to proceed in the same way with respect to this bill, as had yesterday been adopted with respect to the other bill for the same purpose.

Colonel MAITLAND objected that, from the short space within which it was proposed to take into consideration the report, Friday se'nnight having been fixed for the purpose, it would be impossible to obtain the necessary information from the most distant parts of Scotland.

Mr. Chancellor PITT replied, that with a view to obviate this

and other objections, a bill with separate provisions would be adopted for Scotland.

The bill went through the Committee, the report was immediately rece[illegible] and the bill ordered to be printed for the use of the Members.

Mr. Chancellor PITT said that, though he had proposed Friday se'nnight to take the report into consideration, he had no desire to press the discussion, except within that time the necessary information could be obtained, at the same time it must be obvious to every gentleman, of what consequence it was to proceed to carry into effect the object of the bill, without even the delay of a single hour.

Mr. GREY said, he understood that the bill would not be printed till Saturday; it would be impossible, within so short a time, to send into the country, in order to obtain information from their constituents, with respect to its different provisions. He therefore moved, that the bill should be taken into consideration on Monday se'nnight.

Mr. Chancellor PITT assented to the motion, and added, that he had lately received a suggestion which, if adopted, might tend to shorten the mode of procedure, though he was not yet qualified to decide on its effects—namely, by at once referring the means of raising the force from the counties to the petty sessions, instead of summoning, as had originally been proposed, a general sessions for the purpose.

Mr. HUSSEY moved, that there should be laid upon the table an account of all the grain, flour, malt, and bran, employed in the distilleries, &c.

Mr. SHERIDAN said that, upon a former occasion, he and another honourable gentleman had endeavoured to get some information of the services performed by the King of Prussia during the last campaign, in consequence of his engagements with this country. Some returns had lately been laid on the table on that subject, but these contained no information. It appeared that the King of Prussia had received from this country, the enormous sum of twelve hundred thousand pounds, without having rendered it even the smallest service. He thought it therefore necessary, previous to the discussion of the Imperial loan, to come to some resolution with respect to this conduct on the part of His Prussian Majesty. It was certainly no argument against granting a loan to the Emperor, that the King of Prussia had violated his faith. But this circumstance ought certainly to enforce on the House the necessity of caution, and induce them to take some step in the present instance, that might

operate as a warning, with respect to future transactions of the same sort. His Majesty had stated in his message that he had received from the Emperor, the strongest assurances of a disposition to make the greatest exertions, provided he should be assisted by a loan of four millions from this country. He understood, if he could rely upon the credit of public statements, that in another country, the Parliament had been told of the absolute determination of His Majesty to guarantee this loan. This was a language which he considered as very unbecoming, when addressed to the representatives of the nation, and as highly improper in Ministers, who were of course responsible for whatever proceeded from the Throne. Before such a determination had been expressed, he should have wished to have had something also like a positive determination from his Imperial Majesty to make the exertions which were to be the conditions of the loan. He should more particularly have wished for such a declaration from the Imperial Court, which had, at all times, been proverbially distinguished by ill faith. He recollected on this subject a strong expression of a right honourable gentleman (we suppose Mr. Windham), who had said that, since the capture of Richard I., the conduct of the court of Vienna had been marked by an uniform series of treachery towards this country. To guard against this treachery, he thought that nothing would be better, than for the House of Commons to show themselves alive to their duty on the present occasion. There were some men who, though insensible to the calls of honour, were yet not callous to the sense of shame. Some men of that description might be found among the Ministers of Austria. It might therefore be of importance, by way of warning to them, to come to some resolution expressive of indignation and contempt, with respect to the violation of faith on the part of his Prussian Majesty. Mr. Sheridan here referred to that article of the treaty, in which it was stipulated that 60,000 Prussians should co-operate with the British troops, and that a commissioner should be appointed for the purpose of watching over the observance of this article. From the scraps of letters laid upon the table, it appeared that no commissioner had been appointed for this purpose. This, he contended, would not have been the case, except Ministers had been aware that the King of Prussia, from the very first, was indisposed to perform his duty. He referred also to the memorial of the Emperor, which stated, that the effective co-operation of the Prussians might have been the means of saving Brabant, and, in consequence, of preserving Holland. Such were the effects stated by his Imperial Majesty to have resulted from the breach of faith in his Prussian Majesty. In his

answer to this memorial, addressed to the Circles of the Empire, that Monarch shews a degree of apprehension, that he should have even been supposed to have had the smallest disposition to keep faith towards this country, after he had once received its money. He should therefore conclude with moving this resolution—"That it appears to this House, that the King of Prussia received, from the treasury of Great Britain, the sum of 1,200,000l. in consequence of the stipulations of the treaty concluded at the Hague, on the 10th of April, 1794, and that it does not appear to this House, that the King of Prussia performed the stipulations of that treaty."

Mr. JEKYLL rose, he said, with particular pleasure to second the motion. On a former day, when he had risen to move for the papers mentioned by his honourable friend, he had been induced to hope that such papers would have been laid before the House as would have afforded some information on the subject. This, as had been justly observed by his honourable friend, had not been the case. A few miserable extracts of letters from Count Mollendorf, Count Kaunitz, Lord Malmsbury, and the Marquis Cornwallis, in which the Prussians were mentioned among a variety of other subjects, had been laid on the table. By the express words of the treaty, a commissioner was to have been appointed to remain with the Prussian army, to superintend their movements, and to ascertain whether the treaty was faithfully executed by his Prussian Majesty or not; whereas no such commissioner had ever been appointed. In reply to the argument that no commissioner had been appointed, Ministers might perhaps urge their reluctance to increase their own patronage by any new appointment, and that they had therefore instructed their resident at Berlin to discharge that duty. It was of importance, on the present occasion, to attend to dates. The last instalment to his Prussian Majesty, had been paid on the 4th of October; but long previous to that period, the Prussian troops had gone to the protection of his own dominions in Silesia, or to co-operate in the infamous project of the dismemberment of the unhappy country of Poland. Whatever might be the reason of Ministers for their pursuing the line of conduct they had done, he was very doubtful that the same conduct might be adopted by the Emperor after he had obtained this loan, as had been used by the King of Prussia, and for this reason, he cheerfully seconded the motion of his honourable friend.

Mr. Chancellor PITT adverted to the very whimsical notice which Mr. Sheridan had given on a former occasion, that he would take an opportunity to make a motion on the Prussian treaty with-

out any notice. He could fcarcely, however, guefs that this was the period at which he would have chofen to have brought it forward. He was glad, however, that he had made the motion, fince he gathered from it that the honourable gentlemen did not difapprove of entering into a ftipulation with the Emperor, fince he had profeffed the principal object of the motion which he had brought forward, was to hold out a warning to the Imperial Minifters. Undoubtedly, if this was really his object, he fhould think it much more confonant to the general fituation of Europe, and the particular circumftances of this country, than he had reafon to expect from that honourable gentleman. At the fame time he confidered it as rather fingular that he fhould bring forward that motion on a day that had been fet apart for taking into confideration the meffage of His Majefty, and, at the very moment at which the Houfe were proceeding to difcufs the propriety of adopting the meafure to which his motion had a reference. It would undoubtedly have been more confiftent if he had affigned the breach of faith of His Pruffian Majefty, as a reafon why the country fhould not enter into any engagements with the Emperor. As it at prefent ftood, he thought that the beft way to difpofe of it would be, to move the order of the day. He would take the liberty of remarking, that, after all the attention which the honourable gentleman had paid to the fubject, he had not quoted accurately the terms of the treaty when he had explained them, that the Pruffian force was to co operate immediately with the Britifh troops. The terms exprefsly were, that they were to co-operate in the moft effectual way for the common caufe, either jointly or feparately. At the fame time he was prepared to admit that the King of Pruffia had not adequately performed the engagements of the treaty, and that this country had juft caufe of diffatisfaction with his conduct. Yet, when he adverted to the effect which had been produced, even by his co-operation in retarding the progrefs of the French, he could not confider the pecuniary facrifice as too great, or regret the lofs of the fums which had been expended for that purpofe. But he could not poffibly fee what connection the difcuffion of the conduct of the King of Pruffia had with the prefent queftion, or how it ought to prevent us from forming other engagements that might appear ferviceable to the common caufe. He concluded with moving the order of the day.

Mr. FRANCIS faid, that he underftood from the right honourable gentleman, that the King of Pruffia had not adequately performed his engagements with the country.—He wifhed to know in what way he had fulfilled them at all? He could not but confider it as a very alarming circumftance, that Minifters fhould propofe to

pafs to the order of the day when a queftion was brought before the Houfe, What had been the conduct of a German Prince who had received a lage fum of money from this country, and at a moment when it was in agitation to give a much larger fum to another German Prince? The right honourable Chancellor of the Exchequer had argued, that no conclufion could be drawn from the violation of treaty of His Pruffian Majefty, with refpect to the conduct of another German Sovereign, on whofe faith no reliance could be placed, even ftill lefs than on that of the King of Pruffia. Were he obliged to decide in which of the two he fhould place confidence, he fhould be difpofed to give the preference to the latter.

Sir WILLIAM PULTENEY declared, that he could not fit ftill and fee gentlemen fo miftaken in their ftatements. He had paid particular attention to the fubject, and had formed his opinion from documents which he had reafon to know to be authentic. The right honourable Chancellor of the Exchequer had ftated, that the King of Pruffia had not adequately performed the engagements of his treaty. In anfwer to this, he had to remark that, fubfequent to that treaty, a very great change of circumftances had taken place; and, from a particular inveftigation of the bufinefs, he was firmly perfuaded that the King of Pruffia had rendered much more material fervice to the common caufe by the manner in which he had acted, than he could have done by the moft fcrupulous adherence to his original engagements.

Mr. WHITBREAD faid it was of great importance, before the Houfe agreed to fend money to one German defpot, to determine what had been done in return for the money fent to another. The right honourable gentleman had admitted that the laft had not adequately performed his engagements. The honourable gentleman who had juft fat down, had afferted that he had much more effectually ferved the common caufe than by the moft rigid adherence to the terms of the treaty. There was the moft convincing reafon to believe, that the views of the Emperor and of the King of Pruffia, were entirely fimilar; that they were both engaged in a common caufe, the deteftable project of fubjugating Poland. He intreated the Houfe to paufe before they agreed to fanction this laft defperate meafure. He ftated, as a moft alarming circumftance, that Minifters would ftand up in their place unabafhed by a fenfe of their erroneous and wretched policy, and unconvinced by the experience of the repeated calamities into which they had plunged this once powerful, refpected, and happy, but now enfeebled, difgraced, and miferable country.

Mr. FOX ſtated, that any doubt of the propriety of the diſcuſſion brought forward by his honourable friend (Mr. Sheridan) was now done away by the aſſertion of the honourable Baronet, to whoſe opinion he ſhould always pay reſpect, more particularly when he aſſured the Houſe that it was formed from authentic documents, that the King of Pruſſia had much more effectually ſerved the common cauſe, than if he had acted in ſtrict compliance with the terms of the treaty. It was of conſequence to diſcuſs whether Miniſters had ſo much miſtaken the intereſts of this country, that the only advantage ariſing from the treaty, was derived from the non compliance of the King of Pruſſia. It was more particularly neceſſary to diſcuſs this topic, as what had been held out might ſerve as an example to induce the Emperor to treat and ſtipulate, in order to obtain the money, and afterwards to conceive that he might moſt effectually ſerve the common cauſe, by not complying with the engagements into which he ſhould enter. He might conceive himſelf authoriſed to employ that money in his own way, and according to his own ideas of policy and prudence, not for Engliſh purpoſes, or in ſubſervience to Engliſh ideas. He might conceive, that perhaps the beſt way to deſtroy thoſe French principles, againſt which the war was carried on, was to apply the money which he ſhould receive from this country, to the diſmemberment of Poland. Such was the object aſſigned in all the memorials of the Empreſs of Ruſſia, for her conduct to that unhappy country. And if there ſtill remained in it one ſmall ſpark of liberty, one latent principle of patriotiſm, and he was well perſuaded that there did, for he knew of how little avail pikes, guns, and ſwords, and all the engines of deſpotiſm were, to ſubdue the unconquerable flame of freedom—the ardent glow of patriotiſm—he might think that Engliſh money could be no way ſo well applied as to extinguiſh the laſt remaining embers of theſe virtuous and noble ſentiments. This opinion of the honourable Baronet deſerved to be diſcuſſed in another point of view. If the King of Pruſſia, by declining to comply with our ſtipulations, if by following his own judgement, he had acted beſt for the common cauſe, it was not merely proper that we ſhould vindicate his conduct from ſtigma, but that we ſhould vote him ſome extraordinary motion of thanks. We had ſtipulated with him to furniſh men, money, and artillery. He had furniſhed what was of much more conſequence, wiſdom to Miniſters, and abilities for carrying on the war. But in oppoſition to the opinion of the honourable Baronet, the right honourable Chancellor of the Exchequer had admitted, that the King of Pruſſia had not done all that might have been expected. If this was the caſe, it was fit that the Houſe ſhould declare it to their con-

ſtituents; it was fit that they ſhould ſay, "We have given your money, as we thought, wiſely; the event has proved to be otherwiſe, and we have only to regret that no adequate ſervices have been afforded in return." It would then only remain to inquire, previous to any diſcuſſion of the order of the day, whether, at the period of forming the treaty, it was poſſible to foreſee the failure which had ſince taken place, and whether, if the ſervices afforded had been inadequate, nothing better could have been done by his Pruſſian Majeſty?

Mr. SHERIDAN adverted to Mr. Chancellor Pitt's having complained of the time at which he had brought forward his motion; from the ſort of notice which he had formerly given, the right honourable gentleman might naturally have expected that this was the very day which he would have choſen for that purpoſe. An honourable Baronet had ſtated that he had made up his opinion from extenſive materials. What was the ſituation of the country when Miniſters refuſed to give the information to that Houſe, which they had communicated to an individual? They ſurely had a right to be informed how the King of Pruſſia had acted much better for the common cauſe, than if he had kept the terms of the treaty. However problematical the poſition might appear, there could be no doubt that there were two individuals, the worthy Baronet and his Pruſſian Majeſty, who exactly coincided in that ſentiment. He again quoted the authority of the Emperor, who ſtated that the Pruſſian troops might have been employed to great advantage in Brabant. He explained his former alluſion to the Pruſſian treaty with regard to the immediate co-operation of the Britiſh and Pruſſian troops, as exactly conformable to the ſpirit by which that treaty was dictated. The right honourable gentleman had ſaid, that he, by his motion, had pledged himſelf to vote for the Imperial loan.—No concluſion could poſſibly be more unfair. It would have been the moſt indecent and unparliamentary thing for him to give any opinion on that loan, before he had heard the arguments by which it was ſupported by the right honourable gentleman, and the ſecurity which its ſtipulations afforded to the country. But from the manner in which the Miniſter had conducted himſelf that day by reſorting to the order of the day, in order to get rid of the reſolution which he had moved, and refuſing to declare to the country the violation of faith on the part of the King of Pruſſia, a violation which they were themſelves compelled to admit, he pledged himſelf that this ſhould be the laſt loan to which he would give his aſſent.

Sir WILLIAM PULTENEY explained as to two points: that he had never aſſerted that he had derived his information from any

documents of Ministers, but from others which he had reason to believe equally authentic.

Mr. Chancellor PITT also explained.

General SMITH entered his protest against the conduct of the honourable gentleman, in bringing forward a motion without having given the Members notice to prepare themselves for the discussion. On this ground, he would vote for the order of the day. At the same time, he expressed his disapprobation of the conduct of the King of Prussia. He reminded the House, that when the motion was made to subsidize the 62,000 Prussian troops, he had expressed his regret that the situation of affairs was such, as to require so large a force for the protection of Flanders. If these troops had arrived at the period appointed, he was persuaded that things would not have been as they were at present.

Colonel MAITLAND replied to General Smith, and expressed his hope that Mr. Sheridan would take another opportunity to bring forward his motion.

Colonel CLINTON entered into a detail of the operations of the campaign; but in so low a tone of voice, that we were unable to follow him in the course of his argument.

General TARLETON said, that he did not know from what quarter the honourable Baronet had derived his information with respect to the conduct of the King of Prussia, whether from military documents, or from the conversation of military men. It was very easy, however, to refute what he had asserted, by a simple statement of facts. It was notorious that the most brilliant arrangements had been made for the opening of the last campaign. A confidential person had been sent from General Cobourg, and it was well authenticated that a principal part of the plan of Mack was founded upon the supposed co operation of the Prussian troops. If these troops had been brought up according to the stipulations of the treaty, the greatest advantages might have been derived to the common cause, which now had so materially suffered from their defection.

The question was then put on the motion of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, to pass to the order of the day;

Ayes, 128; Noes, 33. Majority, 95.

The order of the day being moved, for taking His Majesty's message into consideration, it was accordingly read.

Mr. Chancellor PITT said, that before moving the address in answer to His Majesty's message, he should call the attention of the House to the important circumstances in which it was brought forward. The message related to a negociation going on, not yet

finally adjusted. It was evident, therefore, that the communication would not have been made, except from peculiar circumstances, and the necessity of public business. It was obvious, that it would not be proper much longer to delay providing the supplies for the service of the year. If His Majesty should agree to guaranty the proposed loan to the Emperor, it was a subject intimately connected with the question of the supplies. It was proper, therefore, that the business should be known as early as possible, in order not to keep the public in suspense, with respect to the future situation of the country. He was extremely happy at the opportunity now afforded by His Majesty's message, to discuss the general principle of the measure which had already been collaterally adverted to in the course of the debates. It would be impossible to enter into the details of the measure till the negociation should be concluded. If the question was now to decide, whether it was proper for His Majesty to guarantee a loan for a particular force, there were three points to be considered. 1st, The utility of the co-operation of Austria. 2d, The security for the performance of the stipulations. And, 3d, Whether the risk of the loan itself was greater than the probable advantage to be derived from the measure? The first of these questions, the general policy of the measure, was the most material, and that which he should most fully discuss. Great as had been the prejudices attempted to be raised on the subject, he trusted to be able to refute them by the statement of a few simple points. These were, 1st, The impossibility of procuring peace in the present moment, which had been admitted by a great majority of that House. 2dly, The great and powerful exertions which had been recommended even by those who advised a negociation. We ought, thirdly, to consider the enemy with whom we had to contend; an enemy powerful in men and resources, and with whom this country had never so successfully combated, as when its maritime strength had been aided by the judicious application of a land force on the Continent, in order to weaken and divide the exertions of our opponents. If such was the character of those with whom we had to contend, persons, who had found a substitute for money, by resorting to resources, which he, however, contended could not be permanent, who had raised an immense land force by the aid of requisitions, and who had been able to make greater naval exertions than at any former period, it was necessary that we should oppose to them the same means which they employed against us. If he was asked, where was the money to combat their resources? Where was the land force to encounter their requisitions? Where was the navy to maintain its superiority on the sea? Such was the proud situation of

this happy iſland; all theſe were to be found in Great Britain.—If there was any deficiency, it was in the number of our land forces. It was neceſſary, therefore, that for theſe we ſhould look to ſome great Power on the Continent. And to whom could we look but to the Emperor? Both from the extenſive means which he poſſeſſed, from his local ſituation, from the military character of his ſubjects, and from his intereſt in the proſecution of the preſent conteſt, an intereſt which, as he would ſhew, was increaſed by the difficulties and diſaſters which he had already experienced. That nothing was to be hoped from treaty, was ſufficiently evinced by the dreadful example that had lately been exhibited, that there was no ſecurity even from a peace which promiſed to be concluded within a few weeks. If the road of conqueſt was found to be ſhorter than that of negociation; if we looked for a Power who was intereſted in the preſervation of the Italian States, and to defend thoſe provinces from the encroachments of the French, whoſe intereſt it was to defend Savoy, and preſerve Piedmont, the Emperor was that Power. If we wanted a Power who would defend Spain, or be a barrier to the French in the Low Countries; for all theſe objects the Houſe of Auſtria was concerned. The Emperor was that Power with whom we would naturally deſire an alliance, if thoſe objects were worthy our regard. Could this country ſubmit to a ſituation which, while it remained in the hands of France, deprived us of the ſources of our wealth, and precluded the intercourſe of our commerce?

But he did not merely reſt upon this argument, ariſing out of the general ſituation of Europe. It was an object of policy to increaſe our force when conſidered as acting upon our enemy in another mode. For what he was now to mention with reſpect to the ſituation of France, he had the admiſſions of perſons who could not be ſuſpected of giving an unfavourable ſtatement. He had the admiſſion of Tallien himſelf, corroborated by ſeveral other Commiſſioners and Members of the Convention, that the internal preſſure of France was ſuch, that it could not long be ſupported, unleſs the immenſe maſs of paper currency was reduced. There exiſted no way of diminiſhing this maſs, but by a diminution of their expences, and thoſe expences could not be leſſened, unleſs their forces were reduced. Since the time that this ſtatement was made, the preſſure upon the interior had increaſed ten-fold, and ever ſince the firſt day of this ſeſſion of Parliament, as far as we had regular accounts, things were declining to that point which muſt terminate in ruin. The queſtion then came to this, will you abandon this mode of diſtreſſing your enemy, a mode which, upon their own confeſſion, will have the moſt

fure operation? It was neceffary, therefore, that we fhould keep them up to the fame fcale of exertions which muft ultimately be fatal to their refources, and that by bringing into the field a force equal to any which they could poffibly fupply, counteract their profeffed object, to make peace with fome countries, in order that with a reduced eftablifhment they might more fuccefsfully carry on the war againft others. It was probable that the King of Pruffia would not come forward with the fame force as during the laft campaign. This ought to operate as a ground for double exertions on the part of this country. The queftion was whether we would be parties to their fcheme of policy, by allowing the Emperor to withdraw his force for the want of pecuniary affiftance, by thus affording frefh encouragement to the French in the profecution of the war, or accelerating a peace which muft in its iffue be fatal to Europe, and ruinous to this country; moft particularly againft England was their enmity directed. It was with the wifh to purfue the war againft this country with unabated rancour, that they defired peace with the other powers of the confederacy. This argument brought him to the third point, the prefervation of our naval fuperiority. There feemed an unanimous fentiment to pervade the whole Houfe, that our naval exertions fhould be limited by nothing fhort of our power of continuing them, but when the gentlemen on the oppofite fide oppofed this meafure, upon the principle of its cramping the navy, they oppofed it upon erroneous views of the fubject. The propofition on the contrary was attended with benefit to the navy. The queftion now did not lay between the navy and the Auftrian loan. It was not whether the naval intereft fhould be facrificed to the Auftrian loan; but it was, whether after all the exertions ufed for the increafe of the navy, they would not give fuch affiftance as would be attended with benefit to the common caufe, and even indirectly promote the intereft of the navy? There were two ways by which we maintained our fuperiority at fea: firft, by increafing our own marine to the utmoft extent of which we were capable, and then by purfuing fuch meafures as in their probable confequences would have tendency to weaken the naval ftrength of the enemy. If by means of affiftance granted to the Emperor, he brought into the field 200,000 men, the French could not pay that attention to their marine which otherwife they would; confequently their exertions would be diminifhed, and our fuperiority on the ocean would be much greater than if their attention was not withdrawn from their navy, and neceffarily directed to their military eftablifhment. Taking the queftion in both thefe points of view, it was highly beneficial. He would next examine what objections could be

brought against the measure; or such objections as he had heard urged in former conversations upon the subject. The first was, as to the reasonable assurances of the fulfilment of the stipulations of the treaty; and, secondly, the chance of the burden falling upon us ultimately, supposing the Emperor should fail in his payment of the loan. To the first point, a curious sort of argument had been introduced, which, if pushed to its extent, would end in the annihilation of all systems of alliance. It was argued, that the King of Prussia had broken his treaty, and, therefore, we should not enter into treaty with any other power. One gentleman, in the harsh language peculiar to him when he spoke of our allies, had said we were not to treat with one despot, when we had been deceived by a former: an argument that could not be admitted to the extent in which it had been urged, except we were to renounce all alliance, and expunge every treaty from the annals of nations. We could never enter into any treaty with any Monarch or Despot, for so the honourable gentleman had chose to call them, because we had met with one instance of breach of faith. To this the principle must go, unless it could be stated, that, because the King of Prussia had failed in the year 1794, therefore, the Emperor of Germany was not to be trusted in the year 1795; or that the difference of times made some difference as to the principle. He was glad, however, in some degree to find this principle abandoned, and the subject matter of enquiry now was, whether we had such reasonable grounds of assurance, as by wise and experienced statesmen, had before been thought sufficient to secure the performance of the conditions of a treaty. What, he asked, were the general grounds of alliance between nations? Confidence in their good faith, a sense of common interest, and an apparent sincere inclination to fulfil their engagements. On these grounds he proceeded to defend the sincerity of the Emperor. The faith of Austria had been attacked, and declared to be notoriously bad; but, in his opinion, the history of that country would shew her to be faithful to her engagements, except in a period of about two years, which had been remarked as a departure from her general conduct. But could we imagine, that we had no reliance upon the interest of the Emperor? He was under the pressing calls of interest and honour, to make respectable efforts of defence. Pride, honour, and interest, all stimulated him to the most effectual means of exerting himself with effect. Could we suppose, that he would remain content to see the French in possession of the Low Countries? Would he tamely view their encroachments in Germany, or quietly remain a spectator of their conquests in Italy?

Was their preponderance in the ſcale of Europe, a matter of no concern to him?

As far as depended upon the diſpoſition of the Emperor, he thought much of that was manifeſted by the circumſtance of his having now applied to borrow money at a large rate of intereſt, after, exhauſting and burdening himſelf with the expences of three campaigns, had we not reaſon to ſuppoſe he was perfectly inclined to co-operate with us, when, after the events which had recently happened, he was not diſcouraged, but joined with us in the defence of Holland and the Rhine, by which the progreſs of the French had been retarded? It was not by this loan ſeparately, that the Emperor could make thoſe exertions, at this moment, he was employing every means to raiſe, upon his own dominions, taxes to be directed to the ſervice of the war, and making the greateſt exertions in calling upon his ſubjects to come forward with their contributions, in aid of the pecuniary aſſiſtance which he might receive from this country. With reſpect to the queſtion of ſecurity, was the ſum of ſix millions to be allowed to come in competition with the acquiſition of the whole Auſtrian force? If we compared the ſum with the number of troops to be employed, we ſhould find that it was purchaſing their aſſiſtance very reaſonably. Though this loan was not adequate by itſelf to bear the expences of ſuch a number of troops, yet, if it was granted, the reſources of Auſtria which, without its aſſiſtance muſt remain inactive, would be brought into action; and there were ſtrong grounds to believe that the exertions of the Emperor, laſt campaign, had not been limited by inclination, but by defect of means. If the fact were even to be that the expence was ultimately to fall on this country, it would not be unwiſe nor impolitic, after having increaſed our own army and navy to the utmoſt, that we ſhould, by adding to the reſources of Auſtria, enable her to bring into action a formidable army, which otherwiſe would remain inactive. This loan was made in the face of the public, and ſolemnly and deliberately concluded in the eyes of all Europe. The conduct of Auſtria had never been ſuch as to infer that ſhe would, forgetting honour, juſtice, and policy, barefacedly break the conditions ſolemnly entered into. In her pecuniary engagements, ſhe was intereſted above all others, and a breach of faith in them would be attended with conſequences deſtructive to herſelf. She had ever been obliged to have recourſe to loans; and from her ſituation in Europe, it was improbable and impoſſible ſhe could always maintain it without, at ſome future day, again entering into a ſimilar tranſaction. With ſuch a neceſſity under her

view, could she give that fatal blow to her credit which she must give if she broke with this country? On these general grounds, he concluded she was unlikely to adopt such a conduct. The right honourable gentleman defended the propriety of continental connections, and observed that a right honourable gentleman opposite to him (Mr Fox), in his whole political career, had very strenuously defended the propriety of them also. He had accused other Ministers of leaving the country destitute of allies, and without those powerful connections on the continent, which were essentially beneficial to the interests of this country. Besides all these considerations, the treaty would contain stipulations, providing, that for every three hundred pounds advanced, an obligation upon the Bank of Vienna for four hundred would be transmitted to this country, and the privilege would also be secured, to sue the Emperor in his own hereditary territories, according to the established forms of the Courts of Justice. Was it likely that, with such privilege vested in us, the Emperor, in order to resist its operations, would, in the present situation of Europe, be induced to trample upon every form of law, and to defeat every principle of justice? If after all he was asked, if there was no risk, he was not prepared to make this assertion; but that the consideration of risk should be allowed in every instance to counteract every probable ground of hope, was a principle to which he could never assent, and that the advantage likely to result from the present measure was such as greatly to over balance any risk with which it might be attended, was the clearest proposition that had ever presented itself to his mind. He concluded with moving,

That an humble address be presented to His Majesty, to return His Majesty the thanks of this House for his most gracious message, and for his condescension and goodness in having been pleased to communicate to us the state of the negociation in which His Majesty has engaged with the Emperor.

To assure His Majesty, that, when His Majesty shall be enabled, according to his gracious intention, to lay before us the result of that negociation, and the arrangement relative to the temporary advances made by His Majesty in the latter part of the last campaign, we shall proceed to take the subject into our further consideration with the serious attention which it will deserve: that, in the mean time, we think it our duty to express to His Majesty the strong sense we entertain of the advantage which might be derived to the common cause from the vigorous co-operation of a powerful Austrian army in the next campaign, and to offer our humble opinion to His Majesty, that, if it should appear likely that that advantage may be effectually secured by enabling His Majesty to guaranty, under proper conditions, a loan to be raised by the Emperor, to such an amount as may be thought reasonable and proportioned to the extent of his efforts, the adoption of such a measure may be essentially conducive to the immediate interests of His Majesty's subjects at this

conjuncture, and to the great object of re-establishing, on a secure and permanent foundation, the peace and tranquillity of these kingdoms, of Europe.

Mr. FOX said that, after what had happened in that House to-night, he hoped he should not now be considered as exulting in the calamities of his country, if before he spoke upon this subject, he desired the House to advert to what he said in the course of the last session of Parliament. He begged of the House also not to suppose that he was now speaking the language of peevishness, and as he had been told on a former occasion he was doing, when he talked of the calamities of this country. He hoped the House would give him credit for what he said, that we were this day in a calamitous situation. This was what the House ought to feel when they were called upon to vote away, by millions at a time, the money of the people of this country. He hoped and trusted that the House would do him the justice he deserved, more he did not ask, which was to reflect that less than twelve months ago, at that unfortunate period when Parliament agreed on granting a subsidy to the King of Prussia, he called upon that House not to adopt such a measure; and he said, that large as the sum was which was then asked for that subsidy, the consequence would be, if it was granted, that applications would come from other quarters, and to a still larger amount Had not the event this day justified what he said? He laid no claim to applause for what he said on that occasion; there appeared to him no extraordinary sagacity required to make the prediction, as it was termed; it appeared to him to be the natural result of what was then going on. The Minister had commenced his speech upon the subject now before the House, with some general observations upon the policy of this country having certain continental alliances; he was ready to own, that in a view of general policy, it was prudent with regard to the interest of this country, and especially in opposition to France, that continental alliance for us was a general good rule, but like all good rules, it was subject to modification by circumstances; to be so bigoted in attachment to any rule as not to allow that circumstances might alter it, was the highest absurdity in politics. The Minister had expressed a great dislike to the practice of pushing arguments to extremes, and yet he himself had carried his arguments to extremes indeed. As to the good faith of the Emperor, Mr. Fox said, he never did put an argument to that extent, nor had he any necessity for doing so in making observations on the treaties into which this country had entered since the present war; he thought he could see a closer connection between Prussia and Austria, in the way of treaty

for ſubſidy from this country, than between Carthage and the Emperor. With regard to what the right honourable gentleman had ſaid to-night, he aſked the Houſe if they did not recollect that laſt year on the Pruſſian Treaty, it had been word for word repeated. This ſhewed us that the opinion of the Miniſter was never to be altered by events; and here he muſt advert a little to what the Miniſter had ſaid laſt year upon the ſubject of the Pruſſian treaty. He ſaid then a great deal upon the faith of the King of Pruſſia, his intereſt and his inclination; upon that occaſion, much was ſaid on the fame of the King of Pruſſia, and the ſecurity we had for his deſire for military glory; we all knew how the event happened upon the ſubject of that unfortunate treaty; and he confeſſed he believed that arguments which had been uſed then in favour of the King of Pruſſia, and thoſe which had been urged to-night in favour of the Emperor, were juſt as applicable to the one as to the other of theſe two Princes.

The Miniſter, in the beginning of his ſpeech, ſaid ſomething of the war; whatever he ſaid upon that ſubject excited curioſity. He had ſaid that the majority of the Houſe thought with him that peace was unattainable at preſent. Now that might be the opinion of the majority of the Houſe, but certain it was, that the right honourable gentleman himſelf had, a few nights ago, prevailed upon the Houſe to evade that very queſtion, by the amendment which he moved upon a motion made with a view of ſettling that very queſtion, and therefore it was rather too much to ſay in that Houſe what was the opinion of the majority. The next thing to be conſidered, was the Miniſter's obſervations on the ſpeech of Tallien in the National Convention of France. By the way, he did not think the Miniſter's information upon that ſubject was correct; but ſuppoſing it to be ſo, it amounted to nothing, for the whole of what was ſaid, in the way that Tallien was alledged to have ſaid it, was only the aſſertion of a man who might ſpeak upon a particular point any thing to anſwer a purpoſe which he had in view, when he was, as it was well known he was, oppoſed on that point, in that Convention, by Cambon. The evidence of two men, contending for power in the way they were contending, he did not conſider to be ſuch as that Houſe ought to rely on in the diſcuſſion of the important ſubject which was now before them: he therefore muſt intreat the Houſe to be cautious as to the credit they gave to any account of the decay of the reſources of the French; the reſources of the French might fall, but it was the great buſineſs of that Houſe to take care that the reſources of England ſhall not fall in contending with France; and would the right honourable gentleman ſay, that if this loan were entered into, and ſhould be eventually paid by

this country, it would be possible for us to carry on the war for many years to come? It was said that the money to be advanced for the loan could not be applied with advantage to the service of the navy.—Possibly not for this year, but could it not be kept in reserve for future years? We ought to look to the means of continuing the war for any number of years that might be necessary. It was said that with the whole six millions we could not add a ship or a man to our navy at present. This was a little difficult of proof, for he doubted very much whether the application of some of that money to the service of the navy might not be very efficacious even for the present year, in future years it certainly must. But let it be enquired whether the Minister's doctrine upon this point, although probably false with regard to our navy this year, was not strictly true with regard to the navy of France. Did the Minister himself believe that the naval exertions of France were in any degree cramped, although in future it was to be hoped they might, for want of pecuniary resources? Did he think that France would now have a greater naval force if she had no Continental armies to oppose the last campaign. The navy of France, notwithstanding all the exertions she had been obliged to make by land, was as great as her comparatively small commerce, and perhaps want of naval stores, (which she did not want because she could not pay for them) would permit, and there was no ground whatever to suppose but that in the course of the present year, it would be as great as money could make it. With respect to the general policy of employing foreign troops in this war, he could not help arguing, from experience, that little reliance was to be placed upon them. The right honourable gentleman knew how much of the money of this country had been already squandered for such aid, and every body knew what had been the conduct of our allies. It had been confessed that there were points in the conduct of the Austrians difficult to explain. He believed it not only difficult, but impossible to explain those points in any satisfactory manner. It was no wonder the Minister declined entering into a detail of conduct which involved every thing that was suspicious. But ought he not, before the House voted such an enormous sum of money, to give some account of the conduct of the Austrians before Tournay; ought he not to assign some reason for their precipitate evacuation of the Netherlands, and that too against every remonstrance of the commander in chief of the British forces? And afterwards, when the British army had been obliged to retreat, and by the apparent diminution of the French force, there seemed to be a favourable opportunity for acting offensively, ought he not to give some account of the surrender of the

captured fortreffes? Ought not a Britifh Houfe of Commons to have thefe things explained before they repofed this unlimited confidence in the Houfe of Auftria? In the latter part of the campaign, it was faid the Auftrians acted better. Poffibly they might, for then they began to be paid for their trouble; but was it not notorious that the Duke of York was left at only thirty miles diftance to judge of their intentions by fpeculations on their movements, as he might have done of the intentions of the enemy? Was not this recorded in the London Gazette; and did it not ftand as a proof that there was no amicable concert or co-operation between the Auftrian and the Britifh army? Were thefe points to be explained, or were they not: or was the Houfe to be fatisfied with being told that they were difficult? What was the cafe at Toulon? 5,000 Auftrian troops were to fail from Leghorn to reinforce the garrifon, but when thefe troops came to the place of embarkation, the commanding officer faid he had orders not to embark till he received farther directions from Vienna. When this was mentioned laft year, the Minifter faid it would be improper to enquire too minutely into the conduct of our allies—a very infufficient anfwer, as he then thought, and as it had fince proved. But were we not now to have fome explanation with refpect to the con-conduct of Auftria, when we were going to enter into new engagements? We were not to reafon, it was faid, on the prefent occafion, from our recent experience of the King of Pruffia's conduct. The defence of that conduct, as well as all hope of future aid from that quarter, was now given up. The King of Pruffia ftood with the Minifter now, as he long had ftood with the public, and long ought to have ftood in the opinion of that Houfe. It was now too clear to be denied, that his real object had been the partition of Poland; to aid him in the accomplifhment of which, he accepted of a fubfidy from this country. Might not this be the cafe with the Emperor, who had alfo views upon that devoted country? But the Houfe of Auftria, it feemed, muft be thought remarkable for confiftency and good faith.—Was it fo?—Read the two manifeftoes iffued by the Prince of Saxe Cobourg, in the cafe of Dumourier, and you will find nothing more iniquitous in all the reprobated conduct of the French. In the firft, he exhorts the French people to co-operate with that virtuous man, Dumourier, in the reftoration of limited Monarchy, with affurances of the moft difinterefted aid and protection on the part of the Emperor. Five days after, finding the virtuous Dumourier not followed by his army, as had been expected, he iffues a fecond manifefto, recalling all the promifes made in the firft. Find an inftance of greater perfidy

in the history of the world, perfidy not exceeded by the conduct of the King of Prussia with regard to Poland. This was the ally to whose faith implicit confidence was to be given, according to the right honourable gentleman who complained of putting extreme cases in argument. He was ready to say that he would trust neither Prussia nor Austria, while their councils were directed by the same persons. This prudence, the right honourable gentleman understood very well, when he was arguing on the affairs of France, for then he frequently talked of faith, and confidence, and security; and asked what faith could be reposed in Roberspierre or Cambon, or any of the men who directed the Government. He always insisted then on considering the character of the parties with whom we should have to treat, although only on the broad question of peace or war. Now he thought we ought to be more attentive to the character of those with whom we were to treat for alliance and co-operation in carrying on a war, than of those with whom we were to treat simply for peace, for nothing could be clearer than that less security was necessary for the purposes of making peace, than for making an alliance to carry on a war. The Minister was offended at the expression of *German Despots*, which he endeavoured to turn, as if it had been meant to term every Monarch a despot. He hoped, nay he knew and felt, that there was a Monarch who had nothing in common with any despot upon earth, but the name of King. His honourable friend, who made use of the expression, had stiled these Monarchs properly, for they had manifested to the world that their uniform intention was to make the increase of their power the rule of their conduct. He called the King of Prussia a despot, meaning always the character of his councils, on various grounds. He called him a despot on account of his treatment of that brave and meritorious man, La Fayette, whom, contrary to every rule of civilized nations, he had most shamefully and cruelly imprisoned. What was La Fayette's situation now? When the Prussian cabinet thought that they ought not to bear the whole of the odium, he and his companions in misfortune were transferred to Austrian prisons. What applications had been made in their behalf he knew not; but if report said true, the cabinet of Vienna, unable to avow what they did in the face of the world, added to the infamy of their conduct by the falsehood and cruelty of denying that they were their prisoners. He hoped and trusted that the conduct of these despots of Germany towards these men, would make a deep impression upon a British House of Commons, and never be mentioned but with abhorrence.

The Minister said that the Emperor had various motives for maintaining the credit of his finances by good faith, of which he gave several instances, speaking, as he this night was, as Chancellor of the Exchequer for the Emperor, in which character he knew it was essential to deny his despotism, for the finance and the power of a Despot, with respect to public credit, always run in an inverse ratio. With respect to his interest in the war as an independent Prince, he never could discover it, and with respect to his interest as head of the Germanic body, was what they had all read in every newspaper, true or not. In concert with other members of the Diet he had agreed, that while preparations were making for another campaign, serious endeavours should be made to open a negociation for peace. Such was, in substance, the resolution adopted on the proposition of the Elector of Mentz. Let it be supposed that the Empire having done what we refused to do, viz. declared a readiness to negociate with the French Republic, should conclude a peace; upon what side of France was the Emperor, as Duke of Austria, to make his attack? If the empire were at peace with France, would it be the interest of the Emperor, or would it be in his power, to fulfil his engagement with us for continuing the war? We were now in a peculiar stage of the business, and it became us to consider our situation very attentively. Four millions were to be given to the Emperor, for which he was to furnish 200,000 men, and perhaps two millions more for a proportionate addition of men. Now should it not be inquired, should not the House be satisfied that this was in the Emperor's power. He knew many well-informed men who doubted it exceedingly. He believed the Emperor had it not in his power; but he was sure the House ought to know that he had both the power and the inclination, before granting such a sum of money. He now came to the Emperor's resources, and his ability to pay the interest, which the Minister said might be safely depended upon. To this the answer was short—If the right honourable gentleman were a better arguer—if every thing he had said were true—if even the Emperor had still greater resources, he would find it difficult to persuade those who seldom judged amiss w'ere their own interest was concerned, viz. those who had money to lend, men who were better judges of the solvency of a borrower than any Minister could be. These were the men the Minister should have convinced of the stability and wealth of the bank of Vienna. Had he done so? By no means. The Emperor had already tried them upon better terms than were held out by the present loan, and completely failed. He would say, completely failed; if not, let the experiment be tried again. It signified nothing to make panegyrics in that House

upon the good faith and honour of the Emperor, and upon the solvency of the bank of Vienna. Let the Minister go into the city and hear the opinion of monied men. The answer it was easy to guess. It reminded him of what he had said the other day on the verdict of a jury: "The verdict is *not guilty*, and that satisfies me of the innocence of the accused." The answer of monied men to the Emperor would be, "I will not lend you my money upon your own security." This would satisfy him of the insolvency of the Emperor. Now let it be inquired what we must actually lose, even in the event of the Emperor fulfilling his engagement. He offered a high rate of interest upon his own security. We enabled him by the proposed loan to borrow at a lower rate, and as money and credit were both marketable, we lost precisely the difference. The right honourable gentleman seemed to doubt this, but it would easily be illustrated. Suppose he had a ship of the value of 10,000l. which was to sail to the West Indies without convoy. Suppose it to be taken, what would be the exact loss? Ask the insurance broker the value of the insurance, and that would be the amount of the loss. This loan was more objectionable even than a subsidy. Subsidies in general were paid by monthly instalments, and if the services stipulated for, were not performed, we could stop farther payments, as in the case of the King of Prussia. But could we do so here? By no means, for if the Emperor should fail at any time to fulfil his engagement, we should still be obliged to pay the whole amount of the loan. If he should fail to pay the interest, we should have to raise 450,000l. a year to make it good, while for the same sum we could borrow ten millions on our own account. What security had we that the Emperor would be able to fulfil his engagements? We all knew that his subjects, as well as those of the King of Prussia, were unanimous in their wish for peace. Should he listen to them, and withdraw entirely from the contest, could we withdraw from the payment of the loan? No, the credit of this country would be pledged for the whole sum, and it might be impossible for us to recover a shilling of it. The Minister had said much on the revenue of the Emperor. He wished he had stated the particulars and the surplus after defraying the charges upon it. The Austrian Netherlands were the security offered for the former loan, but they were now gone. Did the Minister himself really believe the state of the Emperor's revenue to be such as to enable him to pay? If he was not able, we might pronounce as many panegyrics on his honour as we pleased, but after all we must pay for him. He instanced the case of the Silesian loan, where the late King of Prussia refused to make good the engagement to private lenders. If that

Monarch, for Despot he must not be called, could find a pretext for refusing to pay private individuals, with how much more ease might a pretext be found between two nations? The situation of the country was indeed calamitous, but not so calamitous as it must soon become if this measure were adopted. This loan was to enable the Emperor to continue the war only for twelve months. Would the Minister say that this war would be terminated within that period, or that if it continued longer the Emperor must not come every year for a like or a larger supply? We should remember the finances of the King of Spain; he might, and probably would, come for our assistance if peace was not soon agreed upon between him and the French. This was not, as he had been told on a former occasion, the language of peevishness and passion; what he had already said had been verified by the event, and what he was now saying he had too much reason to apprehend would be verified in the same manner. Was the right honourable gentleman confident that the war would terminate with the next campaign? And was he sure that this war, which we had undertaken for the sake of order, morality, and religion; and with the concurrence and for the safety of all Europe, would not at last fall entirely upon us; that we shall have to pay all the expence of it on the part of Vienna, Sardinia, Naples, Spain, and ourselves! That we shall have, in short, to pay for the armies almost of the whole world? He might be told if we did not do this, what should we do? He would answer, add this money to our naval strength, and depend upon our own exertions instead of depending on treacherous allies, for then we might be able even yet to sustain six or seven more campaigns, but by the present system that would be impossible. The conduct of Ministers was highly censurable for their want of caution in this war. He was of opinion, that the Dutch were not cordially with us in this war and the event had justified the opinion. How stood the case with respect to the other powers; were the subjects of the different states attached to this cause against the enemy? he feared that if we compared them together, we should find they were not. He had reason to know that the King of Prussia had actually refused to put his troops under the command of a British General, for fear they would revolt; he believed the same apprehension was entertained of the Austrians. He wished His Royal Highness the Duke of York took a chair in that House and gave them the information he was possessed of upon that subject, and he was afraid that the effect of that information would be, that we can have no rational hope of the co-operation of the Prussians and the Austrians in the next campaign. This being our situation, the question was, whether it was

prudent in us to go on with such enormous loans, or to trust to ourselves, to offer peace, but to prepare for war? He was sure he knew which was the wiser course, and it was not his fault if that House did not adopt it; and if we went on upon such measures as that which was now proposed, we should drive ourselves rapidly to ruin, for in point of extravagance and folly, this measure was never equalled at any period of its existence. The right honourable gentleman had stated that this loan was not to affect the supply of the year. So much the worse, for then the people would not now feel the effects of it, and it might come upon them on a sudden when they were unprepared for it, and the danger of that sort of delusive hope of security was one of the greatest evils that could happen to a people.—He thought, therefore, that if this business was to go on, the better way would be to provide for it at once, by raising taxes; then the people would see the real situation they were in, and would know what burdens they must bear; whereas, the other mode only tended to deceive for the present, in order to make their distress at a future day the more intolerable. There were many other objections which he had to this measure, but these he might perhaps submit at a future period. He then moved as an amendment, that all the words after the word "desire" should be left out of the Address.

Sir FRANCIS BARING said a few words against the loan.

Sir WILLIAM PULTENEY supported the address and the loan, as a very necessary and politic measure; the expence he considered as very inconsiderable, when the benefits that might ensue from so great a reinforcement of military strength would be gained on the Continent. Many gentlemen seemed to think that the only thing this country ought to attend to was her naval power; he, for one, was of a different opinion; he had as much reliance as any man could have upon the protection of our navy, but at the same time he believed that nothing could be of such essential consequence to us, or harass the enemy more, than a great army being kept upon the frontiers of France; and in so far he agreed with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that by a diversion of that sort, we would take much from the power of the enemy in their exertions at sea. If we thought of an invasion, which he was almost sure would happen, though he had not the least doubt, when it did, that it would be easily repelled, this was a plan that we should adopt, for the reason he had just given. If we looked to peace, he thought that we should certainly give this assistance to Austria, because France would be much more ready to treat for peace, when a formidable alliance was against them, than when the different Powers in Europe were entirely separated and unconnected in the common cause.

Mr. MAURICE ROBINSON spoke a few words against the loan, and wished the money to be applied to the service of the British navy.

Mr. W. SMITH said, that if the credit of the Emperor was so good, how came the offer in the city of seven and a half per cent. to be there rejected?

Mr. BRANDLING was against any loan or subsidy to foreign Powers, and thought our reliance ought to be on our navy, and that every attention should be paid to it. He thought also, in consequence of the enormous scale of our expenditure, that the French might be encouraged to hold out from the idea that our finances would be exhausted.

The question was loudly called for, and the House divided upon the amendment;

Noes, 173; Ayes, 58. Majority 115.

MINORITY on the Motion to address His Majesty on his Message relative to raising a Loan for the Emperor.

Aubrey, Sir John
Baring, Sir Francis
Bankes, Henry
Basset, Sir Francis
Bouverie, Hon. Edward
Bradyll, Wilson
Brandling, Charles
Browne, F. J.
Burch, J. R.
Burdon, R.
Buller, James
Byng, George
Church, J. B.
Coke, T. W.
Coke, Edward
Courtenay, John
Coxe, H. Hippesley
Crespigny, T. C.
East, Edward Hyde
Fletcher, Sir Henry
Ford, Sir F.
Fox, Right Hon. C. J.
Francis, Philip
Fitzpatrick, General
Grey, Charles
Harrison, John
Hill, Sir Richard
Howard, Henry
Hussey, William
Hare, James
Jekyll, Joseph
Lambton, William Henry
Langston, John
Leicester, Sir John
Lemon, Sir William
Ludlow, Earl
Maitland, Hon. Thomas
Martin, James
Milner, Sir William
Milbanke, Ralph
M'Leod, General N.
North, Dudley
Pierse, Henry
Plumer, William
Popham, Alexander
Powlett, Hon. Vere
Ridley, Sir M. W.
Robinson, M.
Russell, Lord William
Shaw, Cunliffe
Spencer, Lord Robert
Smith, General
Tarleton, General
Thompson, Thomas
Thorold, Sir John
Thomas, W.
Wynne, R. W.
Wyndham, Hon. P. C.

TELLERS.

Whitbread, Samuel, jun.
Smith, William

Total 60.

Friday, 6th February.

A petition was presented from the Mayor and Commonalty of the city of York, deploring the calamities of the war, deprecating the idea of our interference with the internal government of France, and praying that the Houfe might adopt fuch means as might tend to bring about a fpeedy and honourable peace.

Ordered to be laid on the table.

The Marine Mutiny bill was read a fecond time, and ordered to be committed.

Mr. Chancellor PITT gave notice, that on Wednefday, the 18th of this month, he fhould bring forward the confideration of the Supply, and the Ways and Means of the Year, generally underftood by opening the Budget.

Mr. WHITBREAD afked an honourable gentleman, who had been fo materially concerned in the fubject of the flave trade, when he intended to bring his propofition forward in that Houfe, upon that fubject?

Mr. WILBERFORCE faid, he intended to bring it forward this day fortnight.

Mr. THORNTON prefented a petition, of which the following is a copy:

To the Honourable the Houfe of Commons of Great Britain, in Parliament affembled.

The humble Petition of the Inhabitants of the Town and Borough of Southwark, convened by the public advertifement of the High Bailiff of the faid Borough,

Sheweth, That your petitioners fincerely and awfully affected by a due fenfe of the trying and momentous circumftances, under which they now appeal to the wifdom, and to the feelings of their Conftitutional reprefentatives, the Commons of Great Britain in Parliament affembled, find it their bounden duty, to give their opinion upon the prefent alarming ftate of public affairs, with all the franknefs and explicitnefs which the crifis demands.

And firft, your petitioners freely and zealoufly declare, their true and unfhaken attachment to the Monarch on the Throne, and to His Royal Family; and their firm determination to fupport the genuine principles of this moft excellent Conftitution, fhould any attempt from whatever quarter, whether foreign or domeftic, be made to fubvert it.

In revolving, however, the events of the prefent war with France, your petitioners with the deepeft concern have obferved, that the uniform bravery manifefted by the Britifh fleets and armies, has in no refpect advanced the prefumed object of the war, and now lefs than ever appears likely to attain it.

The confideration of the difafters and defeats which have lately attended the unfupported efforts of the Britifh arms on the Continent, is in the minds of your petitioners bitterly aggravated by the reflection that thofe

allies whose councils and resentments first engaged us in the contest, have wrung from the credulity and confidence of the generous and industrious people of Great Britain large sums of money, for which, in violation of all faith, no adequate service appears to have been performed or attempted.

In the events of a campaign so unparalleled in calamity, your petitioners, among other fatal consequences, perceive a large addition to the existing national debt, the speedy diminution of which has been long held forth to your petitioners and to the country as a measure indispensably necessary to the maintenance of the Constitution as well as to the credit of Great Britain.

Under the increasing pressure of such burdens, your petitioners are convinced, however highly they are disposed to estimate the fortitude and loyalty of all descriptions of their countrymen; and however readily they admit the temporary advantages, which both the general commerce and the public funds of this country may have derived from the terrors and calamities of other nations, that the consequences of persevering in the present destructive war, must tend rapidly to depress and ruin the occupations of useful labour and profitable industry, and ultimately to destroy the only true sources of the nation's power, our trade, our commerce, and our manufactures.

Under this impression, your petitioners are compelled to turn their thoughts most seriously and eagerly to the only real remedy for the evils they apprehend, PEACE: for in the tranquillity, the civilized intercourse, and the commercial prosperity of the surrounding nations of Europe, your petitioners conceive the commercial interests of Great Britain can only find their interest and support. In the pursuits of vengeance or ambition, in wars and camps, in desolation and bloodshed, even were the contest attended with temporary success, the result to a country circumstanced as this is, must be national bankruptcy and ultimate ruin.

On these grounds, your petitioners humbly but distinctly pray, that your honourable House, disclaiming every pretence of right, on the part of Great Britain, to create or correct a Government for France, and disregarding whatever is or may be the title or construction of that ruling power, which either does or may exist in that country, will earnestly adopt the most effectual means for recommending an immediate negociation for peace on terms consistent with the honour and security of the British Empire. And your petitioners farther assure your honourable House, that if, contrary to the hopes of your petitioners, motives of inordinate ambition, or of implacable resentment, however rashly and improvidently excited in the mind of the enemy, should render it impossible to obtain a termination of hostilities upon safe and honourable terms, your petitioners will be found among the readiest of His Majesty's loyal subjects to stand forward to the last means of exertion in defence of their country, or to perish with its fall.

And your petitioners will ever pray.

Ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. GREY began by observing, that the subject on which he once more thought it his duty to solicit the attention of the House, had already, in various shapes, and upon different occasions, employed the utmost powers of investigation, and had afforded opportunities for the most brilliant displays of genius.—At this time it had neither novelty to excite curiosity, nor charms to captivate the

imagination: yet, notwithstanding these circumstances, he was well convinced that it was still possessed of sufficient importance to arrest the judgment of every well-informed individual, and the frequency of its occurrence would, at the same time, he hoped, have the effect of producing temper in discussion, and wisdom in enquiries. At least, he now looked forward to the period of those vague and unsatisfactory declamations which had been uniformly indulged in the course of this calamitous war, and was prepared to expect an explicit avowal of the causes of our perseverance in this disastrous contest. This, at any rate, he was entitled to hope, from the admission of His Majesty's Ministers, who had now expressly avowed the specific grounds on which they were resolved to continue the war, and who had, in pursuance of this avowal, authorised the right honourable gentleman to move the amendment, by which he had evaded the former motion which he had made. As to the general propriety of these declarations, whatever opinion others might entertain as to them, he thought that the multiplication of them was both impolitic and absurd as to ourselves, as well as unsatisfactory and inconsistent, so far as regarded the people of France. But without entering into that enquiry at present, and admitting these declarations as a fair criterion by which to judge of the spirit and tendency of that conduct which Ministers had thought proper to pursue, it still remained to be asked, whether the amendment of the right honourable gentleman agreed with the spirit of these declarations, and whether he had, in his own conduct, deviated from it. Taking it, however, upon that amendment, and those declarations, he would ask, whether they were so plain in their nature, and so incapable of misconstruction, as to warrant the right honourable gentleman in asserting that the House had already come to a final resolution, as to the impossibility of negociating a peace with the existing Government of France.—But whatever might be the sentiments of that right honourable gentleman, he would still trust, that the House had not hitherto adopted such an opinion in the latitude in which it had been laid down, though he well knew that he should be referred to those declarations themselves, as furnishing the most indisputable tokens of the fairness of his intentions, and the uniform *bona fides* with which he had acted in the whole of the business. In addition to this, he might probably be told of the misrepresentations of the conduct of the right honourable gentleman, in which he and his friends were so generally accused of indulging themselves. However this latter circumstance might be urged, and with whatever degree of violence former topics of discussion might be revived, he still was resolved to bring the present question, in

order that, if possible, it might be speedily brought to a fair issue, and the country fully apprised of the specific object, for which they were shedding their blood, and exhausting their treasures. Important as, in this respect, the question would undoubtedly be regarded, he would beg leave to submit to the House, whether it would not be proper to enquire whether these declarations bore on their face, that the destruction of the existing Government of France was absolutely necessary, in order to restore this nation to the blessings of peace. In the extent of this proposition, he was confident the House would not support him; and therefore, if such appeared to be the meaning of those declarations, he was persuaded they would be thought nugatory. And, whatever might be the event of that part of his proposition, yet at any rate he should have the satisfaction of discovering whether the Ministry were really persuaded of the impossibility of negociating a peace with the existing rulers of France, and thus at last arrive at the real point, which he wished to ascertain, that without a change in the Governors of France, we must continue to wage a *bellum internecinum* till that event should take place. Even if this was the case, it was still requisite to be fair in the explicit avowal of these sentiments: the honour and happiness of the nation demanded it—justice to that enemy with whom we were engaged required it—and even the reputation of the right honourable gentleman himself most explicitly required it; for surely he must be dead to all consciousness, if he did not remember that the awful responsibility with which he was invested was hourly increasing, and that he must now, if ever he was willing to do so, avow and act upon opinions which would meet with universal approbation, or run the risque of involving this country in ruin by his own blind and wilful obstinacy.—Once more, therefore, he would put to the House, whether they thought the present Government of France was of such a nature as to preclude the possibility of a negociation? and whether they thought that the restoration of Monarchy in France was a *sine qua non*, without which a peace could not be effected? The right honourable gentleman, complaining of misrepresentation, in his usual way, had said, that it had never been his object to attempt to restore Monarchial Government to France; though how could he obviate this bar to the opinions he had expressed as to the possibility of a negociation, unless by retracting his former sentiments, and acceding to the possibility of a peace with the Republic? In support, however, of his amendment on a former night of debate, he had thought proper to refer to the various papers and public documents which had passed during the course of the present contest; but, in the first place, in the declaration to the

people of Toulon, he had only taken notice of the fourth paragraph in that paper, totally disregarding the preliminary declaration, in which an explicit avowal in favour of Monarchy was required, and likewise neglecting to refer to the terms under which Lord Hood had proffered the people of Toulon his assistance, in which the same avowal in favour of Monarchy was required, and the destruction of that Monarchy, with particular specified acts of aggression, were stated as the grounds of the present war, And how, after these repeated declarations, could it be urged that any misrepresentation had taken place, when he, and those with whom he acted, only relied upon the very words of those declarations, which ought either to be retracted, or the consequences must inevitably follow. When we next came to the King's Proclamation of the 29th October 1793, it would be found that in it would be discovered the same obstinate resolution, in refusing to treat with the present Government of France, and the same resolution to attempt every thing for its subversion. In the body of that declaration, His Majesty had expressly avowed, that he would suspend all hostilities against those who would declare their resolution to adopt a Monarchial form of Government, and rally under the standard of that hereditary Monarchy under which their country had flourished for ages. What, join the standard of the hereditary Monarchy, unmodified in its privileges, undefined in its prerogatives, and tyrannical in its exercise; and, after having thus restored the ancient despotism in all its unmitigated severity, then the French nation was to think of limiting that power which it had once more rendered uncontroulable, and polishing those fetters which once more had been riveted upon them. But even supposing the people of that country had once a predilection for Monarchy, and supposing that we were once of opinion that the restoration of that system was the favourite object of their pursuit, as well as the most effectual means of securing our own tranquillity, yet did not the events of the war now teach us, that to attempt any more to interfere with their internal Government would be madness? And thus, from every domestic declaration of our Cabinet, as well as from their present obstinacy, it would appear that the restoration of Monarchy was that on which they were resolutely bent, and that the destruction of the existing Government of France was deemed equally necessary. That this was the real statement of the case, would more strongly be evinced from the declarations of the King's Ministers at foreign Courts, on the subject of the present contest. In support of this observation, he begged leave to refer the House to the declarations of Lord Robert Fitzgerald to the Cantons of Switzerland; to those of Lord Hervey, at the Court of Turin;

and, lastly, to the memorial of my Lord Auckland, at the Hague, to the States General. The latter, most particularly, was not a mere matter of speculation, founded on the wavering ideas of an unconnected individual, but had been confirmed by the sanction and authority of the House, of which that noble Lord was a Member. And in that memorial it had been expressly said, that the Convention could be considered in no other light than as a gang of regicides, with whom it was impossible to conclude any treaty of amity, or preserve the common intercourse of political society.—Thus, upon the whole, whether it was our business to regard these declarations as from our own Ministers at home, or from those of His Majesty's Ministers abroad, it would still appear to be generally understood that the Government of France must at all events be changed, and the restoration of some species of Monarchy take place; such being the result of all former declarations, what was the amendment made by the Minister? It confirmed every declaration that had been made previously to it. An argument had been used, that though the Government might not refuse to negociate with a Republic, yet with the present Government of France they would not negociate—Was that intended to be the declaration of the House? Upon this statement he would not go again into arguments on the prospect of success; for he did not believe that, out of a very small circle, there existed a man who entertained the smallest hope of effecting such a change in the French Government by the war, as to enable the Government to enter into a negociation, notwithstanding the sanguine predictions and rash assertions of the right honourable gentleman.

In order, however, to support his opinions, the right honourable gentleman had recourse to partial and mutilated accounts of the debates of the Convention, and, from the weak and violent speeches of certain members of that body, he wished to infer that there was such a degree of debility in the resources of France, that we had the hopes of continuing the war with the fairest prospect of ultimate success. But against all these hypothetical reasonings, there was to be opposed the uniform experience of all the events which had taken place in the course of the war, and yet these arguments were still continued to be enforced with a weight of experimental evidence against them, which must make every well-informed man at once surprised and disgusted at the repetition. In the course of the former debates upon that subject, he had cited the instance of America, in order to shew that those violent measures, the necessary consequence of a Revolutionary Government, were by no means incompatible with the future prosperity and peace of a rising State.

During the war with America, as well as in the war with France, a law of *maximum* was introduced, paper credit was first introduced, and the most violent measures used to prevent its depreciation; and yet America, notwithstanding all obstacles, had obtained her independence, and had risen in glory, honour, and affluence. Here, however, he might perhaps be reminded of the very different natures of the French and American contests, and of that essential distinction which must ever be made between genuine freedom and a wicked and ungovernable licentiousness. But this distinction, though in many respects it might be admitted to be just, yet it would hardly serve the purpose for which it was made. The French, whatever their excesses might be—(and in condemning the numerous acts of atrocity of which they had been guilty, no one could be more sincere or earnest than himself)—the French, he contended, were still animated with vigour in what they imagined to be the cause of freedom; and while their armies were actuated by the enthusiasm which that principle inspired, all attempts at subduing them must be vain and impracticable. Two years ago, their resources were said to be in a state of rapid decline; and from that decline their speedy extinction was confidently prognosticated. Such were the reasonings by which last year the House had been persuaded into a belief of the prospect of the speedy termination of the contest; and the opening of the campaign, it was said, would soon realize the splendid anticipation of success with which we had been dazzled. How, in point of fact, had it turned out? We were witnesses to exertions, which the right honourable gentleman had admitted to be unprecedented, from this exhausted country, and which had rendered it the terror and admiration of every enemy; and thus, if we went on to estimate their decay from their exertions, we might find them in the complete enjoyment of victory, while our Minister was assuring us they were on the verge of desperation. Supposing for a moment that the people of France were to argue that a famine was apprehended to be fast approaching in England, from an account of the proceedings of the Lord Mayor on the price of bread, that the resources of the country were nearly exhausted; and that the navy of England could not be manned without very extraordinary measures, and indeed the plan which the right honourable gentleman had proposed for that purpose, resembled that of putting a certain number of men in requisition? What, he would ask, would the right honourable gentleman say, if it was concluded in France, from these proceedings of ours, that we were on the verge of ruin? Most unquestionably, he would treat such conclusions with contempt. His own conclusions on the state of France, from the evi-

dence he had given, were in the same predicament. How, then, could we expect success in contending with the French from the idea of their resources being nearly exhausted? Had we any hope of succeeding by force? or had we any hope from the divisions among themselves? What had been the consequence of the success of the combined armies? While Dumourier was successful, Paris was in confusion, and became subject to the dominion of the Brissotine faction. When the combined army was successful, the Brissotine faction was destroyed, and succeeded by the tyranny of Roberspierre. In short, if we reviewed the whole war from its commencement to the present time, we should find that the only effect of the success of the allies was to unite the French to their executive Government. They divided amongst themselves only when their own armies were successful. What, therefore, became of our hopes of dividing the French against each other, when our defeats contributed more to that than our victories. But it was said, we should not think of treating with France for peace, because we could have no security. He hardly knew how to argue that point. Security for peace he was afraid we could not have from any power in Europe. The security of peace was founded chiefly on the interest of the parties. Could we have had better security from Louis XIV., who, although a Monarch, was not less the enemy of this country than the present Republic of France? What security could we have had for peace from Louis XVI. were he living, or even from Louis XVII. were he now upon the throne? None but such as was founded upon their interest, and that interest, according to the point of view in which the subject might appear to them. Not so exactly the case with regard to the French Republic; for they were bound to give way to popular opinion; and if honourable terms were offered to them, the popular opinion would naturally be in favour of such terms.—Therefore, if the question of security must be considered, we had a better prospect of it from a Republic, than from a despotic Monarch. Possibly, he might be told there was an instance of the uncertainty of the security he had been mentioning in the case of America and France. He admitted, that M. Genet had conducted himself improperly in America, and was recalled. That virtuous and able man, General Washington, had by his wisdom preserved the peace of his country. He made complaints, and was attended to in the manner which such a character deserved. But as to Ministers exceeding their instructions, that was not new; there were several instances of such conduct in other countries.—With regard to what the Minister had said on the danger of introducing French principles into this country, he would ask him, if he

really thought, that to burden the people, was the way to make them more contented with their fituation, and confequently to make lefs likely that any dangerous principles might find their way amongft them? Or did he really think, that while the people of this country were permitted to continue in a ftate of profperity, that they would be ready to plunge themfelves into confufion and diftrefs? Upon thefe confiderations, he thought himfelf entitled to call upon that Houfe to remove every thing that appeared to be a bar againft the poffibility of opening a negociation for peace. This bar exifted in the different declarations to which he had already alluded. But then the Minifter would afk, what difpofition did the French fhew to make peace with us? He would fay, that the French had declared they would make peace with fome powers, in order to carry on the war more vigoroufly againft others. From which the right honourable gentleman endeavoured to conclude that they had no difpofition of peace towards us. Now, from thefe premifes he drew a contrary conclufion; and he would fay, that the fair conftruction to be put upon that declaration was, that the French wifhed for peace generally, and that they would make peace with all thofe who were willing to make peace with them. The intemperate expreffions which fome of the Members of the National Convention had made ufe of when fpeaking againft this country, had been, he feared, too much occafioned by very indifcreet expreffions in that Houfe. Had it not often been faid that there muft be a determination in this country to carry on againft the French, a war *ad internecionem?* What were they to think of fuch determination? It was, therefore, not at all wonderful that many of the Members of the National Convention fhould be much irritated, and fhould have made ufe of very exceptionable language, as well as fome Members in that Houfe. What really was the difpofition of the French with regard to peace muft be matter of opinion and conjecture; but were he to be afked his, the anfwer would be, that he believed the French would not at this moment be averfe to negociation. Perhaps he was deceived in this; but he could not be convinced of his error, until the experiment had been tried. But how tried? Surely not by humiliation, but by a fair and equitable offer to negociate, upon honourable terms. If this were tried unfuccefsfully, nothing farther could be faid upon the fubject; we muft proceed in the war with the utmoft vigour. All he wanted, by what he fhould fubmit to the Houfe, was, to remove thofe injudicious declarations which taught all who knew of them to believe that it was the intention of the Minifter to carry on the war, for the purpofe of deftroying the Government of France. He wifhed to

pave the way for a negociation, by acknowledging the executive power of France; and surely it was no great concession to acknowledge the existence of a power which made all Europe tremble.— There was nothing degrading to us in making such an acknowledgement. They had not denied our competence to treat with them, and he saw no danger in acknowledging their competence to treat with us. But the right honourable gentleman would ask, Upon what terms would we make peace? This would be an unfair question. He had avoided mentioning any thing about terms; these he left to the Executive Government, a power which was justly possessed of the means of judging first upon that subject. He knew, that had he mentioned any thing of terms, he should be asked by that right honourable gentleman, if he would wish to state to his enemies the terms on which we would accept peace, before we knew any thing of their disposition, and whether he would wish to encourage the enemy to advance in its demand of terms, by our readiness to propose concessions. He therefore avoided every thing upon that point. Indeed, he knew that the very nature of the circumstances of war, might, within an hour, alter the complexion of that case. All that he asked of the House was, that they would consider seriously, and conscientiously, whether they were prepared to countenance the Minister in his perseverance in a war, carried on for the avowed purpose of changing the Government of France— It was not necessary for him to say, to restore the old Government of France. But let the House consider, whether they would answer to their consciences and to their country, for supporting a war upon such a principle. He had said he believed that the people of this country were almost unanimous in their desire for a negociation; he would now repeat that opinion, and add, that he believed that the people of this country were almost unanimous in a wish that an honourable peace should be concluded between this country and France. The right honourable gentleman expressed himself as if he still thought that the people of this country were eager to carry on the war, and that too upon his principle. But a right honourable friend of his (Mr. Windham) lamented that the people never had been sufficiently eager for this war. Now, upon this subject, he could only say, that in all popular meetings where petitions had been discussed, and there were already a considerable number, the resolution for peace had been carried in them by a great majority. Something like counter-petitions had been attempted; but they had been all obtained on the principle of asking for peace in a way more likely to be successful than the others. If this was not so, let the right honourable gentleman shew him one petition that did not ex-

presſly aſk for peace. Having diſclaimed all ideas of diſcouraging the people of this country, by bringing this ſubject forward again, and inſiſting on the neceſſity of the Houſe coming to an explicit declaration, whether or not this war was to be continued for the purpoſe of deſtroying the Government of France, and alſo on the neceſſity of the Public being properly informed on that point, he concluded with moving the following reſolution:

Reſolved, That this Houſe conſidering that in the ſupport which it has given to His Majeſty in the proſecution of the preſent war, it has at no time had any other object, but to reſtore to theſe kingdoms the bleſſings of an equitable peace. That with a view to accompliſh this humane and deſirable end, every formal difficulty which may ſtand in the way of a pacific negociation with the Powers with which we are at war, ought, in the firſt inſtance, to be removed; and that without ſome acknowledgement of the exiſtence of a competent Power in France with which His Majeſty may negociate, and conclude a treaty of peace on juſt and reaſonable terms for both parties, there can be no termination of the preſent war, but in the deſtruction of one of them.

Conſidering farther, that the exiſtence of ſuch a competent Power in France has been directly acknowledged by ſeveral of the Powers of Europe, as well as by the United States of America, with all of whom, during the preſent war, France has maintained the accuſtomed relation of peace and amity:

And conſidering alſo the exiſtence of ſuch a competent Power in France has been, in various inſtances, virtually admitted even by the Belligerent Powers themſelves, ſome of whom have entered into public reſolutions to make overtures for peace, is of opinion that the Government now exiſting in France is competent to entertain and conclude a negociation for peace with Great Britain.

Mr. Secretary DUNDAS ſaid, that, when this ſuject was laſt before the Houſe, he had expreſſed his doubts on the propriety of making ſuch declarations on the part of this country as were then called for. He would now ſay, that he remained ſo much of the ſame opinion, that he was certain no poſſible good, but on the other hand, much miſchief muſt ariſe from declarations of any ſort, and more eſpecially of that ſort which the honourable gentleman's motion of this day ſeemed to hold out. He ſaid he conceived it to be a principle of the Conſtitution of England, that neither the Houſe of Commons, nor any other body, had a right to interfere with, or dictate to, the Executive power in any matter or thing which the Conſtitution had expresſly entruſted to that Executive Power. If the Houſe of Commons, or if the people ſhould, at any time, be of opinion that the ſervants of the Crown, or Executive Power, had forfeited all title to their confidence, then either or both of theſe bodies, had a very plain and ſimple mode of procedure only to adopt, which was that of addreſſing His Majeſty to remove thoſe ſervants from his councils in order to obtain that re-

dress which they might think the nature and situation of their case required. The honourable gentleman who brought forward the motion, against the adoption of which he was now about to argue, had, in his opinion, by so doing, improperly interfered with the Executive Power, inasmuch as this motion went to bind the Executive Power to a precise period of time in which it was thought necessary to enter into a negociation for peace, a point which belonged to the Executive alone. It was true it did not expressly say that the Ministers of the Crown should instantly negociate a peace; but it conveyed a sentiment very nearly approaching to it; for it said that the present Government of France, as it now exists, was no impediment to entering into a negociation. For his part, the right honourable gentleman said, he was of a contrary opinion, and in that opinion he had no doubt he should be supported by a very great majority of that House. He by no means complained of the honourable gentleman for bringing forward this motion, he had, in direct and manly terms, avowed that he had not the smallest confidence in the present servants of His Majesty, and that he thought them incapable of carrying on the war with due and proper effect. The honourable gentleman had an undoubted right to form such an opinion, and an equal right to avow it, but it was not to this description of men that he meant now to address what he had to say; it was to persons of a very different description, a very great majority of that House, who had, from the very commencement of the war to the present hour, placed the utmost confidence in His Majesty's Ministers, and who had, very lately indeed, assured His Majesty that they would use every exertion in their power to enable His Majesty to prosecute the war with additional energy and vigour. His right honourable friend's amendment last night certainly declared that it would not be proper or expedient to make peace with France, until there existed in that country such a Government as might ensure security and steadiness in any treaty which we might enter into with them. But excepting that desire which it expressed to have security and reliance upon the party to be treated with, there was nothing in that declaration that was against our treating with any particular form of Government; neither did it express a wish to dictate any Government to that country, or make any particular objection even to the present ruling party, farther than a wish, under all the circumstances, that it was a Government in a situation which could be depended upon to maintain any treaty of peace and amity that could be concluded between this country and that. Having said thus much, he would fairly put it to the House, whether any farther declaration, parti-

cularly such an one as the honourable gentleman now proposed, was either necessary, proper, politic, or wise? He would ask those who had voted for the amendment on the night before, if they could think it right? their answer, he was sure, would be "certainly not." He therefore trusted, that all those who had not withdrawn, and saw no reason to withdraw, their confidence from the Executive Government, must be satisfied that his right honourable friend's amendment went far enough, and that all other declarations were not only unnecessary, but wrong. He must allow, that much depended upon the object which the honourable gentleman had in bringing forward repeated motions of this sort. If he did not repose confidence in the present Ministers, this mode was certainly a fair one if he meant it as an engine for displacing them; to him, therefore, and those who took up this as a party question, he was not addressing himself now; he would address those who had agreed in his right honourable friend's amendment, who really wished that peace could be obtained, but never that it should be sued for, far less concluded, until it could be done with safety and honour to this country, as well as the general advantage of Europe. And be the Government of France what it may, he gave it as his decided opinion, that this country ought to come to no declaration wherein these were not the ultimate and only objects. The honourable gentleman had endeavoured to support the motion which he, this night, brought forward for the consideration and determination of the House, by quoting passages from the declaration of Lord Hood previous to the giving up of Toulon, by his subsequent declaration of the 29th of October 1793, and by the declaration of Lord Auckland at the Hague; but he said, the honourable gentleman had certainly misrepresented the meaning of these passages, and had drawn inferences from them which the language did not warrant. But why have recourse to those? They certainly were not the language of Ministers; neither had those who published them any instructions from Ministers so to do. Not that he condemned any thing that was in those papers, because he believed they were just what they ought to have been; but being dictated from the circumstances and emergency at the time, and with that discretion and ability which those noble Lords possessed, it was improper to ascribe to Ministers, as their language, the terms on which papers were expressed, which they never could have. The honourable gentleman had said, that not only the language of these declarations, but also from time to time, delivered by Ministers since the commencement of the war, held forth the sentiment that no peace could be entered into, or was intended to

be entered into by the present Minifters, unlefs a monarchial Government was reftored in France; nay, he had even gone fo far as to fay, unlefs the old defpotic monarchy of France was reftored. This he pofitively denied; and he defied the honourable gentleman to prove that Minifters had ever, either in written declarations or by word of mouth, expreffed fuch to be their fenfe and determination. As individuals, perhaps, they might have fpoken their own private opinions; he believed he had, for one, faid that he could wifh a monarchial form of Government to be received again in France; and he was fairly of opinion, that no fettled or fecure Government would ever prevail in that unhappy country until a monarchy was reftored of fome kind or other; but he never had mentioned the reftoration of the old defpotifm as his wifh, nor had he ever faid, and it was unfair to infer it of His Majefty's Minifters, that any of them, becaufe they might wifh for a particular form of Government, would therefore advife His Majefty not to make a peace till fuch a form fhould be eftablifhed. However, Mr. Dundas faid, had the declarations contained the language which the honourable gentleman contended they did, but which he denied, ftill it was not the language of Minifters. It could only be faid it was the language of Lord Hood and Lord Auckland. Lord Hood was fent out by Minifters without any particular inftructions; he acted according to his own difcretion, for what he thought beft for the interefts of his country—a conduct which had always eminently diftinguifhed the life of that noble Lord. As to Lord Auckland, he had expreffed himfelf as was very natural for a man to do in his fituation, with great warmth and zeal, he had almoft faid with indignation, againft the atrocities that were then committing in France. His Lordfhip had fpoken indignantly of the cruel and infamous conduct of the regicides, and he believed that at that precife period of time, almoft every man in Europe thought and fpoke as indignantly of thofe regicides, as Lord Auckland had done. Still, this was not the language of Minifters, but only of Lord Auckland and Lord Hood. But even admitting, for the fake of argument, that thefe declarations had all been fanctioned, or even drawn up by Minifters, he denied that the meaning of the language was fuch as was contended for by the honourable gentleman, and certainly did not hold forth the doctrine that no peace could be made with France till a monarchial Government was reftored. Of the honourable gentleman, and thofe who wifhed to negociate with the prefent Government of France, he would afk this queftion, Whether, from the time of the firft revolution of that country down to the prefent, there was any time at which they could not have nego-

ciated? He was sure there had been such times, and if the honourable gentleman would exercise his judgement as much as his eloquence, he would find that this was, of all others, the most unwise, impolitic, and impracticable time for such a negociation as that proposed. He recurred to his former argument against declarations of any sort, whatever Government existed in France; thought the House, by their former vote, had gone fully as far as they ought to do. The only thing which, in his mind, remained for them to do, was to decide on carrying on a vigorous war, as the surest means of effecting a secure and honourable peace; any attempt at negociation he considered as crippling the energy of the executive Government, and therefore not less dangerous than improper. It could do no possible good, and might eventually do much mischief. The responsibility of Ministers was a sufficient check upon their conduct; but that responsibility they would in some measure be relieved from, were the means of carrying on these plans to be taken out of their hands, and the conduct they must follow prescribed by others. A consideration of times and circumstances could not be separated whenever negociation became possible.—He considered the late acquisitions of the enemy as unfavourable in the highest degree to any attempt to negociate. He here adverted to the great strength of the French navy, which, he allowed, was greater than it ought to be, and greater than it had ever been in the best times of the Monarchy—and greater than he hoped it very soon would be. He adverted also to their being possessed of Brabant, Flanders, and Holland, as circumstances which ought to weigh greatly against a proposal for peace coming from this country at the present moment. He reminded the House that they had, in their address, assured His Majesty of their zeal and support in carrying on the war, and therefore he must think that motions brought on day after day, enticing them to make declarations perfectly inconsistent with their assurances to the Throne, ought not to be encouraged, besides, they tended to weaken and harass Government. If, instead of daily agitating these questions, gentlemen were displeased with the present Ministers, why did they not move a resolution of that House to put the management of the public affairs into other hands; if, however, the House had not withdrawn their confidence from the Executive Government, they would trust to that responsibility which was a sufficient inducement to Ministers to transact whatever business they were entrusted with in the manner which they conceived to be most for the good of their country. He averred that His Majesty's Ministers had already gone as far as they ought, by the amendment which had been

adopted on the honourable gentleman's motion a few nights ago, in which they had said, that no form of Government should prevent a negociation for peace, whenever it could be entered upon with a prospect of security, of amity, and good faith.—A vigorous prosecution of the war now, with the vast means and resources that this country possessed, was the best means of obtaining this security. The present motion, by depressing the spirits of the people at this time, would have a very bad effect, and therefore he found himself under the necessity of moving the previous question.

Sir EDWARD KNATCHBULL said, he rose for the express purpose of seconding the motion made by Mr. Dundas, as he was positive the Ministers had never used the language imputed to them. He regreted that he could not compliment the honourable gentleman on his present motion, as he had done on the former occasion, when he gave previous notice of the words of his motion. The honourable gentleman stated that the French were willing to negociate; but he really believed that they would listen to no negociation. He also stated that the English were unanimous in wishing for peace; they are unanimous for peace, but think a vigorous prosecution of the war the only means of obtaining it. They do not want the precarious peace mentioned by the honourable gentleman, but a peace likely to be permanent and secure. He contended, that if motions of this sort were brought forward, the consequence would be to produce nothing but interruption and disagreement, when affection and unanimity throughout the nation were so much wanted.

Lord HOOD feeling himself called on in a particular manner by what was stated with respect to Toulon, begged the attention of the House for a few minutes. His Lordship stated, that the people of Toulon and Marseilles, execrating their rulers, and wishing for the restoration of Monarchy, had applied to him for protection which, upon these conditions, he agreed to afford them, without any particular instructions or communications with Ministers at home. From a conscious sense of doing what he thought his duty to his country, and an essential service to the Toulonnese, he did take them under his protection; and as to the proclamation, it was entirely his own. Upon that, as well as every other subject, he had one general observation to make, that he would, on all occasions, act up to the best of his judgement for the benefit of his country, whenever called on so to do; nor would he ever shrink from responsibility for whatever he might so do, but take his fair chance of gaining that approbation which it had always been his study to merit.

Mr. WHITBREAD junior rose to support the motion, and to offer some observations upon what had fallen from the Secretary of State; and confessed that he rose under sensations of awe infinitely superior to those which always impressed him when addressing the House; because he felt that the decisive struggle was fast approaching, in which individuals were to use their last exertions as men, and in that momentous contest, he could not feel that an united nation was to be engaged. The House had been told from great authority, that a French faction existed in the kingdom; the Legislature had chastised the people by the temporary suspension of one of their dearest privileges. If that chastisement was deserved, the inference was fearful and obvious, if undeserved, the people were calumniated by their Government, and between the calumniated and the calumniators, no identity of interest or feeling could exist. The right honourable gentleman had, instead of meeting the question, endeavoured to prove that his honourable friend had not adopted the proper line of conduct, and had pointed out to him the motion which it would have been his duty to make; a motion for the removal of Ministers.

He confessed that he was not at all surprised at the choice of the right honourable gentleman. The motion he proposed, was one from which he could not apprehend any very fatal consequences to his own power, he had too good an opinion of his own influence, and that of his colleagues, in the House of Commons, to imagine that an address to the King, of that nature, would be carried; and even if it was carried, he could still have recourse to a measure in which part of the present Administration were not unpractised, to advise the King not to attend to the address of the Commons, and to retain his Ministers. The right honourable gentleman would have done better, in his opinion, to have met the proposition with a decided negative by his vote as well as his speech, and to have given the people of this country, as well as of France, a clear understanding of what the object was for which they were fighting. This, it was contended, had been done on a former night by the amendment moved by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, which was stated to be explicit upon the subject.

Whether this was the fact or not, he should leave to be settled by the mover and seconder of that amendment, the former of whom had declared it to be so totally opposed to the original motion of that night, that he should have no scruple to give that motion his direct negative, and the latter had declared it in his opinion so clearly to comprehend every thing proposed by the original motion, that he should have voted for it, had not that amendment been proposed

How far the nation might take that amendment for a genuine and plain exposition of the sentiments of the House of Commons, he would not pretend to determine; but he could not believe that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had meant that it should be understood, for when asked for an explanation of these ambiguous words, he had declined giving any commentary upon them, and left the words to speak for themselves. Under these circumstances, another motion had been brought forward by his honourable friend, not as had been falsely stated, in order to throw this country at the feet of France; not even purporting that an immediate negociation for peace ought to be attempted, but for the purpose of removing the insurmountable obstacle to negociation, which at present existed. The right honourable Secretary had expressed his disapprobation of motions of this nature in all wars, he must, however, be well aware, that this war was of a singular character In ordinary wars, a direct recognition of the Government against whom we were contending, was certainly superfluous, but in this instance, where the competency of the existing Government in France, to maintain the relations of amity had been expressly and repeatedly denied, some formal resolution of the nature of the one proposed, was an indispensable preliminary to peace. His honourable friend had, as it appeared to him, most successfully argued, that the original object of the war was the restoration of royalty in France. Ministers now affected to disclaim that doctrine, but in disclaiming it, the right honourable Secretary had delivered it as *his opinion* that the monarchical form of Government was the only one in France which could afford to us a reasonable ground of security in peace. It was true that, alarmed at the strength of his own expression, he had afterwards considerably softened it, and told the House that it was the best calculated for that purpose. But from every one of the public declarations of this country, it was manifest that the restoration of royalty was the object of the war, and more particularly from the public declarations made at Toulon. It had been asserted that Lord Hood had no instructions from Government on this head, and the noble Lord had himself, on that evening, confirmed the assertion. But he would ask whether if Lord Hood had received no positive instructions at least, he had not had some conversation with Ministers previous to his departure, by which he had regulated his conduct. [Lord Hood said across the House, No, No.] Mr. Whitbread said, he certainly should not dispute the fact with the noble Lord, but that he could not help remarking upon it, as a most extraordinary circumstance, that a commander should be sent upon a service so important as that committed to the care of

the noble Lord, and not receive from Ministers the smallest intimation of the nature of their intentions. But at least the commissioners had confirmed the acts of Lord Hood at Toulon as far as they related to the support of royalty in that city. Now, had we been able to retain possession of Toulon, would this country not have been pledged to carry on the war to the restoration of Monarchy in France? Again he was told no. Should we then have consented to a Republic at Paris, and fought for the maintaining of a monarchical form of Government at Toulon? Was it meant to pass such absurdities upon the House and upon the people?

If, however, the restoration of a monarchical form of Government in France was not indispensible to a negociation for peace, the motion of his honourable friend was not to be adopted, because we had still a reasonable prospect of success in the war, and of forcing the French to establish such a form of Government as *should* be able to maintain the proper relations of peace and amity; and this hope was founded not so much upon our strength as their weakness, and then the House was referred to nice calculations upon the subject. He would not attempt to refute by figures, theories that were overthrown by facts. The people of England had been told, in the insulting paragraph which had been introduced into the King's speech, that they could not fail to observe the rapid decline of the French resources, upon what was this observation to be founded? Upon the strength and position of the French armies? on the exertions of their marine? on the stupendous works carrying on in the interior of their country? upon the acquisition of territory they had made?—The Chancellor of the Exchequer had indeed gravely told the House that, since the commencement of the present session, the resources of France had been very materially impaired by the acquisition of Holland. But could such a solemn mockery of common sense impose upon any understanding, however narrow and contemptible? The facts spoke for themselves, and derided all calculation. It was but too certain that the resources of France had been considerably augmented by their acquisition of territory; by their having subdued one of the allied powers, and above all, by the melioration of their system of Government, which had furnished them with the incalculable resource of the increased love and affection of the people, exemplified in the return of so many useful and industrious persons to the cities of Lyons and Toulon. He was not surprised that the Ministers of this country should overlook or hold in no estimation a resource of this nature: they had never tried the effects of affection and conciliation with the people whom they unfortunately governed, and

had no notion of the exertions that would be made by an affectionate people in gratitude for the mild protection afforded to them by a lenient Government. In proportion as the resources of the French had increased, our own had failed. The prospect of starvation had been defeated by the assertion of the rights of neutral nations; all hopes of co-operation in la Vendee had been cut off by the just and merciful decree of amnesty, and by the inhuman dereliction of those emigrants who had joined our standard in the capitulations that have been made by the allies. But he begged the House to advert to the authorities of persons in situations full as capable of judging of the resources of France, as the Ministers of this country, and they would find that the King of Prussia characterized the French as "a never-diminishing number of men, provided with every resource for war." That the Prince of Cobourg, in his public manifesto, talked of "the inexhaustible means of a delirious nation." And then he desired the House to recollect that the resources of Austria and Prussia had actually failed in the contest with those of France; and that Great Britain, at this moment, was obliged to bear the whole weight of the contest, from the utter inability of those two powers to proceed without some relief afforded to the ruined state of their finances.

The motion of his honourable friend had also been objected to on another ground: it was said that there was so constant a change in the leading people of France, that a treaty concluded with one set of men to-day, might be broken by their successors to-morrow. He would ask, however, of the King's Ministers, whether they had found the military operations of the French crippled by these successive changes of Men? He would ask whether their diplomatic arrangements felt any bad effects from it? The answer would certainly be in the negative. To the Convention, to whom the power of the French people was delegated, all credentials were addressed. The Convention was a stable and permanent body, they appointed the Ministers of the day. To the Convention Mr. Washington had addressed the credentials of the American Envoy Mr. Monroe. A singular refutation of the arguments of those who talked of the rapid changes in the French Executive Government as a bar to negociation, was afforded by the history of this embassy. Mr. Monroe quitted America at the time that Roberspierre was in the full possession of his power. He arrived at Paris after the fall and execution of that Monster, but the removal of one Committee and the appointment of another did not, in any manner, affect the business on which he was sent, for his credentials were addressed to the Convention. Here he begged to read to the House the latter

part of Mr. Washington's letter; and that those who were accustomed to revile the French nation in the opprobrious terms so often and so improperly used in that House, would attend to the expressions which Mr. Washington had thought fit to use, even whilst France groaned under the bloody tyranny of Robespierre.

" From my knowledge of his (Mr. Monroe's) fidelity, probity, " and good conduct, I have full confidence that he will render " himself agreeable to you, and that he will fulfil our desire of " maintaining and promoting, on all occasions, the interests and " connections of the two nations. I therefore request you to give " entire credit to whatever he shall say in the name of the United " States, especially when he shall assure you that your prosperity is " an object of our affection, and I pray God to have the French " Republic in his holy keeping."

The sneer which he perceived these expressions to have excited on the other side of the House, in no degree affected him. They were not his own, but those of a man whom, to compare to the pigmy statesmen at the head of affairs in Great Britain, were to compare the sun, in its meridian brightness, to that wandering vapour of the night, which is sure to lead the infatuated persons who trust themselves to its guidance, from error to error, and misfortune to misfortune, till, at last, they are plunged into some inextricable abyss. Mr. Washington saw and lamented the crimes which sullied the honour of France; but attributing those crimes to their real source, the infernal despotism which, for fourteen centuries, had oppressed that country, he rejoiced, as every friend to liberty must sincerely do, that that despotism had been overthrown. It had been denied that the present crimes of France were to be attributed to the old despotism, dates would justify his assertion that they were; Danton, Marat, and Robespierre, were all educated under the old Government, had either been corrupted by its corruption, or had been stung to madness by the injuries they had sustained under it. He avowed his opinion to be that all the crimes that had been perpetrated in France, were the genuine offspring of the old despotic system; that the courage, the energy, the perseverance displayed by Frenchmen in the present contest, were the effects of Republicanism.

It had been also objected to the present motion, that it would pave the way to a negociation with a Government, with which it would be highly improper to negociate, on account of the crimes with which that Government was stained. He remarked, that it had been said by the meek founder of that religion, in defence of whose doctrines we professed to fight, but whose precepts we were every day violating in the grossest manner, " Let him who

is without sin, throw the first stone." Proceeding upon this injunction, he would ask, whether every sword would not be sheathed, and France and all Europe be at peace? With which of the Powers combined against her, could France enter into a competition of crimes? If the blood of a murdered Sovereign rested on the head of the present Government of France, let the House recollect by what means the Empress of Russia came to the throne of that country. If the massacres that had taken place in France were mentioned, let the massacres of Ismael and of Praga be also held up to the execration of mankind. What deliberate act of cruelty, perpetrated by the French, could be compared to the inhumanity practised upon the Marquis De la Fayette? Above all, could the whole aggregate of the crimes committed in France bear a comparison to that consummation of all wickedness, the attack upon Poland by the three barbarian despots of the North! for the House, Mr. Whitbread said, must be aware that the Emperor had his full share of this guilt. A large Imperial army was maintained in Poland to secure the portion of that unhappy country which might be allotted to Austria. But lest some doubt might arise of the concern which the Emperor had in this business, the congratulations of the Court of Vienna to the Empress of Russia, on the successes of General Suvarow, had been published. He could scarcely imagine how men in any situation could be so entirely lost to all sense of shame, as to venture to express their public approbation of such nefarious deeds. To the exultation of such a trio in such acts, he could find one only parallel; in the exultations of Sin, Death, and the Arch-fiend, upon the destruction of the happiness of mankind, and the fall of our first parents; when Satan, dismissing his children to the completion of the work he had begun, says,

"If your joint power prevail, th' affairs of hell
"No detriment need fear."

In the successes of his allies in Poland, the Emperor finds consolation for all the disasters and disgraces he has sustained in his campaigns against the French.

It was, he feared, too generally imagined, that this country had but a remote interest in the welfare of Poland, and that however we might lament her fate, we were not immediately influenced by her misfortunes. The contrary, however, he asserted to be the fact. This country had always drawn large supplies of corn from Poland; the armies of the North had laid waste her plains, and those supplies were stopped; and every famished beggar, every starving manufacturer, every industrious peasant, whose hardest earnings

would scarce produce bread enough to stop the cries of his miserable offspring, must, in the bitterness of his heart, curse the tyrant devastators of Poland. He had been censured on a former night, by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, for using coarse expressions towards what had been termed the great and *respectable* powers of Europe; and it had been insinuated that he meant to confound all Monarchs in the appellation of *Despots*. He repelled the insinuation; but at the same time lamented that so few exceptions existed amongst the Monarchical powers to this general character. One splendid exception he was proud to mention in the King of Great Britain: that Monarch, or his family, was elected to the throne he possessed; he owed his crown to the will of his people; he was acknowledged by, and subordinate to, the law, and consequently not a despotic Monarch. Those Monarchies he called despotic, where the life, liberty, and property of the subject were at the arbitrary disposal of one man. Of that nature were the Governments of Petersburg, Berlin, and Vienna; of that nature were all the petty Governments of Germany, where the luxuries of the Prince were not supplied indirectly by the labour of the lower orders of the people, but by the direct sale of their carcases. Such forms of Government he wished to see destroyed; the mixed constitution of England he would do his utmost to maintain; for, said he, I hate the despot, but I love the King. He was not, however, surprised at the offence taken by the right honourable gentleman at the expression he had used; the measures of his Administration had so uniformly tended to the abridgement of the liberties of the people of this country, that it was natural he should feel somewhat hurt at hearing Governments of the description alluded to, mentioned in the terms they deserved. The crimes of one Sovereign or one Government neither excused nor palliated the crimes of another; but it was certainly worth while to remove this ground of objection to the idea of negociation with France, by shewing that it existed equally as a ground of objection to connections with any of the Powers with whom we were combined against France.

Another objection had been taken to the motion, because good faith was not to be expected from the present system of government in France; and then the House were told that the French had always been perfidious. If so, it might afford a good reason for not forming any connection with that country, under a monarchical system; but certainly did not operate against a negociation with France, under the present circumstances. He believed it would be found that we might with more reason expect an adherence to engagements on the part of France, than of most of the Powers with

which we were at preſent in alliance; their treachery we had in the preſent conteſt ſufficiently experienced. Had France followed the deteſtable example ſet by Spain in the affair of Collioure? where the moſt ſolemn engagements of a capitulation were violated, becauſe it did not appear to the Government of Madrid neceſſary to keep faith with ſuch a nation as France. What was the conſequence of this violation of treaty? A decree on the part of the Convention, that no Spaniſh priſoners ſhould be made, till the capitulation of Collioure was executed. He was confident the Houſe would trace this act to its proper ſource—Spaniſh perfidy, and not Republican barbarity. It would hardly be within the power of any nation to equal the double perjuries of the King of Pruſſia, who had neglected to fulfil the ſolemn treaty he had entered into with Great Britain, and had employed the money received for the ſervices ſtipulated in that treaty, for the deſtruction of that conſtitution in Poland, which he had ſolemnly pledged his Royal word to maintain. Unhappily, but little reliance was to be placed in all treaties; but he had heard no good argument adduced to ſhew why a treaty with France was likely to be leſs ſecure than with any other country. The introduction of democratical principles was looked upon as another obvious conſequence of a recognition of the preſent Government of France. His opinion was, that if the people of this country were ſuffered to enjoy the privileges ſecured to them by the Britiſh conſtitution, if they were not driven to deſpair by the immoderate preſſure of taxes, that no fears were to be entertained of their wiſh for innovation; but if, on the other hand, the war was continued till the diſtreſs of the people rendered them careleſs of conſequences; and that no change could take place, by which their ſituation could be rendered more wretched, not all the ſtrength which could be put into the hands of the Executive Government, not the moſt violent and coercive meaſures could prevent their attempts to meliorate that condition which was become inſupportable; and the horrors that would enſue, would flow from the practical evils brought on by the continuation of the war, and not a ſpeculative love of innovation. If he were to ſelect the moſt violent propagators of democracy of the preſent day, he would name the Crowned Heads of Europe; and upon a view of their conduct, he was aſtoniſhed at the ſlowneſs, rather than at the rapidity, of its progreſs.

The right honourable Secretary had ſaid, that this motion tended to the humiliation of Great Britain: he denied the aſſertion, and contended that his honourable friend had brought it forward with a view to ſave, and not to degrade, the country; either by procuring a ſafe and reaſonable peace, or by uniting the whole nation

gainst the unwarrantable ambition of France. But who were the persons who talked with so much feeling of the humiliation of Great Britain? Were they men who had held the national character high, and had done nothing themselves to degrade it? Or were they the men who had, on every occasion, preferred their own private interests to the honour of their country? who had attempted to bully every Court in Europe, and who had ended by the meanest concessions to every one? who had nearly involved this country in a war, for an object of no importance, and had then laid her honour prostrate at the foot of the Throne of Russia? Were they the men, the price of whose insolence to the neutral nations in the present contest, part of the treasure of this country was now appropriated to pay? [He alluded to the restitution of ships, &c. to the Americans, Denmark, and Sweden.] Could the House patiently submit to hear an endeavour to remove an insurmountable obstacle to peace, stated by these persons as a measure tending to humiliate and disgrace the country? But he begged the House to understand, that it was not because Great Britain was exhausted, beaten, and disgraced, that Ministers were averse to any thing like a negociation for peace; they had all declared that a necessity might exist, which would justify a negociation even with the present Government of France; in other words, they were determined to persevere in their abominable system, whilst a recruit could be found for the army, or a guinea could be extorted from the pockets of the people, and when at last they were driven to the necessity of accepting terms, the total and absolute ruin of Great Britain was to be the proud justification of their conduct. He trusted, however, that the House would adopt the wiser course, and admit the possibility of negociating, whilst, in case of the failure of negociation, there did remain resources in the country to carry on a war. Let the House and the People recollect, that many of the members of the present Cabinet, the right honourable Secretary particularly, would have shrunk with equal abhorrence from the recognition of the competency of the American Government, at one period of that war, as he now did from the adoption of the motion of his honourable friend. Let them recollect the language used at the beginning of the American war by one of the present Cabinet Ministers, towards that great and illustrious character who afterwards appeared as one of the negociators of the peace at Paris; and that at last Great Britain was obliged to make those acknowledgements which the Administration had deemed incompatible with her honour, or even with her existence. The same thing would again happen, and we should be forced to negociate with the existing Government of France, whatever it might be. He begged the House

alſo to recollect that, however they might endeavour to couple them, the honour of the country was not identified with the intereſt of the Miniſters.

He concluded, by ſaying, that in a Houſe of Commons, conſiſting of the real Repreſentatives of the People, he ſhould have but little doubt of the ſucceſs of the queſtion. In a Houſe of Commons where money, and not the people, were repreſented, and over which a corrupt and unconſtitutional influence had the dominion, he ſhould deſpair of its ſucceſs.

Mr VANSITTART was of opinion, that a queſtion which had been ſo recently diſcuſſed and decided, ought not to have been again brought before the Houſe. He declared, that not having heard any freſh reaſons for the motion of to-night, he ſhould give it his negative.

Mr EAST remarked, that when he firſt received notice of Mr Grey's firſt motion on the ſubject of peace, he had great difficulty in determining what vote to give upon it, in the form it was then brought forward; for, as on the one hand he was conſcious that miſrepreſentations had gone forth in the country, that the Miniſters, and even the Houſe of Commons itſelf, had purſued an intention of carrying on the war, for the purpoſe of effecting a change in the Government of France—a purpoſe which he himſelf expreſsly diſavowed, which he was ſure that the Houſe had never adopted, and which he was not conſcious, from any public documents, the Miniſters themſelves had declared; but which miſrepreſentations he was apprehenſive would be confirmed by negativing Mr Grey's motion: ſo, on the other hand, he diſliked the idea of voting for the motion, becauſe it might ſeem to imply, and the ambiguity of the motion itſelf might furniſh a pretence for ſaying, that the Houſe thereby pledged itſelf to recommend to His Majeſty an immediate negociation for peace; a meaſure which, under the preſent circumſtances, he was ſure would anſwer no good end, and was more likely to procraſtinate than expedite the object which all men muſt unite in deſiring—a ſafe and honourable peace. Under this impreſſion, he meant himſelf to have ſubmitted an amendment to the Houſe, declaratory of their diſapprobation of the object imputed to them, of continuing the war, to effect a change in the Government of France; but, at the ſame time, as not wiſhing to interfere with the Executive Power, as to the proper ſeaſon for negociating a peace, when ſafe and honourable terms were likely to be obtained. He remarked, that when Mr Grey made his firſt motion, he had declared, that, in deference to the opinion of his friends, he had not brought it forward in ſuch ſtrong terms as he

himself could have wished; for that he was desirous of entering into an immediate negociation with the French. Mr. East therefore concluded that the motion then before the House, was that identical motion which Mr. Grey had first intended to have brought forward, but which he had then delayed in deference to the opinions of others; and therefore, that in deciding to give his vote upon it in the negative, he was only declaring that he did not think this a proper moment for entering upon such a negociation, with any prospect of success. He was prepared to say explicitly, that the form of Government in France should never be any bar, in his mind, to a negociation, provided, in other respects, any peace were likely to be obtained, on which the people of this country could rest with security and honour; but he thought that the House had already sufficiently declared that sentiment, by their vote of the other night, and it was not necessary, and might be mischievous, to recur again and again to abstract propositions of this nature, from which no practical good was likely to arise: and he would boldly ask any man, who was a candidate for the office of a Minister of this country, whether, putting out of the question any consideration of the nature of the Government in France, he would propose to his country that moment as the most proper for negociation, when France was in hostile possession of the Low Countries and of Holland, that is to say, of the greatest part of maritime Europe which bounded your own shores. That the objection would, in his mind, have been precisely the same, if Louis the Seventeenth had been on the throne of France, and at the head of his armies. It was indifferent to him what name despotic power was pleased to assume; the people of this country felt that they were warring against the exorbitant power and ambitious pretensions of France, let their Government be what it may. He himself was actuated by these motives, and however gentlemen might at times express their wishes for this or that Government in France, yet he sincerely believed that the majority of the House acted upon the same principles with himself.

At the conclusion, he remarked with regret the spirit of personality which had of late manifested itself in their debates. Upon all subjects, the possession of places and pensions were thrown in the teeth of one party, and the longing expectation of them in those of the other. Those who stood foremost on either side, bandied about the terms *Rogue* and *Fool*, in effect at least, upon each other, so often, that at last the Public might be led to suppose there was some foundation for their abuse He thought the time of the House might be much better employed, than in these disgraceful al-

tercations, which, however they might serve party purposes, were little calculated to advance the interests of the country, which now called loudly for the advice and assistance of every honest man.

Mr. BASTARD said, that by the vote which the House had come to on the last debate, he understood that they had declared their readiness to treat whenever it could be done with security, that period he did not think had yet arrived, but whenever it did, he should consider Ministers as highly culpable, if they refused to negociate on account of any particular form of Government.

Mr. LAMBTON referred to the American war, when exactly the same sort of argument had been used as in the present instance, and opposition were told that by their propositions for peace they were interfering with the Executive Government of the country, and crippling their exertions. He quoted the [illegible] language of Lord Chatham, applied to Ministers on a former occasion, their vernal hopes had gone, their summer prospects had vanished, and the period of their equinoctial disappointment had now arrived. Such, he was afraid, would be found to be the case with Ministers with respect to the present contest. Attempts had been made to prove that the present war was not unpopular, he was convinced that it would turn out to be the most unpopular in which the country had ever been engaged, notwithstanding the efforts of placemen, pensioners, bank-directors, and deans and chapters, to produce a contrary impression. With respect to the influence exerted for this purpose by deans and chapters, he should have something to say on a future occasion. With respect to the incompetency of the French Government to conclude a peace—Was not that Government which supported so immense an army, which could [illegible] body politic, and at the same time [illegible] arts and sciences, a Government fit to maintain the [illegible] relations of amity and peace? Upon his honour and conscience he believed, there was an institution, which obscured the understanding of the House of Commons, and which, by extending its baneful influence, would cloud the minds of the people of this country, till a desperate Minister brought them to a state of irretrievable ruin. But forsooth we must not interfere, said he, with the responsibility of Ministers! What compensation did the responsibility of Ministers afford to the country for the blood and treasure exhausted in in the present contest? Would the circumstance of their heads being placed on Temple Bar indemnify the country for the millions which they had thrown away, or would the spilling of their blood diminish the sum of misery which had been incurred by their misconduct? To this cause, the want of wisdom in Ministers, he must

ascribe all the calamities of the war—*Nullum numen abest, si sit prudentia.* Much had been said on the subject of places and pensions. He for one would declare, that in supporting the sentiments which he now espoused, he was influenced by no one earthly consideration, and that even if his right honourable friend (Mr. Fox) should come into office, he had no object whatever to gain. The right honourable gentleman (Mr. Pitt) might smile at this declaration; he might have adopted the maxim, that every man had his price, and experience perhaps might have given him confidence in this maxim. He might conceive that he was looking at a peerage, but he would now positively declare that till this House was purged, he never would accept of the seat in the other. He concluded that one good effect of an attempt to negociate with the French, even if it should prove unsuccessful, would be to shew that they were in the wrong, and to unite all the hearts and hands in this country in the common cause.

The Honourable DUDLEY RYDER defended the character of those with whom he had the honour to act, as well as that of deans and chapters, against the imputation of intrigue and artifice to support the war. He observed, that the grounds upon which the motion was brought forward, seemed to him futile in the extreme. Whether the amendment voted upon the discussion of a similar question, was considered as an abstract proposition, or as a practical declaration, whether they considered the literal sense of the terms, or the implied intentions of those who voted it, it was as clear as it was possible to convey any ideas in any language. The present declaration was to be considered either as an abstract question, or as to be applied to practice, if the former, it was unnecessary and absurd, if the latter, weak and pernicious. The difference of opinion existing in the country with respect to the war, had arisen entirely from an industrious and artful circulation of the opinion, that this was a war of aggression on the part of this country; he, however, was fully of opinion, that it had been shown to the conviction of every reasonable man, that it was not a war of aggression. It was not dictated by a desire of conquest, or by ambition, but by motives of political safety, and he would affirm, that on its vigorous prosecution our lives, our liberties, and our properties depend. The question, he said, was, whether we could hope for a more advantageous peace now, or at a future period. It is impossible to conceive any moment in which our own losses, and the advantages of the enemy, render it probable that they would reject any terms which were not most favourable to France, and most humiliating to this country. The present motion had been

discussed before, it was repeated this evening, and it might be brought forward with equal propriety every night this session; but while circumstances remained the same, he should give it his decided negative.

Mr. LAMBTON said, he should have an opportunity of proving to the House, that certain deans and chapters had very improperly interfered, for the purpose of misleading the people into an approbation of the war.

Mr. SHERIDAN said, that he would not have troubled the House, but on account of the misapprehension which had taken place with respect to the motion. He should not now enter into the general question, much less into the conversation which had taken place, respecting places and pensions; he was very happy to hear the disinterested declaration of the honourable and learned gentleman (Mr. East), but when that honourable gentleman talked of the honour and character of the House being involved in such discussion, he surely did not mean to insinuate, that the honour and character of the House rested with placemen and pensioners; and when he expressed his apprehensions, that if the idea was so much bandied about, the Public might at last suspect that there was something in it, he was not perhaps aware, that the Public had already made up their minds on the subject. They had discovered, that the calamities and disasters which the country had experienced, were the effects of the misconduct of Ministers, and deducible from the corruption of the Government. They had discovered, what he could prove to be true, that peace and possession of the places, by the same men who now held them, were incompatible. That this was the case, would be manifest, from one consideration, the French will not treat with the present Ministers, to this it might be said, shall it be endured by a great nation, that its enemies shall dictate to it what Ministers it shall have? This, however, was exactly the plan that the House was pursuing with respect to France, and it was naturally received in that country with as much indignation as it would in this. The House were voting under the influence of delusion, and he wished that the Minister would lay aside all quibbling and prevarication, and give him a plain answer to a plain question, in order to make themselves intelligible to all. Would they, or would they not, make peace to-morrow with the French Government of France, provided they could procure fair and honourable terms? This was the point at issue, and he wished to know whether the House would uphold Ministers in refusing to negociate with the present Government of France, although terms might be procured consistent with the security of the nation. He

firmly believed, that the silent conviction of the House was against such a proposition, but they had been deceived and deluded. The possession of Brabant and Holland appeared to him as affording much stronger arguments for peace than for a continuance of the war. If we were to be reduced to the situation of distress, to which the Minister had declared we ought to arrive, before we listened to any proposition for peace, the question then would be, not how to treat, but how to capitulate. The French nation wanted a peace, he believed as much as this country; nor could he see there was any probability that they would obstinately adhere to the war, if the attempt were made for negociation, and he must believe it the duty of Ministers to make that attempt. The amendment on a former evening had been quoted, but every person had forgotten a very essential part, viz. the amendment which he had the honour to propose to Mr. Pitt's. By negativing the proposition on that amendment, the House had pledged themselves not to make peace with the present Governors of France. The intentions of the House and those of the first Minister, he considered as directly opposite, for he believed that they wished to negociate, if they could expect security; whereas the right honourable gentleman was determined, at no rate, to make peace with the present Government of France.

Mr. BURDON supported the previous question.

Mr. Chancellor PITT said, the discussion bore so near a resemblance to that which had taken place on a former day, and his opinion had been so clearly expressed by his right honourable friend who moved the previous question, that he did not at first mean to trouble the House upon the subject, and should now add but a few words to what had been already said. The words of the amendment adopted by the House on a former occasion, declared as distinctly as language could do, what then was, and he hoped still would be, the meaning of the House. In proposing that amendment, he had said distinctly that the declaration it contained was as applicable to the present as to any future Government in France, and that no form of Government in that country ought to preclude negociation, whenever there was a reasonable prospect that peace could be obtained with security; but that on a view of the internal situation of France, and the actual circumstances of the belligerent powers, the only prospect at present of obtaining peace with security, was by a vigorous prosecution of the war. It was now contended that by rejecting certain words which an honourable gentleman proposed, he had said something very different. This arose from a misconception of the usual course of proceedings in Parliament, and justified his moving an amendment in the former debate, in preference to giving a direct

negative to the original motion. It was now obvious, that to have negatived the original motion, would have been liable to the same misconstruction that had been put upon rejecting the words proposed to be added to the amendment. It was pretended that, by rejecting words containing any proposition, the House virtually adopted the converse of that proposition, a supposition unreasonable in itself, and contradicted by the usage of Parliament. He refused according to the words proposed to be added to the amendment, because their meaning in the only sense in which it could be adopted by the House, was included in the amendment, and because, in any other sense, they would have implied that we ought to negociate with France immediately. In answer to the question he had been so pointedly called upon to answer, he would say, that under the present circumstances he saw no prospect of security for any stipulation that might be the result of negociation with France; and while that continued to be the case, to enter into any farther discussion upon the subject would be productive of no good, nor followed up by any practical consequence. When we had no security for the performance of peace, was it possible that any terms obtained or offered, could compensate for the want of that security? The House was not to go into verbal criticisms and hypothetical cases. The true question for their deliberation, was, Ought they to offer, or invite negociation under such circumstances as he had already stated?—This question the House had decided by their former vote, and, he trusted, would adhere to that decision, on the present occasion.

Mr. CURWEN said, the Chancellor of the Exchequer had now spoken out clearly to his understanding, and there was no hope of peace but from the country declaring its opinion. The opinion now stated, as the opinion of the House, was neither the opinion of the country, nor the opinion of prudence.

Mr. MONTAGU said a few words in support of the previous question.

Sir WILLIAM DOLBEN said, the question had been decided on the former debate contrary to his opinion. He thought the declaration contained in the amendment not so explicit as the original motion, but the amendment having been adopted by the House he deferred it to the majority. He had voted last night for the imperial loan because he thought it better to risque throwing away six millions than to throw away eighteen, by continuing the war without the Emperor's assistance. The motion now made could tend only to disunite the people of this country, who in consequence of the declaration the House had already come to, were more united in support of the war than they had ever been before.

Mr. WILBERFORCE confessed that he was not without considerable embarrassment on the present occasion. If he had thought that the present motion was similar to the former one, he should either have voted for the previous question, or have gone away without voting, as he did not like to multiply occasions of differing with the Executive Government. The first part of the motion appeared to him to be too strong, but for the latter proposition of it he thought it his duty to vote. The amendment adopted on the former debate declared, that no form of Government would be considered as an obstacle to negociation, but many of the bad consequences arising from the supposition that we would not treat with a particular form of Government, might arise from the supposition that we would not treat with particular men. The people of France must naturally be tired of a war to which they ascribed all their sufferings, and an explicit declaration that neither their form of Government, nor the men who conducted it, constituted in our minds an obstacle to treating for peace, although it might not produce much effect in the first instance, could not, in his opinion, fail to make a strong impression by degrees. They had as yet no such assurance, for the language of the House in the address on His Majesty's speech, and on various other occasions, gave the French reason to suppose that we would not treat with their present rulers. The consequences of adopting the motion would not be such as had been represented. If it were acceded to, he for one, would not follow it up with any motion for immediate negociation. All he wished was to remove obstacles, and open a door for negociation, while we were in a condition to carry on the war with vigour.

The House divided on the previous question.

Ayes 190, Noes 60.

LIST of the MINORITY on Mr. GREY's Motion:

Anson, Thomas
Antonie, Lee
Aubrey, Sir John
Bankes, Henry
Baring, Sir Francis
Baring, John
Bond, John
Bouverie, Hon. Edward
Buller, James
Burch, J. R.
Byng, George
Church, J. B.
Clayton, Sir R.
Coke, T. W.
Coke, Edward
Colhoun, William
Courtenay, John
Crespigny, T. C.
Crewe, John
Curwen, J. Christian
Dimsdale, Baron
Featherstone, Sir Henry
Fitzpatrick, General
Fletcher, Sir Henry
Folkes, Sir M. B.
Fox, Right Hon. C. J.

Francis, Philip
Hare, James
Harriſon, John
Hill, Sir Richard
Huſſey, William
Jekyll, Joſeph
Jervoiſe, C. Jervoiſe
Kemp, Thomas
Lambton, William Henry
Lemon, Sir William
Long, Samuel
Ludlow, Earl
Maitland, Hon. Thomas
Martin, James
M'Leod, General N.
Milner, Sir William
North, Dudley
Pierſe, Henry
Plumer, William
Ridley, Sir M. W.
Ruſſell, Lord William
St. John, Hon. St. Andrew
Sheridan, R. B.
Smith, William
Spencer, Lord Robert
Tarleton, General
Thornton, Robert
Thornton, Henry J.
Thompſon, Thomas
Vyner, Robert
Walwyn, James
Wilberforce, William
Wynne, R. W.
Wyndham, Hon. P. C.

TELLERS.

Grey, Charles
Whitbread, Samuel, jun.

Total 62.

Monday, 9th February.

Sir WILLIAM YOUNG, in purſuance of the notice which he had given, roſe to ſuggeſt the repeal of that part of the act of the 9th of George I. which forbade the extenſion of relief to the poor, except at the Pariſh Workhouſe. In the preſent calamitous ſeaſon he had been witneſs to numberleſs caſes where the expediency of granting relief to the poor at their own houſes was manifeſt. He quoted the opinion of Mr. Juſtice Blackſtone, who expreſsly reprobated the clauſe of which he now propoſed the repeal, as breaking the chain and ſyſtem of the poor laws, taking from the indigent their only ſolace of domeſtic ſociety, and placing the induſtrious and the diſſolute equally under the tyranny of an Overſeer.

Mr. BUXTON ſeconded the motion. He ſaid that he had been twenty years a magiſtrate, and had found this act the greateſt grievance in the exerciſe of his duty. The poor naturally looked up for relief to the country gentlemen, whom the law placed in the ſituation of magiſtrates, but in conſequence of the regulations of this act, they were prevented from being able to afford them any aſſiſtance. The Overſeers refuſed to give the poor the ſmalleſt ſuccour, except they conſented to go into their houſes, for the ſupply of which they contracted with perſons who engaged to furniſh proviſions at the cheapeſt rate, and which, of conſequence, were very ſcantily and incompetently ſupplied. He ſtated ſeveral inſtances of the extreme hardſhip and inhumanity of the mode of treating the poor, adopted under the preſent ſyſtem.

Mr. POWYS ſaid, that he heartily agreed with the honourable

mover and seconder, both as to the justice of their complaints, and the propriety of the object which they had in view. The best mode, however, of effecting the object, he thought, would be, instead of the motion which they had proposed, to move for leave to bring in a bill, to explain so much of an act, &c.

This was accordingly agreed to, and Sir William Young, Mr. Buxton, and Mr. Powys, were appointed to prepare and bring in the same.

Mr. STANLEY presented a petition from the inhabitants of Manchester. He read the petition, which expressed the sentiments of the petitioners, as to the impropriety of interfering in the measures of Government in the present crisis, and their disapprobation of the conduct of those persons in the neighbourhood, who had petitioned for an immediate peace. The petition, Mr. Stanley said, was accompanied by a letter addressed to him from the gentleman who had been chairman of the meeting. It stated that the present petition was signed by 13,938 persons, among whom were all the gentlemen of the greatest fortune and respectability in the town and neighbourhood; that not one of these signatures had been solicited, and that all those who had signed the petition for an immediate peace, were held in general odium.

Mr. Alderman ANDERSON moved for leave to bring in a bill, extending the punishment of bigamy to seven years transportation. The worthy Alderman stated, that, at present, this offence was only punishable at common law by imprisonment: and as plunder was commonly the object, one might frequently see the culprit living in splendour upon the spoils in Newgate, while the unfortunate female was despoiled equally of her honour and her property.

A bill was ordered to be brought in accordingly.

Tuesday, February 10, to Thursday, February 12, inclusive.

There not being, on any of those days, a sufficient number of Members present at four o'clock, to form a ballot for a Committee, in order to try the question of the Seaford right of election; the House of consequence adjourned.

Friday, 13th February.

Mr. DUNDAS presented articles of the Constitution of Corsica, and a petition of the officers of the East-India Company to His Majesty.—Ordered to lie on the table.

Lord ARDEN presented an estimate of the debt of His Majesty's navy for 1795.

Mr. WHITEHEAD preſented an account of the number of men and boys employed in the tranſport ſervice.

Mr. SECRETARY AT WAR preſented an account of the extraordinary expences of the army, alſo an eſtimate of foreign corps.—Ordered to lie on the table.

Lord ARDEN preſented an account of the bounty money paid to ſeamen and to landmen, from the 1ſt of January 1793, to the 1ſt of January 1795. And ſix other accounts of the number of men employed by and receiving protection from the Admiralty Office and Navy Office.—Ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. HUSSEY preſented a petition from a large number of reſpectable inhabitants of the city of New Sarum, humbly repreſenting to the Houſe the diſtreſſes and calamities of the country in conſequence of the preſent deſtructive war, and praying the Houſe to enter as ſoon as poſſible into a negociation for peace with France; which, if rejected on the part of that nation, the petitioners would then uſe their utmoſt efforts in defence of the country. The petition was received, and ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. Alderman CURTIS preſented a petition from ſeveral friends of the religious ſociety called Quakers, humbly ſtating, that war was ever contrary to the principles of the Goſpel of Chriſt, and to their religious tenets in particular. And as moſt of the petitioners were owners and maſters of ſhips, they prayed that they might not be required to ſupply ſeamen from their ſhips under the regulations of the new bill for manning the navy, and that they might not be deprived of the means of providing for themſelves and their families. Ordered to lie on the table.

The names of the following Members who were choſen for the Committee, were then brought up and read:

Thomas Stanley, Eſq. Chairman.

Scroop Bernard, Eſq.
Lieut. Col. G. Nugent
Thomas Dundas, Eſq.
J. H. Addington, Eſq.
James Adams, Eſq.
John Hill, Eſq.
Right Hon. J. C. Villiers
Thomas Johnes, Eſq.
Lord Viſcount Malden
Lord Viſcount Hinchinbrook
D. P. Coke, Eſq.
J. M. Pitt, Eſq.
Hon. E. Bouverie
Charles Dundas, Eſq.

Monday, 16th February.

A petition was received from the ſhip owners of the town of Scarborough, ſtating the plan for manning the navy by raiſing a certain number of men in proportion to the tonnage of every outward bound

vessel to be impracticable, and expressing their readiness to grant a pecuniary aid for the purpose.

Mr. GREY said that having some time since moved for returns of the protections granted by the Admiralty, &c. some of which he now found laid upon the table, he wished to know whether there was any objection that these returns should be printed. His object was to ascertain whether any means could be found for manning the navy without resorting to the measures proposed by the bill.

Mr. Chancellor PITT stated, that he had no objection to the returns being printed. He had received some recent information from different quarters on the subject of manning the navy, which would induce him to adopt considerable alterations in the plan he had already laid before the House. These alterations were such as would lead to a more speedy and effectual accomplishment of the end in view; but though proceeding upon the same principle, would require regulations so very different from those already suggested, as he believed would render it expedient to introduce a new bill.

Mr. GREY hoped that sufficient time would be allowed to take the new bill into consideration, and to receive the necessary information from different parts of the country, before any attempt would be made to pass it through the House.

The returns were ordered to be printed for the use of the House.

Mr. HUSSEY said, that public notice had been given some time since of a lone to be granted to the Emperor. On this subject he had a motion to make, which he believed was rather unprecedented, and as his apology, he had only to plead that the business to which it referred was itself unprecedented. He wished to move, if there was no objection, that the contract respecting the loan should be laid before the House, previous to the discussion in the Committee of Supply.

Mr. Chancellor PITT said, that the motion which the honourable gentleman proposed to make, was entirely inconsistent with the forms of the House It was usual for the person in his situation to make the bargain with those who were disposed to contract for the loan, he should afterwards, in bringing forward the budget, have occasion to propose a resolution stating the terms on which it was made.

Mr. HUSSEY asked why the Minister had not, in making the present loan, proceeded by competition, as he had last year done with so much credit to himself, and advantage to the Public, and as he understood from the best authority, was to be the case in another country (Ireland.) Competition was in his mind the best mode of disposing of the public money. When the Budget was brought

forward in the Committee of Supply, there was always such a multiplicity of business as to prevent any particular point from receiving a full discussion. He had no hesitation to state, that from what he understood of the terms of the loan, they were so exceptionable, that he was desirous to bring them before the public in an authentic shape.

Mr. Chancellor PITT said, that the business of the night of the budget was to discuss the terms of the loan, and that the proposal of the honourable gentleman went to anticipate the discussion of the budget before it was opened.

Mr. HUSSEY said, that the right honourable gentleman was well aware that the business was itself so unprecedented that he had no clue to guide him on the present occasion.

Mr. WINDHAM said, that he proposed on Friday to move the extraordinaries of the army, so far as respected the French corps.

Tuesday, 17th February.

Several petitions from various sea-port towns were presented, stating that the bill for more effectually supplying the navy with men, was partial, oppressive and impracticable.—They were ordered to be laid on the table.

Mr. LAMBTON presented a petition from the Mayor, Aldermen, Freemen, Clergy, and other inhabitants of the City of Durham and its neighbourhood; setting forth,

That the war in which these kingdoms are now unfortunately involved, has already proved highly injurious to their trade and commerce, and, if persevered in, may, by interrupting their established intercourse with foreign nations, and loading the manufactures of this country with additional burdens, finally effect their destruction: That, although the commercial interest has more essentially suffered from the war, yet every other part of the community has severely felt its pressure: that, while the petitioners are personally sensible of those evils, humanity leads them to deplore the lives of their brave countrymen, sacrificed in this unavailing contest: that they see, with regret, the present large expenditure of public money, which, if long continued, may produce such a derangement in the finances, as must endanger the constitution of any country: that, sincerely attached as the petitioners are to the constitution of these realms, they should think it their duty to repel, to the utmost of their power, the attempts of any nation whatsoever to interfere in their internal legislation, they must therefore consider the continuation of the war, for the purpose of changing the present Government of France, as totally repugnant to that grand principle of morality, "of doing to others as we would they should do unto us," as pregnant with the greatest calamities to this country, and altogether impracticable, as melancholy experience has fully demonstrated: that the petitioners, deeply impressed with these important truths, do therefore, in justice to themselves and their posterity, humbly address their Representatives in Parliament assem-

bled, to interpose, by the wisdom of their Councils, that the much-wanted and invaluable blessings of peace may be speedily restored; and that if, after a declaration on the part of this country of their willingness to enter into a treaty, upon fair, open, and reasonable terms, the enemy should persevere in hostilities, the petitioners, however desirous of peace, will be found as forward in defending the just claims, the honour, and the independence of these kingdoms, as any body of His Majesty's subjects whatever.

Ordered to be laid on the table.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL presented a counter-petition from the same place, signed, he said, by many of the most respectable persons there, and the signatures of ten or eleven respectable persons also appeared to the petition, but he was authorised to say that they were signed by proxy at their request, setting forth,

That the petitioners, strongly disapproving of all attempts to interrupt the deliberations of Parliament, (especially in this momentous crisis) by the obtrusion of the sentiments of individuals, on important subjects, concerning which private individuals can, in general, have no authentic or complete information, beg leave to express their deep concern at finding themselves under a necessity of troubling the House with their disavowal of a petition which they understand is presented, or intended to be presented, to the House, by some persons of the said city and neighbourhood, relative to the time or mode of making peace: that the petitioners firmly rely on the wisdom of His Majesty, and of the great Council of the Nation, and on that paternal goodness which strongly inclines His Majesty (ever consulting the happiness and welfare of his people) to terminate the calamities of war as speedily as a safe and honourable opportunity shall present itself: that in this firm and constitutional confidence they humbly pray that the great resources of this powerful nation may continue to be exerted, in such manner as shall be most conducive to the secure and permanent establishment of a peace, consistent with the true interest, dignity, and glory of the British empire.

On the question, that the petition be laid upon the table, a long, desultory, and in some instances, warm conversation took place.

Mr. LAMBTON entered into a description of the manner in which the signatures had been obtained; many applications, he said, had been made to persons for twenty miles around the City of Durham, to sign this counter-petition, in consequence of the one which he had just presented in the name of many of the most respectable characters in that part of the country. He observed also, that many of the persons, whose names appeared to this counter-petition, were Clergymen, and that it was not very consistent with the doctrines of the religion which they professed, for such persons to pray for the continuance of war.

Mr. FRANCIS wished to know if the Attorney General was authorised to state to the House that the persons whose names were signed by proxy, were so signed by their request, if he could not

anſwer that queſtion in the affirmative, the Houſe ought to conſider that part of the petition as a forgery, and therefore he ſhould in that caſe object to the petition being laid upon the table.

The SPEAKER obſerved that in point of order and regularity, the petition was ſuch as the Houſe ſhould receive as far as regarded thoſe who had actually ſigned it—but with regard to thoſe names that appeared by proxy, it ought to paſs for nothing.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL ſaid that many of the perſons who had ſigned the petition, were amongſt the moſt reſpectable in the kingdom for property and character.

Mr. GREY maintained it to be highly impolitic to make a conſtant reference to the property of individuals who were petitioners to that Houſe, eſpecially on the queſtion of peace or war. It tended to impreſs on the minds of the poor, that their intereſts were not to be attended to in that Houſe; it might induce them to regard the rich as men drawn up in array of battle againſt them, and if ever the hour of extreme calamity ſhould arrive, on whom was the nation at large to depend, if the affections of the poor were loſt?

The SPEAKER brought to the recollection of the Houſe the ſtanding order, which was, that no petition ſhould be received in the names of any perſons if it was not ſigned by their own hands. With reſpect to thoſe who had ſigned it, the petition was regular, but as to thoſe names ſigned by proxy, it was not a petition to the Houſe of Commons, and their names might be eraſed.

Mr. Chancellor PITT thought, that from the reſpectability of thoſe who had actually ſigned the petition, the fair inference was, that the proxies ſpoke the ſentiments of thoſe whoſe names appeared, but who had not ſigned it, and therefore to eraſe their names would be to ſacrifice ſubſtance to form. As to the precepts of chriſtianity, he maintained that they did not forbid a defence of ourſelves; and, this being a war declared by anarchy and Atheiſm againſt order and religion, there was nothing inconſiſtent with the character of a Miniſter of the Goſpel, in petitioning, that the continuance of it might be left to the wiſdom of His Majeſty and the great Council of the nation. With regard to the idea of drawing a line of diſtinction between the intereſts of the rich and the poor in this war, he ſaid, that ſuch a line had never been drawn in that Houſe, except by thoſe who accuſed others of it, for the purpoſe of urging arguments againſt ſuch an Ariſtocratic practice, when, in point of fact, their own practice was, upon that very point, the moſt Ariſtocratical.

Mr. LAMBTON and Mr. GREY denied the charge of the Miniſter, and appealed to the whole of their conduct as a refutation of it.

The MASTER OF THE ROLLS supported the petition.

Mr. Secretary DUNDAS did not wish it to be understood that he felt less for the poor than any other Member of that House; but the common sense of mankind allowed that a certain respect was due to property; and therefore it could not be improper to allude to it, in presenting a petition to that House. If he were to meet the honourable gentleman (Mr. Lambton) in the lobby, he should hardly think it a safe thing to tell him, he should pay no more regard to his petition than to the petition of his stable-boy.

Mr. HARRISON thought, that as the chaff could not be separated from the grain in this petition, the best thing the House could do was to reject it, in order that the parties might have an opportunity of presenting one from which no names ought to be erased.

The SPEAKER said, there were two ways of disposing regularly of this question: to object to the petition being laid on the table, or, after it was there, to move for a Committee to inquire how it was signed, and, if any signatures appeared to be irregular, to erase them.

Mr. MARTIN was of opinion that it was wrong to draw any particular distinction between different ranks of men, who petitioned that House; but if any distinction must be made, he thought that the petitions of the lower class, in the case of war, were more respectable than those which came from the higher, because on the lower the burdens of war most heavily pressed.

General SMITH thought the whole of this conversation extremely irregular.

The question being put, the petition was ordered to be laid on the table.

Mr. Chancellor PITT said, that with regard to the bill which was now before the House for the more effectually supplying His Majesty's navy with seamen, it was his intention to move that it be postponed for three months, for the purpose of bringing in another bill upon the same principle, but varying in a great measure the mode of carrying the principle into effect.

Mr. GREY said, that as the present bill was now understood to be impracticable, possibly the next might be equally reprobated when it came to be understood, and there should certainly be time given to make inquiry from those who were to be most immediately affected by it.

Mr. Chancellor PITT then moved the order of the day on the bill, with a view of postponing the farther consideration of it as he had mentioned; but on the suggestion of the Speaker, on the regularity of the proceeding, the bill was withdrawn.

Mr. Pitt then faid, he fhould move for leave to bring in a new bill upon this fubject to-morrow, and he fhould propofe to go on through the different ftages of it as quickly as poffibly, in order that after it was printed, a week's time fhould be afforded for the various perfons moft immediately interefted to confider it; he propofed to go into a Committee on it, merely for the purpofe of filling up the blanks, the day after to-morrow; and that being the cafe, the better way would be to move now for leave to bring in the bill, which he did. Agreed.

He then moved, "That the other bill, for more effectually fupplying His Majefty's navy with landmen, be referred to a Committee of the whole Houfe on Thurfday next." Ordered.

Mr. CURWEN prefented a petition, figned by about a thoufand perfons in the neighbourhood of Carlifle, praying for peace. Ordered to be laid on the table.

Wednefday, 18th February.

Mr. ROSE moved, "That the particulars of the vote of credit of laft year, fhould be laid upon the table." Ordered.

The Houfe, in a Committee of Supply, voted feveral fums to defray the expence of the civil eftablifhments of Canada, Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, &c.

Mr. ROSE moved, "That the fum of 41,000l. be paid to the reprefentatives of Richard Ofwald, due to him as contractor for the army in Germany, in the year 1763.

Mr. HUSSEY objected to the Committee voting fo large a fum without opportunity being afforded for difcuffing the ground upon which it was granted.

Mr. ROSE faid, that, as large fums had been recovered from public Accountants, it was proper, that fums which were found to be due to them, as in the prefent inftance, fhould be paid to them or their reprefentatives.

The SPEAKER fuggefted, that the proper mode of proceeding would be, for the honourable gentleman to move for the report of the Commiffioners of Public Account, with refpect to the fums due to the reprefentatives of Richard Ofwald.

The Houfe was refumed, the Report ordered to be received to-morrow, and the Committee to fit again on Friday.

Mr. ROSE moved, "That the report of the fums due to the reprefentatives of Richard Ofwald, be laid upon the table; and alfo of the fums due to the Landgrave of Heffe Caffel, for his fervices in the American war." Ordered.

Thursday, 19th February.

Mr. THOMAS STANLEY, from the Select Committee who were appointed to try and determine the merits of the petition of the several persons, whose names are thereunto subscribed, on behalf of themselves, and others, being legal electors of Members to serve in Parliament for the town and port of Seaford, in the county of Sussex, reported to the House, "That the right of election for the town and port of Seaford, according as the same was decided by the last determination in the House of Commons on the 10th of February, 1670-1, is "in the populacy," or, according to the interpretation of the word "populacy" by the resolution of the said House on the 15th of December, 1761, "in the inhabitants, housekeepers of the said town and port, paying scot and lot," and in such inhabitants housekeepers only."

Colonel STANLEY presented a petition from 10,820 inhabitants of the town and neighbourhood of Manchester, setting forth,

That the petitioners, influenced by sentiments of loyalty to the King, and unfeigned attachment to the constitution, with its wise and wholesome provisions, made at the time of the glorious Revolution, conceive it to be an indispensable duty, and a proof of the sincerity of their professions, to represent to the House the evils that have already been produced by the war in which this nation is unfortunately engaged, and the alarming apprehensions which they entertain of still greater calamities ensuing, if measures be not speedily taken for averting the same from this country: that, whatever differences of opinion might have existed at the commencement of the war as to its justice or policy, all descriptions of men must now agree, that its progress has been accompanied by a series of most disastrous events; that the manufactures and commerce of the country have been greatly reduced in consequence of it, the property of many subjects of this realm much injured, and the blood of a multitude of others shed; that the public treasure has been expended; the public debt increased; and that, in proportion as the resources of the nation are impaired, the demands on the people are multiplied, while our allies view the rapid progress and continued successes of the enemy with apparent indifference, or make feeble efforts to resist them, little proportioned to the magnitude of the impending danger, or to the extraordinary subsidies paid them by this country: that, under the present circumstances, the petitioners have nothing to hope from the continuance of the war, but their fears are justly excited lest it should ultimately involve this country in irretrievable ruin; and therefore praying that the House will use the most effectual means for restoring the blessings of peace to this nation; and the petitioners beg leave, at the same time, to assure the House, that if it should appear, contrary to the hopes of the petitioners, that motives of ambition, or implacable revenge, on the part of the enemy, render it impossible to procure a termination of hostilities, the petitioners will contribute most chearfully and zealously, in common with all their fellow subjects, towards a necessary defence of their dearest interests, and the independence of their country.

The petition was brought up, and ordered to be laid upon the table.

Colonel MAITLAND said, that the petition which had now been presented, need no argument to support it. He would more particularly have been disposed to have made no observations on this petition, on account of the place from whence it came, as every man must rather wish to allay than to inflame the spirit of violence which had so disgracefully exhibited itself at Birmingham and Manchester, had it not been for the conduct of the honourable gentleman who had just now brought up the petition, and which was such as compelled him to make a few remarks. The honourable gentleman, he understood, when he presented a counter-petition from the same place, on a former evening, had accompanied it with his own animadversions, stating that it had been signed by all the persons of respectability in the neighbourhood. He appealed to his own personal knowledge for the respectability of many of those who had signed the present petition, and asked, whether he knew any persons in the neighbourhood more respectable; never, indeed, was there a petition, with respect to which the forms of the House were more strictly adhered to. But the honourable gentleman had gone farther; he had said that a degree of mischievous activity had been shewn in procuring signatures: if there was any mischievous activity, it had been confined to the other side, who styled those who signed the present petition, *No King-men, no Church-men*, and described them as persons who murdered all Kings, destroyed all religion, despised the poor, and increased taxes, &c. He had said likewise, that those who had now petitioned for peace, were held in universal odium; if they had incurred any degree of odium, it was only in consequence of the gross misrepresentation of their opponents. He wished to know how the counter-petition had been obtained. It had been obtained by all the arts of influence, misstatement, and corruption. It was signed by many, under the idea that it was a petition for peace. In one of the neighbouring villages, which furnished above four hundred signatures, the Bellman was sent round to invite all Churchmen and Kingmen to sign a petition against republicans and levellers.

Colonel STANLEY said, that the honourable gentleman had not been present when he brought up the counter-petition; upon that occasion he had not stated his own sentiments, but only read an extract of the Chairman, who transmittted him the petition.—When the present petition was put into his hands, he asked the gentlemen who brought it to town, whether they wished that he should say any thing, on presenting it to the House, to which they answer-

ed in the negative. He acknowledged that the present petition had been signed by many persons of great respectability; as to the boys and children, who had signed it, of them he would say nothing. He would always study to discharge his duty as an upright and independent Member.

Colonel MAITLAND said, he would leave to the House to determine whether the honourable gentleman, by reading the letter, did not mean to make the impression that such were his own sentiments. He would take upon him to state that the petition for peace was not signed by one boy or child, whereas the counter-petition was signed by many of that description.

General TARLETON presented a petition from 10,000 merchants, traders, and other inhabitants of the town of Liverpool; setting forth,

That the petitioners, impressed with sentiments of the most unalterable affection for His Majesty's Royal person and family, and earnestly solicitous for the preservation of the constitution of these realms, beg leave to express to the House the anxiety they feel from the present state of this kingdom and its commerce, in consequence of the war: that the petitioners cannot but deeply regret that any particular form of Government which may subsist in France, should be considered as an insuperable bar to a negociation for peace, on terms of honour and advantage to this country: and therefore requesting that the House will be pleased to adopt such measures as they may think proper for restoring to these kingdoms the blessings of peace.

The petition having been read,

General TARLETON rose, and said, Mr. Speaker, in presenting this petition, two points strike forcibly on my mind, to which I desire the attention of the House. The first is of a personal nature, the second of a more general and extensive description. Whilst I explain myself on the first subject, I throw myself entirely on the indulgence of gentlemen, assuring them, at the same time, that I shall compress what I have to say into a very small compass indeed. I am aware, Sir, that I am one of the representatives of the people of England; but I wish to be understood, in speaking upon this part of the subject, as one of the representatives of Liverpool, more than in the general and appropriate character of a Member of this House. From the town where I was born, and by the people amongst whom I was bred and educated, I was sent a representative to Parliament. This mark of their confidence and attachment gained my gratitude and affection; and I determined to watch over their interest and honour, to the best of my ability, and with unshaken integrity. Previous to the commencement of hostilities, I supported the motion of my right honourable friend (Mr. Fox) for negociation. I was aware that the merchants of this country had every thing to

lose, and nothing to gain. My own local knowledge of the country which was likely to be the theatre of war, together with the information I have derived from history, relative to Continental wars, suggested a melancholy foreboding of the catastrophes which have since happened. I therefore opposed the war, because I thought it contrary to the interest of those who sent me to this place; and notwithstanding the flourishing pictures of commerce exhibited by the right honourable the Chancellor of the Exchequer in his eloquent speeches, I know the wears a decaying and mutilated form in the ledgers of my constituents. I opposed the war, because I thought it contrary to the interest of my fellow townsmen; no rational or defined object being held out by Ministers, from which prudent or considerate men could expect any chance of success, or conclusion of hostilities. His Majesty's Ministers were constantly shifting their ground, and quitting one foolish pretext for another; and therefore I had reasonable cause for inferring that it would be a war of loss—of calamity—of horror—and extermination. If I had not these powerful and urgent considerations impressed upon my mind, the conduct of the war would alone have been sufficient cause for opposing His Majesty's Ministers. What can we discover in the course of this extensive war, but rashness and incapacity? The folly of Ministers has been so gigantic, that it has shrouded the martial spirit of the most warlike nation in the world, and reduced the kingdom to an unprecedented and highly dangerous situation. These are my motives, explained as concisely as I could, for opposing the war. I have acted from the most deliberate consideration, and the most conscientious conviction: I have done my duty to my constituents, and am fearless of the consequences.

With respect to the other proposition, which is of a more extensive description, I beg leave to call the attention of the House to the situation and sentiments of this House and the country, at the commencement of the war, and the situation and sentiments of the House and the country at the moment at which I am speaking.—What was the situation of the country at the commencement of hostilities? Strong in men and money—rich in resources, and monopolizing almost all the commerce of the world. What were the sentiments of this House and the country? I need not now investigate whether there was alarm or delusion circulated wantonly and mischievously through the whole extent of the island: that is not the question I mean to argue at this moment. Suffice it to say, that notwithstanding the warning voice of my right honourable friend (Mr. Fox), no Minister ever had, in any virtuous or wicked cause, so decided a majority in this House, or in the country.

What is the present situation of Great Britain? A number of valuable lives have been lost; great sums of money have been expended; the commerce of the kingdom has been injured, and almost destroyed; our Continental allies have invariably deceived us; the Despots of Germany are now grasping with insatiable avarice at the millions of Britain, exacted from her deluded and impoverished inhabitants: the chief Magistrate of Holland (one of the States we undertook to defend, one of the pretexts, I may say, for going to war) has been expelled from his high situation, and has taken refuge in our country. What man sits upon the Treasury bench, that does not now abandon the design of invading France, and attacking Paris? Is it not a fact, that the visionary hopes of foreign conquest are relinquished, and that the Cabinet is now employed in providing protection for our own coasts, and drawing troops around the metropolis of England?

What are the sentiments of this House and the country at the moment at which I am speaking? If there was occasion to refer to the petitions now upon the table—do not the petitions and counter-petitions agree as to their object? Yes; they, in unqualified terms, ask for peace. Will any Minister or Ministerialist, any Alarmer or Alarmist; is there any man so profligate or corrupt in this House, who will get up, and pronounce that the country is now as unanimous for the war as it was at its commencement? I believe no man possesses nerves and front competent to such a declaration.—This, therefore, would be enough for my argument, and for the inference which I shall presently deduce from it. But these petitions, as well as all the conversation out of doors, are proofs and testimonies that the majority of the country is decidedly for peace. The petitions of York, Manchester, Norwich, Liverpool, Southwark, and London, are trumpet-tongued, and proclaim the wishes and sentiments of the country.

With this manifest direction of our constituents; with this palpable alteration in the public opinion, coupled with the present calamitous situation of our foreign affairs, does it not require all the vigour, all the integrity, all the abilities of the kingdom, to rescue the State from the destruction which hovers over it? It does require the aggregate of these qualities and virtues, united with the strictest attention and the sincerest patriotism, to restore Great Britain to her former happiness, splendor, dignity, and power. What, therefore, are the most likely measures to call forth the vigour and unanimity of the country, and to produce so desirable an end? The offering peace to the French, and the committing the conduct of the war into other hands. Let us offer peace to the French—let it be a peace

in which England can partake with ſecurity and honour. If terms ſuch as are compatible with the ſafety and glory of England, are refuſed, when offered by proper men, and in a proper manner, let us look our ferocious enemy in the face—let us call forth reſources which theſe feeble Miniſters cannot bring into action—let us call forth thoſe beſt allies in all wars, wiſdom and energy—let us try to ſave the State, and we ſhall afterwards have time to puniſh the authors of our calamities.

The petition was ordered to lie upon the table.

Mr. B. GASCOYNE brought up a counter-petition of the Gentlemen, Clergy, Merchants, Free Burgeſſes, and other inhabitants, of the borough of Liverpool; ſetting forth,

That the petitioners, at a time like the preſent, when certain perſons have preferred petitions to the Houſe, praying for the ſpeedy reſtoration of the bleſſings of peace, feel themſelves called upon to declare, that, although they are equally anxious for ſo deſirable an event, if to be obtained upon ſafe and honourable terms, yet they cannot but conceive ſuch petitions as having a tendency to impede the operations of the Executive Power; and to palſy its energy, thereby giving encouragement to the common enemy, and protracting the attainment of the very object they profeſs to advance; and, with thoſe ſentiments, the petitioners pray that this Houſe, to whom, in conjunction with the other two branches of the Legiſlature, the petitioners look up with the firmeſt confidence, will be pleaſed to adopt ſuch vigorous and deciſive meaſures, as, in their joint wiſdom, ſhall be beſt calculated to ſecure to theſe kingdoms the ineſtimable bleſſings of an excellent conſtitution, and to continue to them that independence and external reſpect, which are eſſentially neceſſary to the protection of our trade and commerce, and this Houſe having, by a ſolemn vote, coincided with the deſire uniformly manifeſted by His Majeſty, to effect a pacification on juſt and honourable grounds, with any Government in France, under whatever form, which ſhall appear capable of maintaining the accuſtomed relatives of peace and amity with other countries, the petitioners humbly beg leave to expreſs their determination firmly and ſteadily to ſupport His Majeſty in the proſecution of the preſent juſt and neceſſary war, until the arrival of that happy period, as affording the only reaſonable expectation of permanent ſecurity and peace to this country.

Ordered to lie upon the table.

Lord MORPETH preſented a petition, of which the following is a copy:

To the Honourable the Houſe of Commons of Great Britain, in Parliament aſſembled.

The Petition of the underſigned Freemen of the City of Carliſle,

Sheweth,

That your petitioners underſtanding that their names are ſubſcribed to a petition to your honourable Houſe, entitled, "A petition from the Freemen of the city of Carliſle," aver that they neither ſigned the ſaid petition themſelves, nor authorized any other perſon to ſign it for them;

and indignant at so gross an imposition, most earnestly intreat your honourable House will either cause their names to be expunged from the said petition, or order the petition itself to be withdrawn, as to your wisdom shall seem meet.

Signed,

Edward Singling,
James Robinson,
Peter Wilson,
John Thompson,
Joseph Thompson,
Thomas Tiuling,
John Simpson,
John Wilson,
Thomas Cartner,
James Robinson,
John Coulthard,
John Rodford,
Thomas Simpson.

Lord MORPETH moved, that the petition might lie upon the table.

Mr. WALLACE said, that on seconding the motion, he regretted that the effect of it could only extend to expunging the names of the persons who complained: he wished that it might have gone to the complete rejection of the petition against which the complaint was directed. He knew, he said, how valuable was the right of petitioning to the subject, and was as desirous as any man to encourage the exercise of it; but there did exist abuses in its practice, against which he thought the indignation of the House could not be too strongly manifested. In the petition presented by the honourable gentleman some time ago, a forcible instance was presented; and he would venture to declare, that, taking the circumstances now stated, in addition to those which he had the honour of stating upon a former occasion, a more flagrant and atrocious case of abuse had never claimed the attention of Parliament. The greatest respect, he said, was due from the House to the petitions of the People, on every occasion; but in proportion as that respect was felt to be due, in the same degree they ought to be careful and jealous that the petitions spoke the fair and free sentiments of the persons whose signatures they bore; that they had not been obtained, as in the present instance, by the grossest misrepresentation; that their number had not been swelled by the addition of the names of the dead, or supported by the most barefaced and audacious forgery. He hoped and believed the honourable gentleman (Mr. Curwen) who had presented the petition, was not privy to the imposture; he believed he did him justice, when he said, that he thought him, on no occasion, capable of giving his countenance to fraud and falsehood, and that if he had known these charges could be fairly laid against the petition, he would not have presented it. Who were guilty he did not know; he was happy he was ignorant, as he should have been sorry to have been under the necessity of applying to any individuals those epithets which every man must feel

due to the actors and contrivers of such an imposition. He said he was glad that the persons whose names had been abused, to serve purposes in which they never concurred and did not approve, had felt the injury as they ought to do; that they had made a solemn and public appeal to that House for redress; because it gave the circumstance the greatest notoriety—too public for the benefit of the country, he was convinced it could not be; not that it was of great importance whether this or that obscure individual set his name to a petition; but it was of importance that so daring and dangerous an imposture should be detected and exposed, it might tend to prevent similar practices in other places: if the case was generally known, as he trusted it would be, the example of what had happened at Carlisle would awaken the precautions of every part of the kingdom against the like attempt; it would convince men, that there was nothing to which the advocates for immediate peace were not ready to descend, for the attainment of their purposes; it might prevent that House from being, in this awful moment, deluded by false appearances of strength and numbers, from being led to give that weight and influence to the clamours of what was perhaps only feeble minorities, which was due only to the general voice, or deliberate sense of a great majority of the people.

If any of these effects were produced, he might, he said, congratulate those who had taken this step, upon having rendered an essential service to their country. In the sanguine hope that these effects would be produced, it was with great pleasure he seconded the motion of his noble friend, that the petition do lie upon the table.

Mr. CURWEN expressed his hope that an inquiry would be made by what means these names had been signed to the petition. He could take upon him to state, that never was any petition brought forward more fairly than that of the freemen of Carlisle. It was voted at a public meeting, at which there were only four dissenting voices; no solicitation whatever had been made for signatures.

Mr. WALLACE said, that no solicitation had been made for signatures, because it appeared that they had put down names without asking leave.

Mr. FOX said, he wished very much for an explanation of this matter, it was a thing which ought to be inquired into, and even those who wished to prove the truth of this complaint, ought to promote an enquiry. He must observe, however, that the honourable gentleman who spoke last, had been misinformed once already upon another petition upon this very subject; he could not, there-

fore, perfectly rely on the accuracy of his information in the present instance. With respect to the matter complained of, he could only say that, if any persons presumed to set down any names except their own to any petition presented to that House, they grossly infringed on its privileges, and therefore he wished the matter to be investigated, and nothing could follow if the matter should be true, but the erasure of the names, and perhaps the punishment of the persons who were guilty. He must also observe that it by no means followed, as of course from what had already appeared, that those names were inserted by the friends of the petition; for such an imposture, with a view to discredit the prayer which it contained, was more likely to be practised by enemies than friends to the petition. Here it appeared that the names of seven or eight persons were forged to a petition which was signed by some hundred persons, and he was convincee upon the face of the transaction, that these names were not entered by the friends of the petition. The honourable gentleman had said that the advocates for peace would descend to any thing. Now he was an advocate for peace, and he trusted it was not necessary for him to say, that he would not descend to any thing that was improper, or that he was more likely, on account of what he had just heard, to confide in any promises that were to be made of the happy issue of this great, glorious, and successful war. With respect to what the honourable gentleman had been pleased to say of feeble minority, he confessed they were but few in that House, but he trusted they were not very feeble; the manner in which things were managed out of doors, was a little singular; for this great, this vigorous, this triumphant majority, never came to any of the meetings projected by this feeble minority, where the question of peace or war was to be agitated; perhaps this great majority were too magnanimous to insult this feeble minority, and staid away on that account; and whenever they had any petition, they proceeded in the most open and candid manner, for he would not say that they procured signatures unfairly, but he would say that, in the counter-petitions, there did appear something like management, for, in every one of them, peace was mentioned as a thing exceedingly desirable, and the only doubts were upon the question, Whether it ought to be made at this moment? Whatever might be conceived of the state of opposition to the present war in that House, he conceived that a complete proof could be had of what was going forward out of the House by the petitions that had already been brought into it, and he believed that, however feeble the minority might seem to some persons, the people at large would very soon show what were their sentiments upon the war. It was

extremely material for gentlemen who looked to the real ſtate of this country, to reflect whether, if the war muſt be proſecuted, it did not behove Government to take ſome ſtep to produce unanimity, and in this view, he conſidered opinions out of doors as extremely important. With reſpect to his own opinion in that Houſe, he always formed it for himſelf, upon the beſt view he could take of the queſtion to be conſidered; and with reſpect to the opinions of people at large, he believed they were not now likely to be long governed by majorities in that Houſe or elſewhere.

Lord MORPETH then moved, "that, inſtead of the preſent petition being laid on the table, a Committee be appointed to examine the matter of a petition preſented to the Houſe on the 22d of January laſt, on behalf of the freemen of Carliſle, and report it, as it ſhall appear to them, to the Houſe."

Mr. CURWEN ſuggeſted the propriety of the Committee being a Committee of the whole Houſe.

Mr. Chancellor PITT thought, that that would be inconvenient, and that a ſelect Committee would examine the ſubject better.

The queſtion was put and carried, and the following Members were ſelected to be of the Committee:

Lord Morpeth,	Mr. Huſſey,
Sir H. Fletcher,	Mr. Howard,
Mr. Curwen,	Mr. Sumner,
Mr. Braddyll,	Mr. Martin.

Mr. HUSSEY then moved, "That the account of the extraordinaries of the army be printed;" which, after a ſhort converſation between him and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, was ordered.

Mr. Secretary DUNDAS brought up a copy of His Majeſty's order in council, for laying an embargo on all Britiſh ſhips and veſſels, for the better manning of His Majeſty's navy. Ordered to be laid on the table.

Mr. HOBART brought up the report of the Committee of Supply. The reſolutions were read and agreed to.

Mr. Chancellor PITT obſerved that, as public buſineſs of a preſſing nature (the extraordinaries of the army) was to be diſcuſſed to-morrow, it might be convenient that the motion of his honourable friend, Mr. Wilberforce, on the ſlave trade, might be deferred to ſome open day in the next week.

Mr. FOX ſaid, there was no buſineſs of greater importance than that of the ſlave trade; it was now preſſing alſo in point of time. We all knew that the queſtion had been evaded by ſome

means or other, and the evafion had certainly put the bufinefs altogether in very confiderable danger. There had been a very great delay in this matter, perhaps very properly; he was giving no opinion upon that fubject now, but that Houfe fhould fuffer as little farther delay as poffible; and, therefore, if the difcuffion did not take place to-morrow, he hoped it would as foon afterwards as poffible.

Mr. WILBERFORCE faid, that he fhould be very forry to have his intended motion delayed; but as he would be very forry to inconvenience the Houfe, and was defirous to oblige his right honourable friend, he fhould have no objection to poftpone his motion to the firft open day, provided he could have an affurance that it fhould pyfitively be brought on upon the day on which it fhould now be fixed to take place. He had, therefore, no objection to waving his motion for to-morrow, on this condition.

Thurfday next was fixed for the motion to be brought forward.

Mr. Chancellor PITT moved the order of the day on the bill for raifing men for the navy out of the counties of Great Britain. He faid, he took it for granted, that gentlemen being already in poffeffion of the printed bill, had made up their minds on the fubject; and as it was not his intention to introduce any amendment very materially different from what he had already ptopofed, he did not fee the neceffity of detaining the Houfe by any thing he had to fay at that time, unlefs he heard fome objections which he had not anticipated.

The Houfe refolved itfelf into the faid Committee, and Lord Arden was in the chair.

Several gentlemen fpoke in the Committee; and the principal object which gave birth to a difference of opinion, feemed to be, how far they fhould or fhould not depend on the returns of the population of the different counties with refpect to the *ratio* of landmen that was to be furnifhed by each, in confequence of the number of houfes paying taxes in each county, which was the criterion of diftribution on which the principle of the bill was founded.

Several amendments were propofed and received, after which the provifions were agreed too, and ordered to be reported.

The report was received immediately, and then the Chancellor of the Exchequer moved, That the report be printed and taken into further confideration on Monday.—Ordered.—He then intimated that he fhould propofe that the bill be read a third time on Monday.

Mr. CAWTHORNE propofed as a claufe to the bill, that every gentleman having three men fervants, fhould furnifh one for the fervice of the navy, or pay the fum of twenty guineas; if he

had five servants, that he should furnish two, and so on in proportion.

Mr. CURWEN was of opinion, the clause was a very proper one, for that the rich ought to come forward in support of this war more than any other, for it was chiefly in support of their interests it was carried on.

Mr. Chancellor PITT said, he should feel it his duty to object to this clause, and he believed that, in opening the ways and means on Monday for the service of the year, he should convince gentlemen of the description to which the clause referred, he had not forgot that they ought to bear a considerable share of the fresh burdens to be laid on the public.

Mr. CURWEN said, he was glad the Minister was determined to tax the rich, but he saw no reason yet why the clause should not be adopted also. He thought still, that people of an elevated condition ought to come chearfully forward to bear the burdens of the war, that the poor might be relieved as much as possible. He would go farther, and say that, in his opinion, all circumstances considered, the Crown itself should come forward, and contribute to the support of this war; for, he thought, these were times in which great concessions ought to be made to the people.

Mr. Chancellor PITT then brought up the new bill, for raising men in proportion to the tonnage of ships, &c.

It was read a first and second time, and ordered to be printed.

Friday, 20th February.

Mr. Chancellor PITT brought up a copy of His Majesty's order in Council, relative to the exportation and the importation of wheat and other grain.—Ordered to be laid on the table.

The SECRETARY AT WAR brought up an account of the distribution of the two millions five hundred thousand pounds voted to be paid to the King of Prussia.—Ordered to be laid on the table.

Mr. THORNTON said, he had had the honour to present a petition, on a former day, from a great number of the inhabitants of Southwark, against a farther prosecution of the war, and he now begged to present a counter-petition to that, from a considerable number of respectable inhabitants in that borough, who desired not to be included in the object of the former petition; but, as they approved of the principles in which the war was commenced, so they confided the termination of it to the wisdom and discretion of Parliament.

The petition was brought up, and ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. ROSE produced a copy of accounts of sums of money, due

from this country to the representatives of the late Mr. Oswald, Commissary of a late war in Germany, and also due to the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel. On the question being put for laying the accounts on the table,

General SMITH observed, that previous notice should have been given of a business of this kind. These were accounts of a transaction which had taken place thirty years ago. One of them involved a sum of 41,000l. and the other a very large sum of money. He hoped that if any thing was to be voted on these accounts, all the particulars should be laid before the House.

Mr. ROSE observed that the honourable gentleman might have been aware some days, that these accounts were to be on the table. He had proposed to bring them forward before, but on the suggestion of another Member he withdrew his motion then, for the purpose of bringing these accounts forward, as he had done to-day, for information to the House upon the subject, before any vote was to be proposed. If the money stated in these accounts be justly due, he apprehended that the length of time it had been owing, was not to be urged as a reason for not paying it. The account now on the table had been attentively and carefully examined by Commissioners, who had approved of it. If there was any reason to be given for not paying the money, the Treasury would not at all consider that as a matter of regret, but on the other hand, it was necessary that justice should be done. If there was any other information in his power, required, he was ready to give it.—The accounts were then ordered to be laid on the table.

General TARLETON said, that he was about to make a series of motions, which he should now read to the House, and which were as follows:

That there be laid before this House, a copy of the return of the effectives of the British army under the command of General His Royal Highness the Duke of York, serving in Flanders and on the frontier of France, on the 1st of April 1794;

That there be laid before this House, a copy of the return of the effectives of the British army under the command of General His Royal Highness the Duke of York, serving in Flanders and on the frontier of France, on the 2d of April 1794;

That there be laid before this House, a copy of the return of the sick and wounded of the British army under the command of General His Royal Highness the Duke of York, serving in Flanders and on the frontier of France, on the 1st of April 1794;

That there be laid before this House, a copy of the return of the effectives of the British army serving on the frontier of Holland and in Flanders, on the 1st of August 1794;

That there be laid before this House, a copy of the return of the sick and wounded of the British army serving on the frontier of Holland and in Flanders, on the 1st of August, 1794.

That there be laid before this House, a copy of the return of the effectives of the British army serving on the frontiers of Holland and Westphalia, on the 1st of February, 1795.

That there be laid before this House, a copy of the return of all regiments and recruits sent to the said army, between the 1st of April, 1794, and the 1st of February, 1795.

The first motion being read, the question upon it was put, and the House divided.—

For the motion 11, Against it 64.

Upon the second motion the House divided again:

For the motion 18, Against it 86.

The consideration of the petition from Carlisle, on the right of election, was deferred to the 3d of March next.

Mr. WHITBREAD moved, "That an humble Address be presented to His Majesty, praying, that he will be graciously pleased to give directions that there be laid before the House a copy of a treaty concluded between His Majesty and the Duke of Brunswick." —Ordered.

He moved afterwards, "That the copy of the instrument respecting the kingdom of Corsica now on the table be printed."—Ordered.

Mr. Chancellor PITT moved the order of the day, on the bill for supplying the navy out of various ships, in a certain proportion according to their tonnage.

The bill passed a Committee of the whole House in a formal manner; and the Report was received immediately, and ordered to be printed; and then

Mr. Chancellor PITT moved, "That the Report be reconsidered this day se'nnight."—Ordered.

The SECRETARY AT WAR moved the order of the day, for the House to resolve itself into a Committee of the whole House, to consider farther of a supply to be granted to His Majesty.

The House being in a Committee, he moved, that the sum of 3,063,968l. be granted to His Majesty towards defraying the extraordinary expences of the land forces, &c. from December 1793, to December 1794.

Mr. HUSSEY observed an account of sums paid upon bills which were drawn upon Mr. Brook Watson, to the enormous amount of 1,189,000l. and he afterwards observed an account of bills drawn by Mr. Watson to the still more enormous amount of 1,900,000l. —Now he wished to know, whether the first account was alone confined to the extra expences of the year 1793, and the latter account to be classed under the current expences of the present year, and whether they were joint or separate accounts, that is to say, whether the sum of 1,189,000l. was to be included in the

account of bills drawn to the amount of 1,900,000l. or whether they were diſtinct and ſeparate accounts?

Mr. Chancellor PITT replied, that all the bills were drawn before the 24th of December, 1794, and were of courſe to be arranged in the accounts of that year; but as all the bills have not been yet received, ſo the preciſe ſtatement of the whole account could not yet be given.

Mr. HUSSEY hoped whenever a preciſe ſtatement could be given of the amount, that an account of the application of it would be given alſo.

Mr. Chancellor PITT replied, that Mr. Brook Watſon would of courſe give an account of the application.

Colonel MAITLAND obſerved, that a very large ſum of money was expended at Toulon, and another very large ſum in the Weſt Indies, and he hoped there would be no objection to lay the detail before the Houſe much more explicitly than appeared at preſent. He wiſhed to know whether the Houſe was to have complete information upon all the ſubjects now before the Committee, particularly as to the difference which had been ſaid to ſubſiſt between the treatment of different regiments, upon which he muſt ſay a word or two hereafter; but firſt he muſt obſerve, that with regard to the expenditure of money in the Weſt Indies, it appeared to him, that during the whole of the year 1794, when we got Martinique, Guadaloupe, and St. Domingo, it only coſt us 191,000l. whereas the extraordinary expenditure at Toulon amounted to 400,000l. This appeared to him to be very ſingular, and he wiſhed to know whether the Houſe were to have proper information upon that ſubject. There were two other points on which he muſt make a few obſervations—A large ſum of money was paid to a Member of that Houſe, an honourable gentleman, for whom, as an individual he had the higheſt reſpect, both for his military talents, and his private virtue; a gentleman who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the laſt war. This gentleman (he alluded to Colonel Fullarton) was paid 15,000l. now, for what he did fifteen years ſince; now it was rather ſtrange that he had not been paid before, and that ſuch an account as this ſhould come forward at this particular period. He did not ſay it was improper, for he muſt repeat, that he had too much eſteem for that brave officer and excellent man, to ſay any thing againſt him perſonally; but yet, as a Member of that Houſe, he muſt ſay the matter required explanation. Had not Colonel Fullarton at the time he raiſed the troops received the ſame bounty, that was given to other officers? Another part of his obſervations was diſtinctly directed to the extraordinaries of the army, under the head of the

Foreign and Emigrant corps. He had underftood, he faid, that our own troops beheld thefe corps with a great degree of jealoufy, becaufe it was generally believed that they were more favoured than our regiments, and therefore he conceived fome explanation ought to be given. The Emigrant corps, he believed, were not fo complete as they were ftated in the accounts before the Houfe, and he wifhed to know how the returns of thefe corps were afcertained? Whether they had the fame checks in their payment as the Britifh troops? And whether the officers or men had more emoluments? He wifhed not to have a lumping fum of ten regiments, but a regular return, as was ufual in every Britifh regiment.

The SECRETARY AT WAR advifed the honourable gentleman to rectify a miftake he was likely to fall into by not diftinguifhing thofe emigrant companies ferving under the Duke of York from thofe which acted under his (the Secretary's) immediate infpection. They were included in different ftatements; for of thofe upon the comment he could not fpeak fo pofitively, either as to their conftruction or their pay. In regard to their condition, he did not underftand they were on any better footing than the Britifh troops, but rather the contrary. He was abroad laft fummer, when he fhould certainly have heard of the complaints which the honourable gentleman had mentioned, if there had been any reafon to complain; but in his converfations with the Britifh officers he had never heard the remark which the honourable gentleman had ftated, and from what he did hear he had reafon to furmife they were in every refpect below our own troops. As to the advantages the officers were faid to poffefs in preference to our own, he could affirm that fuch was not the cafe. He knew the rule was not to exceed the pay and allowance of the Britifh troops.

Mr. Chancellor PITT faid, that with regard to the detail of the bills when they came from the Commiffioners, he fhould not have the fmalleft difinclination to lay them before the Houfe, if any gentleman fhould defire it. He had no doubt but that the Commiffioners would tranfmit their accounts with all the difpatch poffible; and upon this fubject he was happy in reflecting that late regulations had enabled gentlemen to underftand the expenditure of this branch of the public fervice, in a manner much fuperior to former periods, and nothing could be more his wifh than that gentlemen fhould have the benefit of that regulation, in order to form their opinion upon the fubject. With regard to what had been faid, relative to a fum of money given to an honourable Member of that Houfe, he muft obferve it was not for raifing men, that the charge was made; the truth was, that many worthy men, now no more,

were perfectly satisfied with the merit of the service for which this sum was paid. In the course of the last war, that honourable gentleman was employed in a service of great secrecy, in the course of which he advanced a large sum of money out of his own pocket. He was employed by the Earl of Guilford; he went abroad, and when he returned, some difficulty arose from the nature of the service, and perhaps the matter was not investigated as readily as it might have been. A reference, however, was afterwards made to Commissioners appointed for that purpose, and they reported on the merits of the service, as well as their opinion on the interest due for the money advanced by that honourable gentleman, for all which it appeared that the sum of 15,000l. was by no means an extravagant allowance. The House, if it was desired, should see the Report of the Commissioners; and he should now only say, that the payment of this money could not be delayed without injustice.

Mr. FOX said, that he conceived some explanation to be necessary with respect to the large extent of particular sums. He could not help adverting to what had been remarked by his honourable friend, the enormous expences incurred at Toulon in comparison with those that had been employed for the service of the West Indies. As to the money granted to Sir Gilbert Elliot as Civil Commissioner to France, he did not conceive that after the evacuation of Toulon such an office was necessary, though he found that he had received the salary till the time that he had been appointed Viceroy of Corsica. Now that a new office had been created for him he supposed that he no longer remained Civil Commissioner. With respect to the money that had been so long due to Colonel Fullarton, it was rather surprising that he should not have been able sooner to establish his claims. It was now stated to have been due for fifteen years, during the greatest part of which the honourable gentleman had been in this country, and had the farther advantage of urging his claims as a Member of that House, and that he should have been able all at once in the course of this session to render his claims so much more intelligible than at any former period, was rather something unaccountable. Great stress was laid on the authority of the late Lord Guilford in the present instance, from which it would appear that greater attention was paid to the authority of that noble Lord now that he was dead, then had been paid when he was living. There was only one point more to which he should advert; he thougnt that the emigrant corps raised under the bill of last year ought not to exist at all. Since that bill passed, circumstances had materially varied. The late declaration of Ministers, that they were ready to treat with any form of Government in France capable

of maintaining the accustomed relations of peace and amity, though he did not think it sufficiently explicit, went, however, to state that any hopes of the emigrants as to the restoration of the ancient system, were now desperate. How far then was it consistent with honour or policy to employ them under the idea of fighting for a cause which was completely out of the question? If Ministers were ready, as they professed, to treat with any Government, whether an Aristocracy or a Democracy, to the exclusion of all the hopes of the emigrants, to continue to employ them under the bill of last year, was, in his mind, contrary to policy, justice, and humanity, and he should therefore, when the vote was proposed, give his negative to the sum appropriated for this service.

Mr. Chancellor PITT replied to the different points adverted to by the last right honourable speaker. He stated, that after the evacuation of Toulon, Sir Gilbert Elliot had been employed on public business in Italy, and had continued to be engaged in very important services till the time that he was appointed Viceroy of Corsica. It was difficult to account for the amount of expences till the particulars were before the House; but when it was considered that we had got possession of Toulon chiefly in consequence of the pressure of famine, and that a very large force were on the spur of the occasion to be supplied with provisions, it was not to be wondered that the expence of this service should be considerably greater than in the case of expeditions, where the provisions were supplied from this country. As to the emigrants, he contended that the declarations of the last and of the present year were perfectly consistent. Whether there were the same hopes of success, or the same expediency in retaining them in our service, as when they were first employed, were mere questions of policy. Ministers had not pledged themselves to the emigrants to restore the old form of Government; they had last year on passing the bill disclaimed any such pledge. At the same time if any opportunity should unexpectedly present itself of bringing back the ancient system, they did not say that they would not employ them for that purpose. If this country was led from compassion to maintain a large body of emigrants, was it not fair that it should avail itself of their services in any way in which they could be rendered useful to the common cause?

Mr. HUSSEY remarked, that some of the sums were charged in a very indefinite manner, viz. to the Deputy Pay-Masters in the West Indies, without specifying the names of those Pay-Masters. He also animadverted upon the immense sums charged as extraordinaries in Jamaica, and in the Bahama Islands.

Mr. Chancellor PITT replied, that with respect to the sum

charged for extraordinaries in Jamaica," it should be recollected that a considerable part of the expences of the expedition to St. Domingo, was defrayed in Jamaica, which accounted for the largeness of the sum charged. As to the expences incurred for the Bahama Islands, it would be found, that they were not greater than the exigence of the service, and the necessary preparations of defence required. The other alluded to by the honourable gentleman, viz. the sums charged by the Deputy Pay-Masters, the particulars of them might be called for when the accounts of the Deputy Pay-Masters were given in.

Mr. HUSSEY said, he should not know how to call for them, as they were not charged to any particular person.

Mr. STEELE explained to the House why the sums were charged to the Deputy Pay-Masters, without naming them: the reason was, that the Deputy Pay-Master had occasion to come to England upon business, and there was a person appointed to act in his room, and afterwards a third person was appointed.

Sir WILLIAM DOLFEN took notice of an account that had been standing undetermined for many years; it was for sums due to a gentleman who had been Governor of Cape Breton; and called home to answer certain accusations; he had been now for seven or eight years demanding a condemnation or acquittal, and the settlement of the sums due to him, without being able to obtain either. He was constantly told that he was a very meritorious character, and that he should be recommended to His Majesty, and in the mean time was reduced to the brink of ruin. If this business should not be taken up by the Executive Government, he should think it his duty to bring it before the House.

Mr. FOX wished to know if all hopes of the expedition against the coast of France under Lord Moira were now given up, whether in point of œconomy it would not be proper to apply to some other service the troops destined for that expedition, which had only tended to cripple our other exertions. Guadaloupe was now lost, and St. Domingo, it was to be feared, would quickly follow. Ought we then still to keep up preparations which there was no prospect of being able to use with any advantage, when the force which now remained inactive, was wanted for service in another quarter?

Mr. Chancellor PITT said there was no mode of arguing this point without going into all the circumstances connected with that expedition, which at present was impossible; he trusted, however, that a time would come for the discussion, when it would appear that such circumstances had occurred from time to time, as perfectly justified Ministers in keeping up those preparations. As to the fact,

the troops under Lord Moira, ſo far from being uſeleſs, had been active on the Continent during ſome part of laſt campaign; they had at different times ſupplied reinforcements to the army abroad, which had been replaced by freſh levies; and he ſtated that to retain ſuch a depot of force, always at hand, and under the conduct of ſo able a Commander, was a circumſtance of conſiderable conſequence to the internal defence of the country.

General SMITH ſaid, he was ſorry to find that ſuch large ſums had been laid out in fortifications in the Bahama Iſlands, and he thought it improper that ſo great an expence ſhould be incurred without the previous approbation of Parliament.

Mr. Chancellor PITT conceived that he had been miſunderſtood; he did not ſay that all the ſum charged had been laid out in fortifying the Bahama Iſlands; he ſaid it had been expended in making the neceſſary preparations for their defence. He agreed with the honourable General, that it was not proper for Governors to take upon themſelves to erect fortifications; and indeed every precaution was conſtantly taken by Government to prevent it, by ſtrictly forbidding it in their inſtructions. But at the ſame time it was ſometimes neceſſary for a Governor, on the preſſure of immediate danger, to erect fortifications, and therefore it muſt in ſome degree be left to the diſcretion of the Governor, as it was one of thoſe things which could not with ſafety be wholly prevented.

Mr. DUNDAS obſerved, that the expences incurred in taking meaſures for the defence of the Bahama Iſlands, were entirely juſtifiable; becauſe laſt year, when an armament was fitted out by the French from a place from which he hoped they never would fit out another, it was doubtful whether their object was to attack Hallifax or to proceed againſt the Bahama Iſlands. Under theſe circumſtances it was certainly proper to take every means of putting thoſe iſlands in the beſt poſſible ſtate of defence.

General TARLETON ſaid, that if the troops under Lord Moira had been ſooner detached to the Continent, they might have ſaved Nieuport, and averted the unhappy fate of the emigrants; as it was, they did not arrive till Oſtend had fallen. He remarked that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had laſt year ſtated that the ſum of eight hundred thouſand pounds then voted for extraordinaries, would be amply ſufficient for the ſervice of the year. In the preſent diſaſtrous ſtate of affairs, the Houſe were called upon to vote three millions; he ſuppoſed that the demand would riſe in proportion as the ſituation of the country became more calamitous and diſtreſſing, and that next year a vote would be propoſed of nine millions.

Colonel MAITLAND lamented to ſee the enormous expences

incurred for building barracks. He was sure, that when the House first gave their assent to this plan of building barracks they were not aware of the extent to which it would be carried. The House would be astonished to hear that there had been already above 500,000l. expended for that purpose. But this was not the only expence; for there was a degree of patronage annexed to every barrack, in the appointment of barrack-masters, &c. The money thus laid out would have been sufficient to indemnify the innkeepers for their losses in having soldiers quartered upon them, and the country might have been saved from the dangerous and unconstitutional plan of building barracks.

Mr. Chancellor PITT said that whenever this subject came to be fully investigated, he would contend that the money laid out in the erection of barracks had been most beneficially expended—He was perfectly willing that every account that could be called for, should be laid before the House, because he was sure that the more gentlemen considered the subject, the more they would be satisfied, that both with respect to the health and the discipline of the troops, the erection of barracks would prove highly advantageous, exclusive of the other argument, of the great hardships under which innkeepers and publicans laboured.

Mr. W. SMITH cited some passages from Blackstone's Commentaries, to prove that barracks were dangerous to the liberties of the people.

The resolution was put and agreed to.

Mr. WINDHAM moved, that a sum not exceeding 427,620l. be granted to His Majesty to defray the expence of raising, &c. corps of emigrants, pursuant to the act passed last year.

Colonel MAITLAND repeated his observation, of their being better treated than the English troops.—He wished the House was in possession of some more clear intelligence as to the number and state of that body of troops.

Mr. WINDHAM, in reply, said, that in respect to the emigrant corps employed in the service of this country, the whole of the expence was not superior to an equal number of our own troops, and that the most satisfactory information on this head could be afforded the honourable gentleman, if the same was demanded.

Major MAITLAND observed, the right honourable Secretary did not answer ~~ to one particular, namely, whether the arrears of the emigrant corps had been put on the same footing with those of the British troops? The establishment of the emigrant corps he thought so vague and undetermined, that he would himself make a motion on a future day, to fix the same specifically.

Mr. WINDHAM, in reply, said, that all the regiments included in the paper on the table were entirely on the same footing.

The remaining resolutions were afterwards separately put and carried; and the Report on the same ordered to be brought up on Monday next.

Sir JOHN SINCLAIR said, that before the Committee dissolved, he should make a motion that the sum of 3000l. be granted to the Board of Agriculture—Agreed to.

Monday, 23d February.

Colonel MAITLAND moved for a copy of the agreement entered into with certain officers, for raising a corps of emigrants. Ordered.

Mr. WHITBREAD moved that that part of the Report of the Committee of Supply, which related to the 15,000l. paid to Colonel Fullarton, for services performed fifteen years ago, be printed, in order that an examination might be made into the validity of the employment, and the performance of the duty.

Mr. Chancellor PITT signified no unwillingness to assent.

Mr. FOX said he had no opposition to make to this motion, but he doubted whether it would lead to all the information that might be requisite, in order to understand the matter fully. It was rather extraordinary that this business had not been settled before.

Mr. HOBART brought up the Report of the Committee of Supply.

On reading that part of it which allowed to Sir Gilbert Elliot a large sum of money,

Mr. FOX said this was a point which required farther explanation. He observed, that he believed Sir Gilbert Elliot was employed for civil affairs in France; he did not know why he was employed, nor did he know any thing of the utility of his employment. He was employed too in Italy by His Majesty. It was a proper employment perhaps, and he might be a proper person for it, but these were not questions now before that House. The King's civil list was given him to enable His Majesty to carry on diplomatic concerns; if that civil list was too narrow, it should be enlarged. But nothing could be clearer than this, that the services should be kept distinct. He therefore thought this charge, as far as it went, irregular; it was true the sum was small, but that was no apology for a deviation from a clear and a well-established principle; this sum of money was given to Sir Gilbert Elliot for plate and equipage, and it was chargeable only on the civil list. It was for purposes of this kind that the civil list was instituted, out of which the King

was bound to provide for these expences. If the civil list was too small, it ought to be made larger. These points should be made clear, but it was wrong to tax the Public in this irregular manner.

Mr. Chancellor PITT admitted the distinctions made by Mr. Fox to be just, generally speaking. The vote proposed in this resolution was very trivial. Sir Gilbert Elliot had been employed on very important services, in consequence of certain circumstances arising out of the war in France. He was employed also on important services in Italy, previous to his appointment of Viceroy of Corsica; and the question here was, Whether in the interval between these employments the rule should be kept up with such strictness and nicety as the right honourable gentleman insisted? For his part he saw no practical utility in observing that nice distinction in this instance.

The resolutions in the Report were then all read and agreed to.

General SMITH moved, that the memorials, &c. relative to the officers in India, be printed.—Ordered.

The House then proceeded to take into farther consideration the Report of the bill for supplying the navy with landmen out of the different counties; but the Chancellor of the Exchequer observing it might delay the other important business of the day, it was postponed.

The order of the day being read for the House to resolve itself into a Committee of the whole House to consider farther of the ways and means for raising the supply granted to His Majesty,

Mr. HOBART took the chair. A great variety of accounts which had been previously moved for and produced, were referred to the said Committee.

Mr. Chancellor PITT rose, and observed, that it was his duty, that day, to lay before the Committee, a subject which necessarily branched out into many extensive details; in order to render it as distinct and intelligible as possible he should wish to call the attention of the House to the different principal heads, under which it might be considered, endeavouring to confine himself strictly to the subject of that day, as that was sufficiently large, without at all entering into any collateral matters that might be more or less connected with it.

The first head, to which of course it would be his duty to call their attention was, the amount and particulars of the various sums they had voted, or estimated, for the immediate service of the year, to which, according to the practice which he had hitherto observed, he proposed to add such articles of unfunded debt, or expences unprovided for, and such farther charges (though they could

not now be diſtinctly voted on eſtimate) as were likely to ariſe from the ſituation of affairs, and to be incurred in the courſe of the year.

The next conſideration would be, the ways and means by which theſe ſums and eſtimates might be defrayed, of which neceſſarily the loan would occupy a conſiderable part, in ſtating its terms and conditions.

He ſaid he ſhould then conſider what were the taxes by which he propoſed to defray the increaſe of annual charges which muſt be ſuppoſed to ariſe from that loan, or from any unfunded debt, or extraordinary expence that was now unforeſeen.

When he had done that, he thought the Committee muſt be acquainted with the outlines of all the circumſtances that related to the ſubject; with the addition of ſome obſervations reſpecting the ſtate of the country, its credit, its revenue, its commerce, and reſources; by which they might be able to judge of the ability of the nation to bear the extent of thoſe large burdens which had been rendered unavoidable by the continuance of a juſt and neceſſary war.

The right honourable gentleman ſaid, he ſhould begin with ſtating, as ſhortly and diſtinctly as he could, the amount of the ſupply, and under that head he ſhould have little more to do than diſtinctly to recapitulate the votes of the Houſe, which had undergone a diſtinct diſcuſſion.

The firſt ſervice was, that which related to the navy. It was hardly neceſſary to ſtate that 100,000 ſeamen had been voted for the navy for the preſent year, the charge of which, according to the uſual rate, was 5,200,000l. at 4l. per month per man, though that was not fully ſufficient.

The next charge was the Ordinary of the Navy, which amounted to 589,683l. 3s. 9d. and the Extraordinaries to 525,840l.

	£.	s.	d.
100,000 Seamen - - -	5,200,000	0	0
Ordinaries - - -	589,683	3	9
Extraordinaries - - - - -	525,840	0	0
Total of the Navy	£6,315,523	3	9

The next ſervice was that of the army. It was not neceſſary to enter very minutely into the different articles of the army. The principal charges of the regular army amounted to 5,541,000l. There was voted for the militia and fencibles, &c. 1,607,000l. The amount for foreign troops was 997,000l. which was nearly the ſame as laſt year. To that muſt be added a ſum not yet voted by the Committee, which was 200,000l. by way of ſubſidy to the

King of Sardinia. In addition to that there was 427,000l. for a French corps. These were the extraordinaries of the army, &c. 3,063,000l. The whole of the army expences, adding all these items together, amounted to 11,241,000l.

The next principal head was Ordnance, the total amount of which was 2,321,000l. In addition to that sum there were two sums which had not yet been voted. The first of these was an old debt that was due to the Landgrave of Hesse, amounting to 68,000l. The other was a sum due to the representatives of Mr. Oswald, of 41,000l.

The next head was that of Miscellaneous Services; for the Board of Agriculture, Trial of Mr. Hastings, French Refugees, Addresses, &c. &c. amounting in the whole to 257,000l. In addition to these there was another sum to be added, which he had always stated distinctly, and which he had continued even under the pressure of war; he meant the sum of 200,000l. which he began some years ago to apply towards the discharge of the national debt, over and above the original million, and over and above the provision that had been made by a late act of Parliament, which provided that not only the interest of every new loan should be punctually paid, but also 1 per cent. of the capital. There was another sum which had always been taken into the account, under the title of Deficiency of Grants, and that sum amounted to 745,000l. Besides that, it had always been usual to state as a part of the estimates of the year, the deficiency of Land and Malt, which he stated at 350,000l. In addition to that, there was a sum of Exchequer bills to be defrayed. Under the Supply of last year, there were 5,500,000l. and on the side of the Ways and Means, 3,500,000l. allowing 2 millions for unforeseen contingencies, 2,500,000l. were reserved as a vote of credit: and there were 6,000,000l. in Exchequer bills now to be provided for. The whole of these sums added together, amounted to 27,540,000l. and constituted the whole of the Supply of the year. That sum included the 6 millions of Exchequer bills. Without them the total of the Supply for the service of the year, was 21,500,000l. Till the 5th of April next, it could not be known how far the Ways and Means of last year would be sufficient. The revenue of last year would amount very nearly to the sum at which it was estimated, though there was a deficiency in one article, to wit, in the 500,000l. which was expected from the East-India Company. Though they had not been able to pay that sum, the deficiency of Ways and Means of last year, up to the 5th of April next, calculating according to the proportion of the former part of the year,

was only 588,000l. so that the failure of the Company, constituted nearly the whole of the failure of the Ways and Means of last year; but he thought it right to add that deficiency to the supply of the year, which will make 28,128,000l. The different items of the Supply would then stand thus:

			£.	s.	d.
NAVY.					
100,000 seamen —		£.5,200,000			
Ordinary	£.589683 3 9	1,115,523 3 9			
Extraordinaries	525840 0 0				
			6,315,523	3	9
ARMY.					
Guards and Garrisons, 119,000 men —		2,777,534 19 1			
Plantations, Chelsea, &c.		2,563,734 19 3			
			5,341,269	18	4
Militia and Fencibles, cloathing for ditto, contingencies for ditto —			1,607,233	12	0
Foreign troops —			997,226	0	0
French corps —			427,269	0	0
Roads and bridges in Scotland —			4,500	0	0
Extraordinaries of the army —			2,663,968	12	4
Sardinian subsidy —			200,000	0	0
Ordnance —			2,321,010	13	10
Balance due to the Landgrave of Hesse			68,850		0½
Ditto to Oswald's executors —			41,688	14	6¼
Miscellaneous services —			257,743	16	5
Annual addition to sinking fund			200,000	0	0
Deficiency of grants —			745,000	0	0
Ditto land and malt —			350,000	0	0
Exchequer bills — —			6,000,000	0	0
			27,540,584	3	3¼

Having stated the whole of the Supply, he next proceeded to the Ways and Means by which that Supply was to be raised. He estimated the two annual taxes of Land and Malt, as usual at 2,750,000l. To that was to be added, whatever might be estimated to be the growing produce of the consolidated fund, from April 5th, 1795, to April 5th, 1796. It would be necessary for him to state the grounds on which he was to calculate the amount of that sum, and that was by adhering to the average of the last four years, rather than to any other mode of computation. He said he should state the produce of each of these four years. The produce of the permanent taxes, ending the 5th of January, 1792, amounted to 13,99,000l. Those ending on January 5th, 1793, amounted to 14,354,000l. Those ending on January 5th, 1794, were 13,953,000l. and the permanent taxes of last year, were

13,827,000l. So that he had the satisfaction of saying, that in the last year, the second year of an extensive war, the revenue was only about 126,000l. less than it was the preceding year, and if they took into the account, the delay of a fleet which had been expected from Portugal, the money to be received by that means would be more than the whole amount of the difference of the last year, and the year preceding. The average of the permanent taxes of the last 4 years, was 14,032,000l. He certainly thought himself justified in submitting to the House on that ground that average as the amount of the permanent taxes of the present year. Assuming that foundation, he had only to set against that sum the charges on the consolidated fund. There was a charge of 11,538,000l. and a farther addition of 259,000l. which constituted part of the interest of different taxes, for paying off Exchequer bills. These two sums added together, amounted to 11,707,000l. which being subtracted from 14,032,000l. the average permanent taxes of the last four years, left the sum of 2,235,000l. as likely to arise from the growing produce of the permanent taxes, between April 5, 1795, and April 5, 1796. He said, he might make another addition to that sum of 119,000l. but that sum he wished to reserve, as there would be a necessity for making some provision, in consequence of the happy event which had been announced by His Majesty from the throne, of the approaching marriage of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales; and therefore he thought it his duty to make a reserve of that sum for that event, or for whatever purpose Parliament might think proper to apply it. There was also the probability of 150,000l. or 160,000l. of Impress Money, and he thought proper to take credit for 500,000l. from the East-India Company, if they could pay it; unless it was voted, the Public could not avail itself of that sum, even if the Company should fortunately be able to discharge it.

The Exchequer bills to be taken into the account in the Ways and Means, were 3,500,000l.

The next article, which had been the subject of some conversation with the Public, and the amount of which was generally known, was the loan for eighteen millions sterling. These sums added together, amounted in all, to 27,145,000l. as would appear from the following statement:

Land Tax —		£. 2,000,000	0	
Malt ——		750,000	0	
Growing Produce of Consolidated Fund from 5th of April, 1795, to 5th of April, 1796	£. 2,235,000			
Imprest monies to be repaid -	160,000			
East-India Company —	500,000			
		2,895,000		
Exchequer bills —		3,500,000		
Loan —— —		18,000,000		
		£.27,145,000	0	0

That sum being set against the total amount of the supply, supposing the East-India Company was not able to pay the deficiency, amounted to 983,000l. But supposing the Company to make good the 500,000l. then the deficiency would only be 483,000l. Although the loan of 18 millions might fall somewhat short of answering all the exigencies of the year, the consequences would not be very material, with regard to the service of the year. But he should not think it right to keep any part of the subject from the House; and therefore, although it was not included actually in the loan, he should think it his duty to make provision for its annual interest and charges, as if it made part of the loan. He should therefore find taxes for the deficiency, not only of 483,000l. but also of the 500,000l. which was due from the Company. He should make provision for the one million deficiency, in the same manner as if it were a part of the loan of 18 millions. With regard to the 500,000l. of the Company, although they had not been able to pay it in the present year, he did not think it right to take it for granted that sum would not be forth-coming in a future year.—He was therefore to make provision in the first instance for the sum of 18 millions, and for a million of probable deficiency beyond the 18 millions. The Committee would recollect he had alluded to the increase of the unfunded debt of the navy; and he stated at the outset of the war, that it was his intention each year, without leaving an unfunded debt, to make provision for the whole of that debt. He thought it was probable there would be an increase of one million in the navy debt, and therefore he had made provision for that loan; but the fact was, that from the immense exertions that had been made to bring forward a great fleet, the navy debt, instead of increasing one million, was increased 3,594,000l. He should think it his duty to follow the same line of conduct which he did last year in making provision, on a general calculation, for any probable excess; and as there was an increase of three millions

and a half of navy debt incurred last year, he should make provision for that amount, which might be expected to take place in 1795. In addition to the two millions and a half of the vote of credit, it would be necessary over and above to make provision for a million and an half for the land service in the course of the year 1795. These were the sums, for all of which he proposed to find funds for discharging the annual interest.

He said, before he stated the amount of the annual interest which arose from the loan of 18 millions, he begged leave to state to the House what were the terms and conditions on which he proposed to agree to that loan. The motives which led him to think it his duty at an early period to ascertain on what terms persons were willing to subscribe so large a sum as 18 millions, were those, which he had already on a former occasion, been under the necessity of stating more at large. He conceived it his duty to propose the means of furnishing, by the credit of this country, a large pecuniary assistance to the Emperor, if the consequence of such an engagement was likely to furnish a great military force to join us in the next campaign. It became necessary to ascertain how far the terms of that loan might be effected by His Majesty recommending to Parliament, to guarantee the loan which individuals might furnish to the Emperor. It might naturally occur, that the idea of a large loan of four or six millions, or some intermediate sum, might materially interfere with our procuring money, by a loan, for our own immediate purposes; and he was not without apprehensions, that such would be the case. As soon as a proposal had been made, to furnish a sum to his Imperial Majesty, on those terms which the Court of Vienna was willing to give, persons readily stood forward, not only to furnish, without difficulty, the whole of the sum wanted for this country, but, on consideration of the guarantee of Great Britain, the sum also which was wanted by the Emperor. A general statement of this loan will appear highly satisfactory. He should state the terms of it very shortly. For every 100l. sterling, the subscribers had a capital of 100l. stock in the three per cents. a capital of one third of an hundred in the four per cents. and of the long annuities 8s. 6d. for the same term as the long annuities. It was subject, however, to this alternative: If the loan should take place to the Emperor, to the amount of six millions, which would be one-third of the loan which was wanted for the immediate purposes of this country, then the subscribers for every 100l. of that loan should be entitled to one-third of 100l. in the Emperor's loan, and to a proportionable bonus of that loan. Or if no loan should take place to the Emperor, and Parliament should think fit

to grant terms equivalent to that proportionable bonus, it should be added to the long annuities. In that case, they were to have an addition of four shillings in the annuities, which, at the current price, of between 19 and 20 years purchase, was a difference somewhat less than 4l. per cent. He should suppose the Emperor's loan took place to the amount of six millions, and that question would not be precluded from coming before Parliament, by the vote of that night; he should consider, on the supposition of that loan taking place, what would be the amount of the interest which the Public would give for every 100l. of the 18 millions. It would amount to the sum of 4l. 15s. 2d. When he recollected the loan of 11 millions, in the course of last year, the terms of which were admitted universally to have been as favourable as could be desired, and more favourable than could have been expected, (and yet the interest of every 100l. of that loan was 4l. 11s. 6d.); and when he considered that this year we had borrowed so large a sum as 18 millions, that we were entering on the third year of a war, under the different circumstances that had taken place in various parts of Europe, he must certainly feel, that on the first view, it was matter of satisfaction and consolation, that a sum so large, and on so great an emergency, could be procured on terms so favourable. In the event of no loan taking place for the Emperor, he must then take into the account, the 4s. of long annuities, and that would make the annual interest, per cent. 4l. 10s. 2d. which was still below 5 per cent. Taking it in that way they were able to raise 18 millions under 5 per cent. in the third year of a war. Comparing this statement with the experience and history of this country in other wars, that circumstance alone was no slight symptom of the flourishing state of the resources and credit of this country. Before he quitted that part of the subject he thought it right, not merely to state what were the terms of the loan to the Public, but what the profits were, considering the actual price of the stocks at the time the agreement was made, or making any reasonable allowance for any possible fluctuation for a bargain made at a distant period, and for the increase of capital to be brought to market, or with what the price of the stocks were at this day. It seemed to him these were the different views in which the subject might be considered. According as the price of stocks stood at the time he made his bargain, 100l. in the 3 per cents. being then at 6; 3-4ths, and one-third of 100l. in the 4 per cents. being then at 83 3-8ths, and the long annuities being put together, independent of any *bonus* from the Austrian loan, was a little more than 100l. But he was not representing that as the terms the subscribers looked to. They certainly looked to 4l.

arising from the Austrian loan. That was rather below the mark. There was another *bonus*, to wit, the discount, which amounted to about 2l. 10s. per cent and gentlemen would see, that although the situation of the affairs of Europe was not then such as to make us suppose that some of the misfortunes were so near, which from a variety of causes had since taken place, yet there was enough then, to make it impossible for men to speculate on a transaction to so large an amount, without calculating something for the risque of the introduction of so great a capital into the market on three component parts of stock, on the 3 and 4 per cents. and on the value of long annuities, from a *bonus* of 6 or 7 per cent. Having considered the terms and conditions of the loan, it was his duty, in the next place, to make a few observations on the unfunded debt. With respect to that debt which could not now be actually funded, with regard to the extraordinaries to be incurred in the present year, he wished to make the same ample and liberal provisions, as if it were now to be funded. Both for the loan, and all other sums of unfunded debt, he wished to provide.—In consequence of two acts of Parliament, the interest that was payable was not on the sum borrowed, but on the capital created. That applied both to the 3 and 4 per cents. and also to long annuities that should be outstanding after the period of 45 years. The consequence was, that a sum of near 1l. 8s. was to be provided for every 100l. not as interest of the loan, but as the support of their credit, which increased the sinking fund in proportion to the increase of every new debt. They were not only not interfering with the general mode of discharging antecedent debt, but at the same time that they were contracting fresh debt for carrying on the war, they actually made provision for paying off the interest of it, and also of one per cent. of the capital. The whole interest of the loan, the excess of navy debt, &c. to be provided for by new taxes, amounted to 1,627,000l. When he stated so large a sum, he had the fullest confidence in the spirit of the country. He did not state it under any apprehension of shaking their determinations to carry on the war, knowing as they must know, how much was at stake, but which he must state with a degree of anxiety far beyond what he could feel at that moment, if he did not flatter himself that some considerations he had already pointed at, as well as some that would be afterwards stated, did not afford great matter of consolation and satisfaction. In the first place, before he quitted this part of the subject, he would state, that 357,000l. a year of that large sum was to be paid for the purpose not of interest, but for faithfully discharging their engagement to increase the sinking fund in proportion to their debt. Every man must wish to know

in what manner that sum of 1,637,000l. was meant to be defrayed. He said he did not enter upon this subject without hope, but he entered on it with a sincere belief, that the burdens, large as they were, would be sustained without any very severe pressure on the bulk of the people, and would appear light and trifling when set against the interests they were then contending for. His principal object in these taxes would be to make them as productive as possible, without at the same time drying up the source. He should state some sources of revenue of considerable amount, and which were of such a sort, that an increase of taxes on them would not be felt as a material inconvenience either to the Public at large, and much to the lowest class of the community. The articles he meant to state were of luxurious and not necessary consumption. One of these principally was of very general use among the lower classes, though the consumption of it was the least necessary to subsistence, and, perhaps, in some respects the least advantageous to health.

The first article was that of Wine, which every gentleman would recollect, was very considerably lowered some years ago, in order, by that sacrifice of revenue, to purchase the benefit of a commercial treaty with France. Under the present circumstances, that benefit was suspended; the commercial treaty was at an end: we were no longer under that obligation, and the motive that led to a reduction of the tax, no longer existed. Previous to that period, great frauds took place in that branch of duty; but it was not so much with a view to put an end to those frauds, as to accomplish the other object he had stated, that the wine duty had been reduced. He believed that no gentleman would imagine, that a different price which was not very enormous, would make any material difference in the consumption.

With respect to frauds, they could only be of two sorts, fraudulent importation, or adulteration in this country. As to the first species of fraud, wine was the least susceptible of smuggling, and particularly during the existence of a war like the present. With respect to adulteration at home, he conceived that a great increase of duty would not have a very material effect on it. Every body would go along with him in thinking, that Port-wine could bear a heavier duty. At present, it was 15l. a tun. He wished to tax it in such a manner, that the duty might be calculated equally, when it was retailed. He stated, on the authority of the trade itself, that 3l. 7s. for every tun, would make an addition of one penny per bottle, or a shilling per dozen, and that six times that sum would be somewhat more than 20l. per tun. It would be an additional

6d. on every bottle, and 6s. on every dozen. It was computed that they imported between 27 and 28,000 tuns, and sometimes 29,000. calculating at 20l. per tun, which was the rule he proposed, 20,000 tuns would produce the sum of 580,000l.' but he meant only to calculate it at 500,000l.

The next articles which he should state were truly singular. He meant the articles of foreign and home-made spirits. It so happened that an increase of duty on these articles, during the last war, actually produced a diminution of revenue arising from them, and that no doubt ought to dictate caution on the subject. But after the capital of smugglers was broken down by the reduction of duties; the duties on these articles had been increased three times successively, and the duty had not only not been diminished, but it had increased according to the rises in a much higher proportion than when it was at the lowest. He meant, therefore, without running any risk, to add the same additional duties as last year; that is to say, an additional 8d. on every gallon of rum, 10d. on every gallon of brandy, and one penny on British spirits. These duties on the estimate of last year would produce 259,000l.

The next article he had to submit to the Committee had formerly been the subject of a great deal of discussion, and had more influence on the commercial interests of the country, and particularly on one great body, the East India Company, than any other article. A very great reduction had been made, which, according to some gentlemen, was a very hazardous experiment, for the purpose of preventing frauds. It was commuted for a very heavy additional tax on windows, which was called the Commutation tax. It would be proper that a moderate addition to that article might be adviseable, and consistent not only with policy, but with the very principle that led some years ago to the reduction of the duty. He wished to anticipate an objection that might be made to any additional tax on that article, and that was, that the Public were reconciled to submit to a heavy duty, on windows, in consideration that the tax on tea was to be lessened. Every one would find, that the advantage they had derived since these taxes had taken place, was out of all proportion greater than the Commutation Tax. But however that was, that House had entered into no compact with the Public. The present duty on tea was 12l. 10s. per cent. He meant to add 7l. 10s. per cent. which would make the duty 20l. per cent. which he calculated would produce 180,000l. and an additional duty on coffee and cocoa was computed at 40,000l. These two together made a sum of 220,000l.

He said, the next article was wholly of a different nature. He

might ſay negatively, that it was not likely to be felt any where as a material inconvenience; and as a collateral circumſtance of ſatisfaction, in ſtating this, it did itſelf afford a ſtriking proof of the commerce, credit, and capital of the country.—What he alluded to, he ſaid, was the inſurance on ſhips and cargoes, both the property of this country, and in ſome degree the property of ſtrangers. Inſurance was carried on with ſo much advantage in this country, from the good faith that was obſerved by our underwriters, that he had the beſt authority for ſaying, that many reſpectable merchants thought a ſlight additional tax was not at all likely to hazard a diminution in the inſurance. Gentlemen would naturally ſay, he could not be poſſeſſed of any *data* from which the amount could, with any degree of certainty, be aſcertained. But he was under obligations to many gentlemen, whoſe gueſſes on that ſubject were infinitely better than his. It would be matter of ſatisfaction and ſurpriſe, for the Houſe to be informed that, by the calculations of perſons converſant with this ſubject, the capital annually inſured in this country, amounted to 120 millions ſterling. The tax that was meant to be impoſed on inſurance was only 2s. 6d. on every 100l. capital; that was one-eighth per cent. This he computed at 130,000l.

Another ſpecies of inſurance, which was of a different deſcription, and which was by no means a ſpecies of inſurance to be diſcouraged; but which, at the ſame time, ought to contribute to the public burdens, he meant inſurance on lives. It was certainly proper to call on any claſs of people to contribute to the general exigencies of the State, ariſing from a war like the preſent, who derived a convenience flowing from the credit, order, tranquillity and regular government eſtabliſhed in the country. Such was peculiarly the ſituation of every perſon ſo circumſtanced; and after the tax he was about to propoſe, it would ſtill be lower than it was a few years ago. He propoſed 10 per cent. in proportion to the premium. He had received a particular account from the produce of one ſociety, and which was increaſing every month; and from the beſt information he could procure from thoſe perſons moſt converſant in the buſineſs, it was likely to yield 30,000l. per annum. That added to the other ſum made 160,000l.

The next, he ſaid, were a deſcription of articles to which little objection could be found, where the increaſe was not likely to be felt with any peculiar preſſure. They aroſe from different articles of the cuſtoms. He calculated them at 77,000l. per annum.—The duty on raiſins was computed at 7000l.; on lemons and oranges at 5,200l.; on ſome ſpecies of ſilk at 8000l.

The amount of the tax on coals exported was computed at 25,000l. This tax was meant only to fall on foreigners, as all coals exported to any of our own dominions wers to be free from this duty. The duty on rock salt, he estimated at 7,400l. The whole of the articles together were computed, as we have just said, at 77,000l.

There was another article which came under the customs, which would bear a moderate tax; that was fir timber and deals. That tax was computed at 110,000l., which being added to the 77,000l., made 187,000l.

The next were certain articles of stamp duties on affidavits, original writs, agreements, indentures, and probates of wills, which could be raised with little inconvenience. The duty on these articles was computed at 10,000l.

He proposed a small additional tax on receipts. At present, a receipt for above 100l. only paid 6d.; he proposed it should be 1s. He proposed no other tax, till it amounted to 500l. and upwards, and that then, instead of being 1s. as it was now, that the stamp should be 2s. These articles, arising from the stamp duties, were supposed to amount to 68,000l.

He said there remained two other articles, one of which applied to the Members of that House. He wished to introduce some regulations on the present system of franking. It was necessary for him to observe, that the House, for a great period of years, had thought it right to restrain that privilege by certain regulations. It had been generally found, that after a certain length of time, those regulations had not completely answered the purposes for which they were intended. Gentlemen, from good nature, had been led in various instances to go farther than was intended. In the next place, it was certainly by no means intended that the privilege of franking should be the source of emolument to particular individuals; it was meant as a respect to the Members of that House, and in that view it had a great recommendation; or as for defraying charges which, in some instances, might be very serious, from communications between Members and their constituents. It was not meant to furnish a revenue to any particular persons; and he had heard those who were most capable of benefiting by it, speak of it in such a manner as did great honour to their liberality. As it might be applied to purposes never intended, he meant to propose certain regulations, the general object of which was to restrain the number of franks, sent or received by any one post; and also to restrain them in regard to their weight. The regulations which he proposed, would appear more clearly from the resolutions which he

should afterwards have the honour of moving on the subject. The persons most conversant in this business, had encouraged him to suppose that these regulations, if carried into effect, would produce 40,000l.

There remained another thing which he had to submit to the Committee, which, if the burden his duty obliged him to lay upon the Public were not too serious, he should apprehend the House would hardly hear with gravity, and which also applied to every Member of that House. But it would not answer his purpose, if it did not apply to a very general description of persons in this country. He was not at all afraid that it would be considered as productive of the least pressure. He meant a general licence, at one guinea a head, for every person who wears hair-powder, the names to be registered and published, that no person who chose to indulge in the luxury might hope to evade the tax. The only persons upon whom this could fall heavy, were those who, with small incomes, were placed in such situations as obliged them, to a certain degree, to comply with the fashion of the day. There were other persons who, although perhaps they could ill afford it, would be prompted by vanity to wear what other people wore; but vanity was as least as fair an object of taxation as luxury. No small number, such as servants, used hair-powder, not to gratify their own vanity, but the vanity of others, who must necessarily pay the tax. It might be asked, how the amount of it was to be calculated?—He said there were certain means, by which they might form some guess how far that tax would be productive. When they considered the number of persons who had four-wheel carriages; when they looked at the number of horses which were kept for pleasure; and at the number of servants kept by different people, he thought it would not be unreasonable to suppose that this tax might produce 200,000 guineas, or 210,000l.

Mr. Pitt here recapitulated the new taxes as follows:

TOTAL of NEW TAXES.

WINE — —	£.500,000
Foreign and Home-made SPIRITS —	250,000
TEA — — —	180,000
COFFEE and COCOA — —	40,000
INSURANCES — — —	160,000
RAISINS, LEMONS, &c. — —	77,000
DEALS and FIR TIMBER — —	110,000
AFFIDAVITS, WRITS, &c. —	68,000
FRANKING — —	40,000
POWDERED HEADS, Male and Female, at a Guinea a Head — —	210,000
	1,644,000

He said, he ought to beg pardon of the Committee for having taken up so large a portion of their time as he had occupied. He should now conclude with calling the attention of the House to what he had alluded to at the beginning of his speech, the apparent view of the situation, credit, and resources of the country. Considering the necessity there was of imposing burdens on the people, it was matter of satisfaction, that they could with so much facility make the provision that was sufficient for carrying on the present just and necessary war. In the first place, the very articles which he had proposed for taxation, shewed the sufficiency of the resources of the country to meet the burdens which were necessary. In the second place, the circumstance of being able to raise so large a sum by loan, was a strong proof of the high state of the national credit. From what he had stated of the average of the revenue for several years, it appeared that we were now, in the third year of a war, in a situation of prosperity in which we had never been placed in any former war. If we looked to the different taxes imposed in 1791, 1793, and 1794, they had been productive beyond the example of any former period of hostility. Not only had we been able to provide for the exigencies imposed by our situation, but from the progress which had been made in raising a fund, in consequence of the steady adherence to a system that had now been adopted for nine years, with a view to discharge our national debt, a sum of not less than 1,800,000l. was now applicable to the purchase of stock for that purpose, and that he considered as one of the principal circumstances which supported the credit of the nation, and animated the hopes of the commercial men in this country. They were anticipating their burdens, and providing for them; and if they were under a temporary necessity of contracting debt in a struggle for their existence, they had not only not broke in upon the plan for reducing former debts, but they were paying off those which they had just contracted; and therefore they found the credit of the country undiminished by the unprecedented demands which the unprecedented attacks of our enemies had rendered indispensably necessary. He was not surprised that the balance of exchange was so greatly in favour of the country, that the state of credit was so flourishing, and the degree of confidence almost unlimited. In addition to what he had stated of the prosperous circumstances of the revenue, and the desirable situation of public credit, much reliance was to be placed on the spirit of the people, determined to prosecute with vigour the present contest, and submit with alacrity to the necessary burdens. But the security for the continuance of the national prosperity did not merely rest on the temporary state of the revenue, or of credit;

it ſtood on a more ſolid and permanent ground—on the unexampled and increaſing extent of the commerce of the country. From the reſult of the different accounts, it appeared that the total amount of the trade during the laſt year of war, not only exceeded what had been the average of former years of war, but even what had been the caſe in the brighteſt periods of tranquillity. The exports of domeſtic manufactures during the laſt year, was only exceeded by the exports of two former years of the greateſt proſperity which this country had ever known, and our foreign trade, in point of extent, ſurpaſſed even the reſults of the moſt flouriſhing years of peace. In 1792, the higheſt year ever known in peace, the total exports were 18,336,000l. in Britiſh manufactures. The total export of 1794, by the moſt correct accounts, is 16,301,000l., being in that reſpect leſs by about two millions. In 1792, the imports were 6,563,000l. In 1794 they were 8,868,000l. The total in 1792, was 24,905,000l.; in 1794, it was 25,169,000l.

Such were the concluſions which he found himſelf authoriſed to draw from the moſt accurate accounts of the ſtate of the country; the facts which they preſented, were ſo much more ſatisfactory than any obſervations or reaſonings which he could ſuggeſt, that he ſhould no longer obtrude upon the attention of the Houſe. He ſhould only add, that while he dwelt with pleaſure on the ſteady and growing reſources of the country, he did not feel the leſs regret that we were compelled to apply them in order to meet the inevitable evils to which we were ſubjected in the proſecution of the preſent juſt and neceſſary war; nor did he feel the leſs deſire for the reſtoration of the bleſſings of peace, on that ſecure and permanent footing which might lead to the accumulation of wealth, and the confirmation of the national proſperity. It could not fail to be remarked, that the reſources by which we were enabled to meet our preſent exigencies, were derived from having made a prudent uſe of the bleſſings of peace. The exertions of war and the bleſſings of peace both proceeded from the ſame ſource, vigour of determination, and the ſpirit of enterpriſe, accompanied with ſteadineſs and prudence in the proſecution of our object. He concluded with moving his firſt reſolution.

Mr. FOX ſaid, he did not riſe to oppoſe the vote which was now propoſed, but to make ſome obſervations on what he had heard from the Miniſter. He expected that the right honourable gentleman had before him the experience of two loans, oppoſite to each in a certain degree; the one of them made upon the beſt terms that could be obtained on behalf of the Public, which was the loan of laſt year, and the other, perhaps the worſt for the Public that any Miniſter

ever concluded, and which was in the year before the last; he could have hoped, he said, that with that experience he would have encouraged competition among the subscribers. This was a mode upon which many Members of that House had bestowed their approbation; he had praised it himself, as he always should every measure when it appeared to deserve it; and the right honourable gentleman himself had taken great credit for having opened that system of competition, and therefore he owned that he expected to have heard to-night some reason for departing from that system, and some reasons for adopting a plan liable to so many objections. It had been stated, that fortunately for the Public, the loan had been made a [illegible]derable time since, so that a much better bargain had been [illegible] country than could have been expected. He might [illegible] that this was the case; yet it was necessary also [illegible] had been advanced, as to the advantage of the bar[illegible] who had subscribed to the loan. It had been said, that they had a profit of two and a half per cent. on the quantity of the fund assigned to them for each hundred advanced, and that the fall of the stocks had brought it to two per cent. It would, however, be necessary to consider the circumstances of the funds at the present time. He had looked into the newspapers of the day, and depended on them for the accuracy of his statement. From them it appeared, that 3 per cents. were to-day at 61½; the 4 per cents. at 79, and the long annuities at 18½. On this estimate the value of one-third of the 4 per cents. would be 26l. 10s. and the long annuities would amount to 7l. 13s. making in the whole 95l. 13s. to which, adding the discount of 2½, as it had been stated, the result would be 98l. 3s. Exclusive therefore of the additional 4s. which they were to receive on the long annuities, in case the Emperors's loan were not guaranteed, they had not a profit of 2 per cent. and taking that into the calculation, the profit at present would only be 3l. 13s. So that whereas in common 2½, or more, was the profit which had been usual for subscribers to a loan, in the present instance the amount was only 1l. 16s.; and even on the most favourable calculation 2l.—He hoped that no one would be inclined to treat this subject with so much levity, as to say that this was so much the better; that they would look at the principle of the thing, and consider that it was possible that the change of the funds might have been as disadvantageous to the Public, as it now was to the subscribers; and therefore, that they would not sanction the principle of making a bargain for the loan, so much before the proper time. It had been stated to the Committee, that there was another *bonus*, viz. the advantages to be derived from a share in the

Auſtrian loan. Mr. Fox then proceeded to ſtate, by reference to the Miniſter's own mode of calculating, that this loan was an extravagant bargain, and this he thought held out to the people of this country a very bad proſpect. It was a dangerous loan in two ways: Firſt, it was dangerous becauſe there was to be no proviſion made now for the payment of it, in the event that the Emperor ſhould fail to fulfil his engagement, and in this way the people were not made properly to underſtand and feel their real ſituation, by acquainting them with that to which they might be expoſed. Secondly, it was dangerous, becauſe, in proportion as the terms were diſadvantageous, the probability was leſs of the Emperor being either able or willing to fulfil his engagement; and if he ſhould not, then we having guaranteed the payment, muſt pay it for him. In the firſt place, ſuppoſing the terms of this loan to be ſo advantageous to us, and conſequently ſo diſadvantageous to the Emperor as any one could ſtate it, that was not very honourable to us as a nation, lending its credit to guarantee the payment. In the next place we ſhould remember, that thoſe who are the readieſt to comply with exorbitant demands, are the leaſt likely to be punctual in fullfilling their engagements. He did not like to treat a ſubject ſo ſerious as this with levity, but he could not help remembering a ſcene in a very good play, where Mrs. Amlet ſays of her cuſtomers, "As to perſons of quality, they never ſay any thing about the price of what they want, the only difficulty with them is about paying for it." This, he feared, was too much the complexion of the caſe here, for the loan on the part of the Emperor was extravagant in a very high degree; he would maintain that the Emperor was to pay the enormous ſum of 36,000l. for our guarantee merely. This, although an apparent advantage, was not ſo in reality, for the loan to this country and the loan to the Emperor were ſo far from being independent of each other, that they were a good deal connected under all the circumſtances which attended them both.—With reſpect to general views which the Miniſter had taken to-night, he agreed in ſome, and differed materially in others of them. The right honourable gentleman was ſanguine in his ideas of the revenues of this country. To a certain extent he could follow him in thoſe ideas, but could not travel ſo far. His reaſoning to-night did not appear to be concluſive; he admitted that the revenues of the laſt year were inferior to the year before the laſt, but then he ſaid that it was the third year of the war, and the deficiency he aſcribed in a great meaſure to the non-arrival of a valuable fleet. Now he wanted to know upon what principle the Miniſter calculated, that the revenue, which was leſs laſt year than the year preceding, would be

better in the next, and that we should go on in a state of improvement, when the only evidence we had was that we had been lately declining. With regard to the taxes, some of them were such as he had no objection to, but there were others on which some observations ought to be made. In the tax upon tea, he feared the Minister had not reflected enough upon that article when he brought it forward; indeed the way in which he treated that part of the subject of this night's discussion proved it. He had taken two ways of arguing, which could not be both right, because they were inconsistent with each other. In the first place, he treated it as a luxury, and, as such, a fair object of taxation; and then he observed, that if the lower class of people disused it, the probability was that they would find something better for their health. Now with regard to the poor, he feared that tea had of late years made a great part of their consumption, and possibly the tax now proposed might compel many of them to abandon it; but then, how did that accord with the other argument of its being an article of luxury, and therefore a proper object of taxation; because if it was a tax to be at all effectual, it should be such as the consumers would not abandon on account of the tax. With respect to the tax upon wine, he had no objection, except that he did not wish the retailer should have an unfair advantage, which perhaps he might by the mode of adding a duty of 20l. a ton; but, however, as that amounted to 4d. a bottle, perhaps the retailer might be content with 6d. which, altogether, might not be so objectionable as some other taxes. As to the taxes on spirits, he must observe, that they were of a temporary nature, and although this war was not to last for ever, yet we must remember that we shall want this money long after the war is over. —With regard to the hair-powder tax he had no objection to it, except the uncertainty of its produce; for he who relied on the fashion of the day built upon a slippery foundation, and therefore an attempt to raise upon it a permanent revenue was highly imprudent. He knew there were habits that amounted to a kind of second nature, but was the use of hair powder of this description? It had been suggested, that the whole of it should be abolished, on account of the article being wanted for a much more worthy use; what if the House should finally be of that opinion? there would be an end of that part of the revenue. Two hundred and ten thousand pounds annual revenue, for the support of the Government of the people of Great Britain, might be done away by necessity. This was not all, for it was subject to caprice and whim, and that depended on a few individuals, namely, persons of rank, whose taste in dress led the fashion; so that ten or a dozen individuals might put an end to

the whole 210,000l. revenue of Great Britain in the course of one hour; he granted it was not likely they would do so, but they might do so; he thought it therefore, a very unsubstantial article of revenue. How far it might operate as a regulation with respect to the consumption of flour, was another question; the more it spared of that article in that way, the less it must produce to the revenue, and the question was not now how it would regulate, but how it would produce, and upon that he owned he exceedingly doubted for one its efficacy. Upon a former day there was a conversation upon the question of the expence of this war.—The Minister said he had great satisfaction in reflecting that we proceeded in the diminution of our old debt. He had as much satisfaction on that point as it was possible for the right honourable gentleman to have, but he was not so bigoted to that plan as to be blind to what was now doing, and not to perceive the magnitude of the new debt, which we were every hour increasing. The expence of this war had been stated to amount already to fifty millions of money. He did not know it; its exact amount he had no means of knowing, but he believed it to be much more. We had added to the funded debt a capital of forty-six millions. He meant by the loans of the years 1793, 1794, and the loan of this day; to that might be added a mighty load of unfunded debt, which must be a subject of inquiry in that House at some future time. He understood there was an idea of funding the floating debt of the navy at five per cent.; or that for every 100l. there should be allowed 108l. He should say nothing of the merits of the plan now, but he should like to hear something of it to-day, and he should like to know why something of that sort was not to be adopted with respect to the present loan of the Emperor. With regard to some of the general observations of the Minister on the war, he must say he could not agree with him; he had emphatically, as usual, called it a just and necessary war. He, on the contrary, thought it neither just nor necessary; if not necessary, it could not be just—necessary it could not be, for it might have been avoided. The Minister, as he had already said, was sanguine in his ideas concerning the commerce of this country, and he had stated circumstances of consolation in that respect. To a certain extent, Mr. Fox said, he was ready to allow our resources to be great; but he must also say, that the fact of our exportations being less last year by two millions than they had been, was to him not very consolatory. Now the Minister had better sources of information than he had, or pretended to have, but he had heard some things related, which made him fear that we must not look for the same success as to the extent of our exportation in future, as we had

experienced in former years. The ſituation of the Weſt Indies argued this, and the ſituation of Holland we all knew and felt to be moſt materially altered; and as to our internal condition, he owned he did not ſee it in a very proſperous view. He would inquire of Mr Hobart himſelf, who ſat in the chair of the Committee this night, whether the city which he repreſented (Norwich) was not laſt year in great diſtreſs, and whether, great as that diſtreſs was laſt year, it was not then opulent, proſperous, and happy, when compared to the proſpect of the year to come? Whether, if this war continued, the wretched remnant of their trade would not be entirely deſtroyed in a ſhort time? Did this apply alone to that unfortunate city? No, every manufacturer in the kingdom had the ſame apprehenſion as the manufacturers of Norwich, they would tell the Houſe, with one voice, they muſt all be ruined, if this war continued for any conſiderable length of time, ſo that indeed no rational man could ſuppoſe that argument of our former proſperity can be fairly applied to our proſpect for future years. That our commerce had increaſed of late years, he admitted, and he rejoiced at it, but then we ſhould look forward, and examine the probability of its continuance. The laſt year, he had been told, that our commerce was flouriſhing, becauſe the inſurance was low, what could be ſaid now, when the inſurance was at the rate of thirty guineas from the Mediterranean, from Portugal twenty, and from the nearer ports of the North ten. He was therefore not ſo ſanguine with reſpect to the commerce of the country. How far it could go on in the manner it was now proceeding, he could not tell, but he was afraid not to any conſiderable length of time. He wiſhed they would conſider the depredations that had been made on that commerce, and they would find, that ſo far from having borne the juſt proportion it ſhould have borne to the depredations in the laſt war, viz. 14 to 11, it had been more than 14 to 7, or 2 to 1. This was not foreign to the queſtion, though at firſt it might appear ſo: becauſe ſo much ſtreſs had been laid on the flouriſhing ſtate of our commerce in the ſpeech of the right honourable gentleman. The right honourable gentleman had ſaid much upon the bleſſings of a ſecure and permanent peace. He agreed with him in wiſhing for ſuch bleſſings; but how far we ſhould continue the proſecution of this diſaſtrous, calamitous, and impolitic war, as the only means of procuring ſuch bleſſings, was a queſtion of great importance, and one to which the moſt grave attention of the Houſe muſt ſoon be called. If we continued this war, it would be a queſtion how much we ſhould have to add to the amount of the enormous burdens to be impoſed on the people of this country by the proceedings of this day. It would

then be neceffary to confider how far the people would really be able to bear fuch burdens. He would afk the right honourable gentleman if he could look with confidence to fuch an event? He knew, as well as the Minifter, we had great refources; but it was impoffible for us not to fee we are getting within fight of the end of our refources. Whether two or three years more continuance of this war would be too much for the people of this country to bear, he could not tell. Poffibly, if that was made a queftion, he might vote with the moft fanguine upon that fubject; but that we fhould foon afterwards be in a ftate of ruin, no man, he thought, could poffibly doubt. He therefore thought that when that Houfe was voting fo many millions of pounds for the fervice of the prefent year, we ought to look at the probability of our being able not only to continue that fum annually, but alfo to add a much larger fum. He would venture to affert, that large as the fum propofed to-night to be voted was, that which would be wanted for the following year would be much larger, and when we come to confider the fyftem on which this war was to be profecuted, and that we were to contend for the eftablifhment of a form of Government in France, that man muft be fanguine indeed, who expected that Houfe to vote, or the people to be able to pay, the expence which would attend that conteft. Care fhould be taken that the Houfe of Commons fhould not vote what the people were unable to grant. In this view the bufinefs of this day was moft ferious, and the right honourable gentleman in reflecting on it would do well to confider the danger into which his prefent fyftem of profecuting the war muft inevitably lead this country, for we might foon, with all our profperity and happinefs, be placed in a fituation in which all the prudence in this world would not be fufficient to prevent our entire ruin. We were now in that critical ftate of affairs which muft be provided for as amply as poffible, and therefore he could not object to the propofitions now before the Committee, but he thought the proceedings of this day ought to lead every man in that Houfe, and every reflecting man in this country, to confider moft ferioufly the calamitous condition in which we are, to devife every means in his power to produce a fpeedy peace, and do every thing that could fairly be done to prevent the conducting of this war on our prefent moft rafh and mad fyftem of Continental alliance. Thefe were the obfervations which he thought it his duty to make.— The fituation of this country was fuch, that taxes, however feverely felt, and fevere indeed they were, muft be fubmitted to; but he could not help repeating, that although he did not oppofe them, the Emperor's loan was made upon terms which, for the prefent, appeared to be againft the Emperor, but the refult, he verily believed,

would be that the burden would at a future time fall with ten fold weight upon us. Having said this, and having already intimated that he should not oppose the propositions of the Minister to-night, he had nothing farther to add upon this subject.

Mr. Chancellor PITT said, that having already troubled the House so much at length, he should now confine himself to the explanation of one or two points. The subject of the Austrian loan was not fairly before the House; it was, however, clearly understood that every subscriber to our loan was conditionally to subscribe to it. The right honourable gentleman had said, that he had not stated from what the bonus of the subscribers was to arise. It was to arise from the Austrian loan, if it took place. He had not considered it as the proper time to discuss the terms of the loan, till these were formally brought before the House by an intimation from His Majesty. He had, however, no objection to mention the terms, for the satisfaction of the right honourable gentleman: For every 100l. advanced, the subscriber was to have five sixths in the 3 per cents. and an annuity of 5l. for 25 years. When interest was at 5 per cent. an annuity for 25 years was valued at 14 years purchase; it might sell for 13 years purchase, and in the present instance was therefore only rated at ten.—The subscribers to the loan to the Emperor, had, upon the whole, the advantage of about 6 per cent. and it would remain for the right honourable gentleman to try, whether upon his own calculations, he could persuade them to advance the sum at 3. The circumstance of borrowing 24 millions made the terms much worse to the country than if we had only borrowed 18. It was fair, therefore, that we should so arrange the terms of the respective loans as might secure to ourselves a compensation for the disadvantage we sustained.

Mr. HUSSEY said, that he could point out to the right honourable gentleman, a mode of saving three or four millions to the country; and, if he could do so, it ought to be adopted. The conduct of the Minister himself had pointed out to him the method. He had come to an agreement with the holders of navy bills to fund their demands at 5 per cent. If the same mode were adopted with the 6 millions to the Emperor, 3 millions at least would be saved to the country. The interest of 6 millions, at 5 per cent. would be 300,000l. whereas as the terms stood now with the long annuities, the interest was 450,000l. One hundred and fifty thousand pounds would be saved, which, in 25 years, would pay off the whole amount of the loan; and at present, though the annuities would expire in 25 years, yet a considerable sum would remain to

be cleared. In every point of view he thought the loan to the Emperor to be a bankrupt bargain.

Mr. FOX said, we ought to have made the same terms for the Emperor as for ourselves, because the bargain might be eventually ours. He thought that the only fair advantage to be taken was to put us in the same state as if we had not guaranteed the loan to the Emperor. He wished to know whether the House were at liberty to alter the terms of the loan, and offer others whether at 5 per cent. or any other. What he meant by the three millions to be saved by the Emperor, was not that it could be saved in the first instance, but that ultimately it might.—He supported Mr. Hussey in what he had advanced, and again pressed on the House the absurdity of giving their votes for the loan to the Emperor, without knowing the terms.

Mr. Chancellor PITT declared, that he did not conceive himself at liberty to propose any other terms to the subscribers to the loan, than the alternative he had already stated to the House. He thought it a curious argument to say, that we ought to have made the same terms for the Emperor as for ourselves, when the consequence would be, that by lowering the terms of the Emperor's loan, we must have raised those of our own; so that a certain increase of burden would have been made with respect to three-fourths of the loan, in order to secure a possible advantage in one-fourth, which might eventually fall on us. He contended, that the calculations of Mr. Fox, as to the saving of three millions, and of Mr. Hussey, through the whole of his argument, were erroneous, because they had not considered the discount, nor examined into the length of time their plan would take, and the value of an annuity of such a period, which he conceived to be the only fair method of comparison; and though Mr. Hussey had twice asserted that the present was a bankrupt bargain, he had never attempted to prove his assertion.

Mr. FOX said, there was one point which the right honourable gentleman had mentioned, which he must beg leave to take notice of. The right honourable gentleman had said, that he (Mr. Fox) had answered for himself, that he believed we should have the Emperor's loan to make good, and he had also assumed that every body else thought so likewise; now he (Mr. Pitt) had an equal right to assume the contrary. Mr. Fox declared, that what was attributed to him as assumption, was, in his opinion, an indisputable fact; he did not speak from surmise or from hearsay opinions of this man, or the other, but from the plain and open declarations of all the monied men in Europe, who had every one in their turns spoke the same language in the strongest terms. The Emperor had en-

deavoured to borrow money in every country on the Continent of Europe, and the monied men had refused to lend it on the Emperor's own security. He had attempted to borrow money on his own security in this country, and the monied men had refused to lend. No sooner did the Minister hold forth that the Parliament of England would guarantee the loan to the Emperor, than the monied men immediately came forward to fill the loan, this was speaking in broad terms, that they would not trust the Emperor, because they did not believe he would pay them, but as the Parliament would agree to guarantee the payment, they would send their money. Certainly, therefore, they said, in so many words, they expected the Parliament would, in the end, be their paymasters. He supported the argument of his honourable friend, (Mr. Hussey) and maintained that he was right in his assertion, that an annuity of 450,000l. regularly paid by the Bank of England would annihilate the debt of six millions advanced to the Emperor within five and twenty years.

Mr. Chancellor PITT replied to the first part, that the monied men having refused to lend the money without the guaranty of Parliament, was by no means a conclusive argument that they expected the payment would ultimately fall upon this country. It only went to shew that they thought there was a risk in the business, and that they wished to have the best possible security, but did not go the length to which the honourable gentleman, for his own purpose in argument, extended it.

Mr. BUXTON said, he did not wish to go into the matter of the Austrian loan at present, and would therefore content himself with an observation or two, on what had fallen from Members with regard to some of the taxes. For his own part, he could have wished that the tax on hair-powder, by the licence required to be taken out in order to be entitled to wear it—he could wish that it were made a perpetual tax. Some years ago a considerable quantity of wheat was exported from this country, which brought a proportionate quantity of riches into it; for many years this practice had failed, to the great injury of the landholders and farmers. As it was asserted, and with great appearance of truth, that immense quantities of wheat were consumed in hair-powder, he wished that the licence might be made such as to amount to a prohibition of wearing it, if by that means the export of wheat might again take place, or a scarcity at home be avoided.

With respect to the measure of regulating the franking of letters, he approved it very much; but he thought it would reflect infinitely higher honour on that House, and give far more extensive satisfac-

ſion to the people at large, if the practice was altogether aboliſhed. A right honourable gentleman (Mr. Fox) had taken particular notice of the great diſtreſs brought on the manufacturers of Norwich by the war. He believed the diſtreſs of theſe miſerable people was as great as it was repreſented to be, but did not think it was by any means to be wholly imputed to the war; the mnnufactures of that place had been greatly injured before the war, owing to having fallen into diſuſe by the people of this country; the Mancheſter manufactures had obtained a preference, which had hurt thoſe of Norwich very much; but he thought the edict of the Empreſs of Ruſſia had done them more injury than all the reſt.

Mr. W. SMITH wiſhed to know whether the Miniſter was ſo engaged, that he could not, without breach of agreement, negociate the Imperial loan with other parties, and on other terms, than thoſe which he had ſtated?

Mr. Chancellor PITT ſaid, the loan in queſtion might or might not not take place; but if the Houſe ſhould agree to ſuch a meaſure, he could ſubmit no other terms than thoſe entered into with the parties with whom he made a proviſional agreement.

Sir FRANCIS BARING expreſſed his alarm at the magnitude of the ſum to be raiſed, in proportion to what had been ſtated to be the whole amount of the export trade of the country. Reſpecting the taxes on wine, ſpirits, and tea, he approved them ſo far as they could be made productive. As to the two laſt, he thought it was worthy the conſideration of a financier, to take care that he did not draw the line too tight; for if he did, he was afraid that he would again occaſion the revival of that baneful, illicit trade, ſmuggling.

Mr. MAURICE ROBINSON ſaid, that he ſaw no reaſon why we ſhould give to the Emperor a loan of ſix millions, if we had ground to think that he would be ſatisfied with four.

The other reſolutions were then read and agreed to.

The Houſe was reſumed, and the Report ordered to be received to-morrow.

Mr. EAST moved for leave to bring in a bill to prevent the removal of poor perſons, before they became actually chargeable, which, after a few words from Sir William Young and Mr. Jolliffe, was granted.

Mr. WALLACE moved, "That Sir Edward Knatchbull be added to the Committee appointed to examine into the ſignatures of a petition from Carliſle."

Mr. FOX obſerved, that he had no objection to the name of the worthy Baronet being added to the Committee; but thought the

motion might as well be deferred until the gentlemen who took the part of presenting and seconding the petition, appeared in the House.

Colonel MAITLAND was of the same opinion.

Mr. WALLACE said a few words in favour of the motion, which was put and carried.

Colonel MAITLAND then moved, "That Mr. Lambton be added to the same Committee." Ordered.

Mr. WALLACE was about to propose to add another Member to the Committee.

Mr. Chancellor PITT said, he believed he should save some time to the House; he moved, "That all have voices that attend the said Committee." Ordered.

Mr. HOBART brought up the Resolutions which the Committee of Ways and Means had directed him to report to the House; which he read in his place, and afterwards delivered in at the table, where the same were read, and are as follow, viz.

Resolved,

That it is the opinion of this Committee, That, towards raising the supply granted to His Majesty, the sum of eighteen millions be raised by annuities, in manner following, that is to say: That every contributor to the said sum of eighteen millions shall, for every 100l. contributed and paid, be entitled to the principal sum of 100l. in annuities, after the rate of 3l. per centum, to commence from the 5th day of January, 1795, and to be added to, and made one joint stock with, the 3l. per centum annuities, consolidated by the acts of the 25th, 28th, 29th, 32d, and 33d years of the reign of his late Majesty King George the Second, and by several subsequent acts, and to be payable and transferrable at the Bank of England, at the same time, and in the same manner, and subject to the like redemption by Parliament, as the said 3l. per centum consolidated annuities are payable and transferrable there: That every contributor shall also be entitled to the farther principal sum of 33l. 6s. 8d. in annuities, after the rate of 4l. per centum, to commence from the 10th day of October, 1794, and to be added to, and made one joint stock with, certain annuities, after the rate of 4l. per centum, which were consolidated by the acts of the 20th, 21st, 22d, 23d, and 34th years of the reign of his present Majesty, and to be payable and transferrable at the Bank of England, at the same time, and in the same manner, and subject to the like redemption by Parliament, as the said 4l. per centum consolidated annuities are payable and transferrable there: That every such contributor shall likewise be entitled to an annuity of eight shillings and sixpence per centum, to commence from the 10th day of October, 1794, and to continue for the term of sixty-five years and a quarter, and then to cease, over and above the principal sums of 100l. after the rate of 3l. per centum per annum, and 33l. 6s. 8d. after the rate of 4l. per centum per annum, in respect of every 100l. to be contributed and paid towards raising the said sum of eighteen millions, which annuity of eight shillings and sixpence per centum, so to continue for sixty-five years and a quarter, shall be added to, and made one joint stock with, certain annui-

ties payable at the Bank of England, which were granted for the several terms of ninety-nine, ninety-eight, eighty, seventy-eight, seventy-seven years, seventy-five years and a half, sixty-nine years and a quarter, and sixty-six years and a quarter, and were, by the acts of the 4th, 20th, and 22d years of the reign of his present Majesty, and by several subsequent acts, consolidated, and made one joint stock of annuities, and shall be paid, payable, and transferrable, at the same time, and in the same manner, as the said annuities, so consolidated by the acts of the 4th, 20th, and 22d years of the reign of his present Majesty, are payable and transferrable at the said Bank of England: That the several annuities, after the rate of 3l. per centum, 4l. per centum, and eight shillings and sixpence per centum, so to be payable as aforesaid, shall be charged, and chargeable upon, and payable out of, the Consolidated Fund: That every contributor shall, on or before the 27th day of this instant February, make a deposit of 10l. per centum on such sum as he or she shall chuse to subscribe towards raising the said sum of eighteen millions, with the Chief Cashier or Cashiers of the Governor and Company of the Bank of England, as a security for making the future payments on or before the days or times hereinafter mentioned: that is to say,

10l. per centum on or before the 17th day of April next.
10l. per centum on or before the 12th day of June next.
10l. per centum on or before the 17th day of July next.
15l. per centum on or before the 28th day of August next.
15l. per centum on or before the 23d day of October next.
15l. per centum on or before the 27th day of November next.
15l. per centum on or before the 15th day of January, 1796.

That all the monies, so to be received by the said Cashier or Cashiers of the Governor and Company of the Bank of England, shall be paid into the receipt of the Exchequer, to be applied, from time to time, to such services as shall then have been voted by this House, in this session of Parliament: That every contributor, who shall pay in the whole of his or her contribution money, towards the said sum of eighteen millions, at any time on or before the 20th day of March, 1795, shall be allowed an interest, by way of discount, after the rate of 3l. per centum per annum on the sum so completing his or her contribution respectively, to be computed from the 23d day of January, 1795, to the 15th day of January, 1796; and that every contributor, who shall pay in the whole of his or her contribution money as aforesaid, at any time subsequent to the 20th day of March, 7795, and previous to the 27th day of November, 1795, shall be allowed a like interest, by way of discount, after the rate of 3l. per centum per annum on the sum so completing his or her contribution respectively, to be computed from the day of completing the same to the 15th day of January, 1796: That every contributor towards raising the said sum of eighteen millions shall, in proportion to every 100l. so contributed and paid, be at liberty to contribute the sum of thirty-three pounds six shillings and eight pence to any loan, not exceeding six millions sterling, for the service of the Emperor, which shall be made under the guarantee of Parliament, for the payment of the dividends thereupon, by virtue of any act to be passed in the present session of Parliament; that, in case provision shall not be made by any act, to be passed in the present session of Parliament, for such guarantee, of the payment of the dividends on a loan for the service of the Emperor, every contributor to the said sum of eighteen millions shall, for every 100l. contributed and paid, be entitled to a farther annuity of four shillings per

centum, to commence from the 10th day of October, 1794, and to continue for the term of sixty-five years and a quarter, and then to cease, which shall be added to, and made one joint stock with, the annuity of eight shillings and sixpence herein before mentioned: That, in case provision shall be made, by any act to be passed in the present session of Parliament, for such guarantee for the payment of the dividends on the loan for the service of the Emperor to an amount less than six millions sterling, every contributor to the said loan of eighteen millions shall be entitled to a farther annuity, on every 100l. so contributed to the said loan of eighteen millions, in the proportion of sixpence per centum for every seven hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling by which such loan shall fall short of the said sum of six millions sterling, and shall also be at liberty to contribute to such loan for the service of the Emperor a sum which shall bear the same proportion to every one hundred pounds contributed by such contributor to the said loan of eighteen millions, as the whole amount of such loan for the service of the Emperor shall bear to the said sum of eighteen millions.

That an additional duty of twenty pounds be charged for every ton of Portugal or Madeira wine, and wine of the produce of Spain, or of any of the dominions of the King of Spain, which shall be imported into Great Britain, and so in proportion for any greater or less quantity, and for which all the duties payable thereon shall not be paid on or before the 23d day of February, 1795.

That an additional duty of thirty pounds be charged for every ton of all other wine, which shall be imported into Great Britain, and so in proportion for any greater or less quantity, and for which all the duties payable thereon shall not be paid on or before the 23d day of February, 1795.

That an additional duty of twenty pounds be charged for every ton of Portugal or Madeira wine, and wine of the produce of Spain, or of any of the dominions of the King of Spain, and so in proportion for any greater or less quantity, which, after the 23d day of February, 1795, shall be in the stock, custody, or possession, of any dealer or dealers in, or seller or sellers of, foreign wine.

That an additional duty of thirty pounds be charged for every ton of all other foreign wine, and so in proportion for any greater or less quantity, which, after the 23d day of February, 1795, shall be in the stock, custody, or possession, of any dealer or dealers in, or seller or sellers of, foreign wine.

That a drawback of twenty pounds per ton be granted upon the exportation of Portugal and Madeira wine, and wine of the produce of Spain, or of any of the dominions of the King of Spain, imported into Great Britain, and exported to any place beyond the seas as merchandize.

That a drawback of thirty pounds per ton be granted upon the exportation of all other foreign wine imported into Great Britain, and exported to any place beyond the seas as merchandize.

That it is the opinion of this Committee, That an additional duty of ten pence be laid upon every gallon of single brandy imported into Great Britain, and for which all the duties payable thereon shall not be paid on or before the 23d day of February 1795.

That an additional duty of one shilling and eight pence be laid upon every gallon of brandy, above proof, imported into Great Britain, and for which all the duties payable thereon shall not be paid on or before the 23d day of February 1795.

That an additional duty of eight pence be laid upon every gallon of rum, spirits, or Aqua Vitæ, of the produce of the British colonies or plantations, imported into Great Britain, and for which all the duties payable thereon shall not be paid on or before the 23d day of February 1795.

That an additional duty of one shilling and four pence be laid upon every gallon of rum, spirits, or Aqua Vitæ, above proof, of the produce of the British colonies or plantations, imported into Great Britain, and for which all the duties payable thereon shall not be paid on or before the 23d day of February 1795.

That an additional duty of eight pence be charged upon every gallon of rum or spirits, of the produce of the British plantations, which, on the 23d day of February 1795, shall be in any warehouse in which the same shall have been put subject and according to the rules, regulations, restrictions, and provisions, contained and provided in an act of Parliament, made in the 15th year of the reign of his late Majesty King George the Second, concerning the landing of rum or spirits, of the British sugar plantations, before payment of the duties of excise and lodging the same in warehouses, and which shall, from and after the said 23d day of February, be delivered out of any such warehouse or warehouses respectively, for home consumption, except such rum or spirits for which all the duties due and payable thereon shall have been paid on or before the said 23d day of February.

That an additional duty of one shilling and four pence be charged upon every gallon of rum or spirits, over proof, of the produce of the British plantations, which, on the said 23d day of February 1795 shall be in any such warehouse, and which shall, from and after the said 23d day of February, be delivered out of any such warehouse for home consumption, except such rum or spirits for which all the duties payable thereon shall have been paid on or before the said 23d day of February 1795.

That an additional duty of ten pence be laid upon every gallon of single spirits, or Aqua Vitæ (other than such brandy, rum, or spirits, as aforesaid) imported into Great Britain, and for which all the duties payable thereon shall not be paid on or before the 23d day of February 1795.

That an additional duty of one shilling and eight pence be laid upon every gallon of spirits, or Aqua Vitæ (other than such brandy, rum, or spirits, as aforesaid) above proof, imported into Great Britain, and for which all the duties payable thereon shall not be paid on or before the 23d day of February 1795.

That an additional duty of one penny be laid upon every gallon of fermented wort or wash which shall be brewed or made in that part of Great Britain called England, for extracting spirits, for home consumption, from any malt, corn, grain, or tilts, or any mixture with the same, and which shall not be actually distilled into spirits on or before the 23d day of February 1795.

That an additional duty of one penny be laid upon every gallon of cyder or perry, or any other wash or liquor, which shall be brewed or made in that part of Great Britain called England, from any sort or kind of British materials (except such as are before mentioned) or from any mixture therewith, for extracting spirits for home consumption, and which shall not be actually distilled into spirits on or before the 23d day of February 1795.

That an additional duty of one penny half-penny be laid upon every gallon of fermented wort or wash, which shall be brewed or made, in that

part of Great Britain called England, from melasses or sugar, or any mixture therewith, for extracting spirits for home consumption, and which shall not be actually distilled into spirits on or before the 23d day of February 1795.

That an additional duty of two pence be laid upon every gallon of wash, which shall be brewed or made, in that part of Great Britain called England, from foreign refused wine, or foreign cyder or wash prepared from foreign materials, except melasses and sugar, or any mixture therewith, for extracting spirits for home consumption, and which shall not be actually distilled into spirits on or before the 23d day of February 1795.

That an additional duty at, and after the rate of, two shillings and eight pence three farthings, be laid upon every ninety-six gallons of wash, which Sir William Bishop, Charles Bishop, and George Bishop, or the survivor or survivors of them, shall produce from a weight of malt or other corn, including the bran thereof, and not exceeding one hundred and twelve pounds, and which shall not be actually distilled into spirits on or before the 23d day of February 1795.

That an additional duty of eleven shillings and seven pence farthing be charged for every barrel of liquor which shall be made in Great Britain, for sale, by infusion, fermentation, or otherwise, from fruit or sugar, or from fruit or sugar mixed with any other ingredients or materials whatsoever, commonly called sweets, or called or distinguished by the name of made wines, and so in proportion for any greater or less quantity.

That an additional duty of ten pounds per centum be laid upon all tea which shall be sold in Great Britain by the united company of merchants of England trading to the East Indies, to be computed upon the gross prices at which such tea shall be sold.

That a drawback of the duty be allowed upon the exportation of all such tea, [illegible] dominions, and exported to any place whereto a drawback of the duty on tea is now allowed by law.

That an additional duty of six pence halfpenny be charged for every pound weight avoirdupoise of cocoa nuts, of the growth or produce of any British colony or plantation in America, imported into Great Britain, and which shall be delivered out of the warehouse in which the same shall have been lodged, under the care and custody of the proper officers for securing the duties payable thereon for home consumption, and so in proportion for any greater or less quantity, and for which all the duties payable thereon shall not be paid on or before the 23d day of February 1795.

That an additional duty of one shilling and eight pence be charged for every pound weight avoirdupoise of cocoa nuts, of the growth or produce of any other place, imported into Great Britain, and which shall be delivered out of the warehouse in which the same shall have been lodged under the care and custody of the proper officers for securing the duties payable thereon for home consumption, and so in proportion for any greater or less quantity, and for which all the duties payable thereon shall not be paid on or before the 23d day of February 1795.

That an additional duty of six pence half-penny be charged for every pound weight avoirdupoise of coffee, of the growth or produce of any British colony or plantation in America, imported into Great Britain, and which shall be delivered out of the warehouse in which the same shall have been lodged under the care and custody of the proper officers for securing the duties payable thereon for home consumption, and so in proportion for any greater or less quantity, and for which all the duties payable thereon shall not be paid on or before the 23d day of February 1795.

That an additional duty of one shilling and eight pence be charged for every pound weight avoirdupoise of coffee, of the growth or produce of any other place, imported into Great Britain, and which shall be delivered out of the warehouse in which the same shall have been lodged under the care and custody of the proper officers for securing the duties payable thereon for home consumption, and so in proportion for any greater or less quantity, and for which all the duties payable thereon shall not be paid on or before the 23d day of February 1795.

That an additional drawback of five pence be granted upon the exportation of chocolate, which shall be made in Great Britain, of cocoa nuts, of the growth or produce of any British colony or plantation in America, imported into Great Britain.

That an additional drawback of one shilling and four pence be granted upon the exportation of chocolate, which shall be made in Great Britain, of cocoa nuts, of the growth or produce of any other place, imported into Great Britain.

That an additional duty of one shilling and fourpence be charged upon every one hundred weight of raisins of the sun imported into this kingdom.

That a drawback of one shilling and four pence be allowed upon every one hundred weight of raisins of the sun exported from this kingdom.

That an additional duty of seven pence be charged upon every one hundred weight of Smyrna raisins imported into this kingdom.

That a drawback of seven pence be allowed upon every one hundred weight of Smyrna raisins exported from this kingdom.

That an additional duty of one shilling and four pence be charged upon every one hundred weight of Lexia raisins imported into this kingdom.

That a drawback of one shilling and four pence be allowed upon every one hundred weight of Lexia raisins exported from this kingdom.

That an additional duty of one shilling and four pence be charged upon every one hundred weight of Faro raisins imported into this kingdom.

That a drawback of one shilling and fourpence be allowed upon every one hundred weight of Faro raisins exported from this kingdom.

That an additional duty of one shilling and one penny be charged upon every one hundred weight of Lipra, or Belvidere raisins, imported into this kingdom.

That a drawback of one shilling and one penny be allowed upon every one hundred weight of Lipra, or Belvidere raisins, exported from this kingdom.

That an additional duty of one shilling and three pence be charged upon every one hundred weight of Denia raisins, and of all other raisins not otherwise enumerated, imported into this kingdom.

That a drawback of one shilling and three pence be allowed upon every one hundred weight of Denia raisins, and of all other raisins not otherwise enumerated, exported from this kingdom.

That an additional duty of two shillings and three pence be charged upon every one thousand lemons imported into this kingdom.

That a drawback of two shillings and three pence be allowed upon every one thousand lemons exported from this kingdom.

That an additional duty of two shillings and three pence be charged upon every one thousand oranges imported into this kingdom.

That a drawback of two shillings and three pence be allowed upon every one thousand oranges exported from this kingdom.

That an additional duty of eleven pence be charged upon every gallon of sallad oil imported into this kingdom,

That a drawback of eleven pence be allowed upon every gallon of sallad oil exported from this kingdom.

That an additional duty of one shilling and two pence be charged upon every pound, containing sixteen ounces, of silk knubs, or husks of silk, imported into this kingdom.

That a drawback of one shilling and two pence be allowed upon every pound, containing sixteen ounces, of silk knubs, or husks of silk, exported from this kingdom.

That the duties payable on waste silk imported into this kingdom, do cease, determine, and be no longer paid.

That a duty of one shilling and six pence be charged upon every pound, containing sixteen ounces, of waste silk imported into this kingdom.

That a drawback of one shilling and four pence be allowed upon every pound, containing sixteen ounces, of waste silk exported from this kingdom.

That a duty of one penny halfpenny be charged upon every foot square, superficial measure, of mahogany imported into this kingdom.

That a drawback of one penny halfpenny be allowed upon every foot square, superficial measure, of mahogany exported from this kingdom.

That a duty of five pounds be charged upon every ton, containing two hundred and fifty-two gallons, of spermaceti oil, imported into this kingdom.

That a drawback of five pounds be allowed upon every ton, containing two hundred and fifty-two gallons, of spermaceti oil, exported from this kingdom.

That an additional duty of one pound six shillings and sixpence be charged upon every one hundred, containing six score, of balks, being five inches square, and under eight inches square, or if twenty-four feet in length or upwards, imported into this kingdom from any part of Europe.

That a drawback of one pound six shillings and sixpence be allowed upon the exportation of every one hundred, containing six score, of balks, being five inches square, and under eight inches square, or if twenty-four feet in length or upwards, having been imported into this kingdom from any part of Europe.

That an additional duty of ten shillings and eight pence be charged upon every one hundred, containing six score, of balks, under five inches square, and under twenty-four feet in length, imported into this kingdom from any part of Europe.

That a drawback of ten shillings and eight pence be allowed upon the exportation of every one hundred, containing six score, of balks, under five inches square and under twenty-four feet in length, having been imported into this kingdom from any part of Europe.

That an additional duty of thirteen shillings and three pence be charged upon every one hundred, containing six score, of battens, being eight feet in length, and not exceeding twenty feet in length, not above seven inches in width, and not exceeding two inches three quarters in thickness, imported into this kingdom from any part of Europe.

That a drawback of thirteen shillings and three pence be allowed upon the exportation of every one hundred, containing six score, of battens, being eight feet in length, and not exceeding twenty feet in length, not above seven inches in width, and not exceeding two inches three quarters in thickness, having been imported into this kingdom from any part

That an additional duty of one pound six shillings and six pence be charged upon every one hundred, containing six score, of battens, exceeding twenty feet in length, not above seven inches in width, or if exceeding two inches three quartars in thickness, imported into this kingdom from any part of Europe.

That a drawback of one pound six shillings and six pence be allowed upon the exportation of every one hundred, containing six score, of battens, exceeding twenty feet in length, not above seven inches in width, or if exceeding two inches three quarters in thickness, having been imported into this kingdom from any part of Europe.

That an additional duty of four shillings and five pence be charged upon every one hundred, containing six score, of batten ends, under eight feet in length, not above seven inches in width, and not exceeding two inches three quarters in thickness, imported into this kingdom from any part of Europe.

That a drawback of four shillings and five pence be allowed upon the exportation of every one hundred, containing six score, of batten ends, under eight feet in length, not above seven inches in width, and not exceeding two inches three quarters in thickness, having been imported into this kingdom from any part of Europe.

That an additional duty of eight shillings and ten pence be charged upon every one hundred, containing six score, of batten ends, under eight feet in length, not above seven inches in width, and exceeding two inches three quarters in thickness, imported into this kingdom from any part of Europe.

That a drawback of eight shillings and ten pence be allowed upon the exportation of every one hundred, containing six score, of batten ends, under eight feet in length, not above seven inches in width, and exceeding two inches three quarters in thickness, having been imported into this kingdom from any part of Europe.

That an additional duty of one pound six shillings and six pence be charged upon every one hundred, containing six score, of beech quarters, being five inches square, and under eight inches square, or if twenty-four feet in length, or upwards, imported into this kingdom from any part of Europe.

That a drawback of one pound six shillings and six pence be allowed upon the exportation of every one hundred, containing six score, of beech quarters, being four inches square, and under eight inches square, or if twenty-four feet in length, or upwards, having been imported into this kingdom from any part of Europe.

That an additional duty of ten shillings and eight pence be charged upon every one hundred, containing six score, of beech quarters, under five inches square, and under twenty-four feet in length, imported into this kingdom from any part of Europe.

That a drawback of ten shillings and eight pence be allowed upon the exportation of every one hundred, containing six score, of Beech quarters, under five inches square, and under twenty-four feet in length, having been imported into this kingdom from any part of Europe.

That an additional duty of two pounds nineteen shillings and sixpence be charged upon every one hundred, containing six score, of deals, above seven inches in width, exceeding twenty feet in length, and not exceeding four inches in thickness, imported into this kingdom from any part of Europe.

That a drawback of two pounds nineteen shillings and sixpence be allowed upon the exportation of every one hundred, containing six score,

of deals, above seven inches in width, exceeding twenty feet in length, and not exceeding four inches in thickness, having been imported into this kingdom from any part of Europe.

That an additional duty of five pounds and nineteen shillings be charged upon every one hundred, containing six score, of deals, above seven inches in width, exceeding twenty feet in length, and exceeding four inches in thickness, imported into this kingdom from any part of Europe.

That a drawback of five pounds and nineteen shillings be allowed upon the exportation of every one hundred, containing six score, of deals, above seven inches in width, exceeding twenty feet in length, and exceeding four inches in thickness, having been imported into this kingdom from any part of Europe.

That an additional duty of one pound six shillings and six pence be charged upon every one hundred, containing six score, of deals, above seven inches in width, being eight feet in length, and not above twenty feet in length, and not exceeding three inches one quarter in thickness, imported into this kingdom from any part of Europe.

That a drawback of one pound six shillings and six pence be allowed upon the exportation of every one hundred, containing six score, of deals, above seven inches in width, being eight feet in length, and not above twenty feet in length, and not exceeding three inches one quarter in thickness, having been imported into this kingdom from any part of Europe.

That an additional duty of two pounds and thirteen shillings be charged upon every one hundred, containing six score, of deals, above seven inches in width, being eight feet in length, and not above twenty feet in length, and exceeding three inches one quarter in thickness, imported into this kingdom from any part of Europe.

That a drawback of two pounds and thirteen shillings be allowed upon the exportation of every one hundred, containing six score, of deals, above seven inches in width, being eight feet in length, and not above twenty feet in length, and exceeding three inches one quarter in thickness, having been imported into this kingdom from any part of Europe.

That an additional duty of eight shillings and ten pence be charged upon every one hundred, containing six score, of deal ends, above seven inches in width, being under eight feet in length, and not exceeding three inches one quarter in thickness, imported into this kingdom from any part of Europe.

That a drawback of eight shillings and ten pence be allowed upon the exportation of every one hundred, containing six score, of deal ends, above seven inches in width, being under eight feet in length, and not exceeding three inches one quarter in thickness, having been imported into this kingdom from any part of Europe.

That an additional duty of seventeen shillings and eight pence be charged upon every one hundred, containing six score, of deal ends, above seven inches in width, being under eight feet in length, and exceeding three inches one quarter in thickness, imported into this kingdom from any part of Europe.

That a drawback of seventeen shillings and eight pence be allowed upon the exportation of every one hundred, containing six score, of deal ends, above seven inches in width, being under eight feet in length, and exceeding three inches one quarter in thickness, having been imported into this kingdom from any part of Europe.

That an additional duty of one pound six shillings and six pence be charged upon every one hundred, containing six score, of fir quarters

being five inches square, and under eight inches square, or if twenty-four feet in length or upwards, imported into this kingdom from any part of Europe.

That a drawback of one pound six shillings and six pence be allowed upon the exportation of every one hundred, containing six score, of fir quarters, being five inches square, and under eight inches square, or if twenty-four feet in length or upwards, having been imported into this kingdom from any part of Europe.

That an additional duty of ten shillings and eight pence be charged upon every one hundred, containing six score, of fir quarters, being under five inches square, and under twenty four feet in length, imported into this kingdom from any part of Europe.

That a drawback of ten shillings and eight pence be allowed upon the exportation of every one hundred, containing six score, of fir quarters, being under five inches square, and under twenty four feet in length, having been imported into this kingdom from any part of Europe.

That an additional duty of three shillings and four pence be charged upon every load, containing fifty cubic feet, of fir timber, and timber of all other sorts (except oak timber and timber of Ireland) being eight inches square or upwards, imported into this kingdom from any part of Europe.

That a drawback of three shillings and four pence be allowed upon the exportation of every load, containing fifty cubic feet, of fir timber, and timber of all other sorts (except oak timber and timber of Ireland) being eight inches square or upwards, having been imported into this kingdom from any part of Europe.

That the duties payable on masts being twelve inches in diameter or upwards, imported into this kingdom, do cease, determine, and be no longer paid.

That a duty of ten shillings for every load, containing fifty cubic feet, be charged upon all masts, being twelve inches in diameter or upwards, imported into this kingdom in a British built ship.

That a duty of ten shillings and six pence for every load, containing fifty cubic feet, be charged upon all masts, being twelve inches in diameter or upwards, imported into this kingdom in a foreign ship.

That a drawback of nine shillings and eight pence be allowed upon every load, containing fifty cubic feet, of masts, being twelve inches in diameter or upwards, exported from this kingdom.

That an additional duty of one pound six shillings and six pence be charged upon every one hundred, containing six score, of ufers, being five inches square, and under eight inches square, or if twenty four feet in length or upwards, imported into this kingdom from any part of Europe.

That a drawback of one pound six shillings and six pence be allowed upon the exportation of every one hundred, containing six score, of ufers, being five inches square, and under eight inches square, or if twenty four feet in length or upwards, having been imported into this kingdom from any part of Europe.

That a duty of ten shillings and eight pence be charged upon every one hundred, containing six score, of ufers, being under five inches square, and under twenty-four feet in length, imported into this kingdom from any part of Europe.

That a drawback of ten shillings and eight pence be allowed upon the [illegible] of every one hundred, containing six score, of ufers, being

[illegible]

under five inches square, and under twenty-four feet in length, having been imported into this kingdom from any part of Europe.

That a duty of one penny be charged upon every bushel, containing sixty-five pounds weight, of British rock salt exported from this kingdom.

That an additional duty of four shillings and seven pence be charged upon every chalder of coals, Newcastle measure, exported from this kingdom to any place except to Ireland, the Isle of Man, any British colony or plantation in America, or to the United States of America.

That an additional duty of one shilling and ten pence be charged upon every ton of coals, containing twenty hundred weight, exported from this kingdom, to any place, except to Ireland, the Isle of Man, any British colony or plantation in America, or to the United States of America.

That for every piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet, or piece of paper, upon which any affidavit for which the stamp duty of six pence is payable, by virtue of an act made in the 32d year of the reign of his late Majesty, there shall be charged an additional stamp duty of six pence.

That for every piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet, or piece of paper, upon which any copy of such affidavit as is before charged, that shall be filed or read in any court, shall be ingrossed, written, or printed, there shall be charged the additional stamp duty of six pence.

That for every skin, or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet, or piece of paper, upon which shall be ingrossed, printed, or written, any deposition or depositions of a witness or witnesses, taken in any cause or suit before the Court of Sessions, or Commission of Tiends, or Court of Admiralty in Scotland, or Commissary Court of Edinburgh, or in any civil cause before any inferior Court in Scotland, or whereupon any affidavit, or written deposition, produced in the Court of Exchequer in Scotland, shall be ingrossed, printed, or written, there shall be charged an additional stamp duty of six pence.

That for every skin, or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, upon which shall be ingrossed, written, or printed, any original writ (except such original upon which a writ of Capias issues) subpœna, bill of Middlesex, Latitat, writ of Capias, Quominus, writ of Dedimus Potestatem, to take answers, examine witnesses, or appoint guardians, or any other writ whatsoever, or any other process or mandate, that shall issue out or pass the Great Seals of any of the Courts at Westminster, Courts of great sessions in Wales, Courts in the counties Palatine, or any other Court whatsoever, holding plea where the debt or damage doth amount to forty shillings or above, or the thing in demand is of that value (writs of covenant for levying fines, writs of entry for suffering common recoveries, and writs of Habeas Corpus, always excepted) there shall be charged an additional stamp duty of one shilling.

That for every skin, or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, upon which any agreement shall be ingrossed, written, or printed, for which the stamp duty of six shillings is payable, by virtue of an act made in the 23d year of the reign of his present Majesty, there shall be charged an additional stamp duty of one shilling.

That the exception in the act, made in the 23d year of the reign of his present Majesty, as far as the same relates to any bonds given as security for the payment of any sum or sums of money, amounting to one hundred pounds, or any less sum, shall be repealed.

That for every skin, or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, upon which shall be ingrossed, written, or printed, in Great

Britain, any indenture, lease, bond, or other deed, for which a stamp duty of one shilling is payable, by virtue of an act made in the 23d year of the reign of his present Majesty, there shall be charged an additional stamp duty of one shilling.

That for every skin, or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, upon which shall be ingrossed, written, or printed, any probate of a will, or letters of administration, for any estate of or above the value of 1000l., over and above all other rates and duties already imposed thereon, there shall be charged a farther additional duty of two pounds and ten shillings; and where the estate is of or above the value of 2000l., a farther additional duty of two pounds and ten shillings, and where the estate is of or above the value of 5000l., a farther additional duty of five pounds; and where the estate is of or above the value of 10,000l., a farther additional duty of ten pounds.

That for every piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, upon which any receipt, discharge, or acquittance, given for or upon the payment of money, amounting to 100l., and not amounting to 500l., shall be ingrossed, written, or printed, over and above all other rates and duties already imposed thereon, there shall be charged an additional duty of six pence; and where the same shall amount to 500l. or upwards, there shall be charged a farther additional duty of one shilling.

That the present stamp duties payable on policies of insurance, as far as the same relate to life or sea insurances, shall be repealed.

That upon every sum paid, or contracted to be paid, as a premium for the insurance of any sum or sums, depending on any event or contingency relative to a life or lives, there shall be charged a sum equal to one-tenth part of such premium.

That for every skin, or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, upon which any insurance of a ship or ships, or goods, merchandizes, or other property, on board a ship or ships, shall be ingrossed, printed, or written, there shall be charged the stamp duties following upon the sums insured; that is to say, where the sum to be insured shall amount to 100l., a stamp duty of two shillings and six pence, and so progressively for every sum of 100l. insured; and where the sum to be insured shall not amount to 100l., a like stamp duty of two shillings and six pence; and where the sum to be insured shall exceed 100l., or any progressive sums of 100l. each by any fractional part of 100l., a like stamp duty of two shillings and six pence for such fractional part of 100l.; which several duties shall be payable and paid by the assured in such insurances respectively.

That every person who shall use or wear any powder, commonly called hair powder, of whatever materials the same shall be made, shall previously enter his or her name and place of abode with the Clerk of the Peace, or his deputy, in that part of Great Britain called England, the dominion of Wales, or the town of Berwick upon Tweed, or with the Sheriff Depute or Stewart Clerk in Scotland, of the county, riding, shire, stewartry, or place where such person shall reside, and annually take out a certificate thereof.

That upon every piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, upon which any certificate, issued to any such person, shall be ingrossed, written, or printed, there shall be charged a stamp duty of one pound and one shilling.

That no letter or packet, directed by any Member of either of the two Houses of Parliament, shall be exempted from the duty of postage, unless the Member whose name shall be indorsed thereon, shall actually

be in such post town, or within the limits of the delivery of letters for such post town, on the day on which the same shall be put into the post office.

That no letter or packet, which shall be sent by the post to any Member of either House of Parliament, shall be exempted from the duty of postage, unless such Member shall actually be in London, or within ten miles of the General Post Office, on the day on which such letter or packet shall be received at the General Post Office.

That no Member of either House of Parliament shall be allowed to send by the post, free from the duty of postage, more than ten letters in any one day, nor shall be allowed to receive, free from the said duty, more than ten letters in any one day.

That every packet or cover, containing therein any paper with patterns of cloth, silk, stuff, or other goods, or any sample of any other sort of thing, not exceeding together one ounce in weight, shall be charged with no higher rate of postage than as a single letter, so as the same be sent open at the sides, and without any writing within such packet or cover, other than the prices of the articles contained therein.

That no letter or packet, sent by the post from any place within the kingdom of Great Britain, directed by or to any Member of either House of Parliament, shall be exempted from the payment of the duties of postage, if such letter or packet shall exceed three quarters of an ounce in weight, or if such letter or packet shall contain more than one inclosure therein.

The Resolutions having been read,

Mr. FOX entered into calculations on the subject of the Austrian loan, and maintained, by several arguments that the conclusions of the Minister were erroneous in many instances on this subject.

Mr. Chancellor PITT maintained the justness of his calculations, as he had submitted them last night to the Committee.

Mr. HUSSEY agreed with Mr. Fox, and undertook to prove that the Minister had made an improvident bargain. He entered also into several points of calculations upon compound interest, &c. and said he should be glad to see an attempt made to contradict his conclusions.

Several of the resolutions were then read a second time, and agreed to. On reading that, which imposes a duty on foreign timber,

A Member, whose name we did not hear, stated some objections to this tax. He said, that a great number, indeed, of houses in the metropolis, and especially in Mary-le-bon, now remained unfinished on account of the late tax which had been laid on this very article, that expence having deprived the builders of the means of finishing them. He said there were whole streets in that situation; and he had too much reason to fear, that if this tax was persisted in, and no relief of any kind afforded to these persons, the houses would remain without roofs, and would soon be in ruins.

Mr. FOX said, he knew many houses that were in that situation; many more might be so, of which he knew nothing; but he knew enough to say, that this was a matter of very serious consideration, and ought to be attended to before the House should pass the bill upon this resolution.

Mr. Chancellor PITT said, that from all the information he had upon the subject, he had no reason to apprehend that there was any hardship to any great extent felt by the persons alluded to; nor did he apprehend there would be such in consequence of the tax now proposed. However, he said he should be glad to receive farther information upon that subject in the different stages of the bill.

Lord SHEFFIELD apprehended very great danger from carrying this duty upon foreign timber into a law; for he understood the duty which had been imposed upon that article already, had induced many to make use of oak instead of the timber thus taxed; if they had done so already, how much more likely were they to do it after a new tax should be imposed. This might prove very injurious to the navy.

The resolution was then read and agreed to.

On reading the resolution for imposing a duty on insurance on lives and on ships, &c.

Mr. FOX said he feared there was too much reason to apprehend that this duty would be evaded. Insurances, he believed, had been sometimes paid by one party to another, together with the duty, and yet Government had never received that duty. He mentioned this merely to put the Minister upon his guard, and that all possible precaution might be taken in the framing of the bill.

Mr. Chancellor PITT agreed, that it was right to be as guarded as possible upon this subject; for he had reason to believe, that frauds had been practised; and he should feel himself indebted to any gentleman who should give him hints upon this business. It might be impossible totally to avoid fraud; but he hoped the bill would be as well framed as possible for that purpose.

Mr. THORNTON thought there was much disproportion in this resolution, and recommended an alteration of it. He said, it was his opinion the tax on insurances should be in the ratio of the premium.

Mr. Chancellor PITT said a few words in defence of the resolution, and observed, that there would be an opportunity of discussing the matter on the introduction of the bill.

The resolution was then agreed to.

On reading the resolution for the regulation of franking,

Mr. JOLIFFE said, he saw many inconveniencies arising from

the resolution as it then stood, insomuch as it was impossible to ascertain at what places Members might be at particular times when letters were franked by them or sent to them. Until this matter could be more properly adjusted, he conceived that it might be productive of much trouble and litigation between Members and the people at the Post Office. From this consideration, therefore, he could not agree to the resolution in its present indeterminate state.

Mr. BUXTON thought the privileges of franking ought to be given up, or at least only retained during the actual sitting of Parliament.

Sir WILLIAM YOUNG was of opinion that the sum, as proposed by the resolution, was not likely to be raised, as from the accounts kept at the General Post Office, it appeared that the whole amount of letters franked by Members was only 60,000l.

A short debate took place, in the course of which some suggestions of amendment were given.

Lord SHEFFIELD was decidedly against the whole of the resolution. The only privilege almost that a Member of that House had left was that of franking; and, he maintained, that a person who had six or seven thousand constituents ought not to be limited as to the number of letters which he should write to, or receive from such, free of postage, because there was no defining the number with whom we might have occasion to correspond upon public business:—under such consideration he should oppose this duty and regulation in every stage.

The House divided:—

For the resolution 49; Against it 9.

A conversation of considerable length then took place on the various modes proposed by different Members for the alteration of the plan now proposed by the Minister for the regulation of franking, which the Speaker terminated by declaring it to be irregular.

Colonel STANLEY said, that some exceptions ought to be made in favour of the militia, whose affections to their wives and children were kept alive by having the opportunity of corresponding with them, through the medium of their officers, often Members of Parliament, in quarters with them.

Mr. CHARLES DUNDAS thought that during the sitting of Parliament letters ought to be addressed to the House, as it would induce Members to attend more constantly their Parliamentary duty than in general they are accustomed to do.

A Member, whose name we did not hear, observed that he thought it would be unjust that a Member, who had a great number of constituents, as was his case, should only have the privilege of receiv-

ing no more letters free from them than one who only reprefented Old Sarum.

Mr. R. SMITH moved an amendment to the refolution; inftead of allowing one inclofure to each cover, there fhould be two allowed.

This was fupported by Mr. Thornton, and others, upon which a fhort debate arofe.

Mr. Chancellor PITT oppofed the amendment, as being contrary to the very principle on which the Committee voted the refolution, namely, that bills of exchange, and other inftruments, fhould not, to the fame extent as formerly, be allowed to pafs through the kingdom without poftage

The Houfe divided,

For the amendment, 7:—Againft it, 41.

Sir WILLIAM YOUNG gave notice that on the 3d of March next, he fhould move for the fecond reading of a bill for giving relief to poor perfons at their own homes.

The Houfe then proceeded to take into farther confideration the Report of a bill for raifing out of different counties, a number of men, in proportion to the inhabited houfes, for the better manning the navy, &c. Several amendments were agreed to.

Mr. CAWTHORNE propofed a claufe, the purport of which was, that every perfon keeping three male fervants fhould find one man for the navy, or pay a fine. Every perfon keeping five male fervants to find two men, or pay a fine, &c.

Mr. Chancellor PITT oppofed the claufe, and the Houfe refufed leave to bring it up.

The bill, with the amendments, was ordered to be ingroffed, and read a third time on Thurfday, if then ingroffed.—Adjourned to Thurfday.

The following Papers were laid on the Table, for the perufal of the Members.

An Account of the Total Net Produce of the Taxes for one Year, ending the 5th Day of January, 1795.

	£.	s.	d.
CUSTOMS	3,378,640	11	6½
EXCISE	7,175,629	18	5½
STAMPS	1,240,035	1	10
	11,794,305	11	10

INCIDENTS.

	£.	s.	d.
Confolidated Letter Money, 1787	156,000	—	—
Ditto, Salt, ditto	417,144	3	6½
Seizures fince 25 October 1760	27,407	3	7¼
Proffers, ditto	628	10	3
Letter Money, ditto	291,029	18	1
Alum Mines, ditto	480	—	—
Compofitions, ditto	2	—	—
Rent of a Light Houfe, ditto	6	13	4
Alienation Duty, ditto	2,530	15	4
6d. Deduct. per Lib. on Penfions, 24th June 1721	44,626	—	—
1s. ditto, Salaries, &c. 5 April, 1758	31,985	—	9
Houfes and Windows, 10th October, 1766	327,826	9	7½
Inhabited Houfes, 1779	147,944	4	7
Hawkers and Pedlars, 1710	2,609	6	4
Hackney Coaches and Chairs, 1ft Auguft, 1711	11,000	—	—
Ditto, 1784	13,000	—	—
Male Servants, 1785	93,926	7	2¾
Horfes, ditto	110,884	18	7½
Four Wheel Carriages, ditto	151,899	7	—½
Two Wheel ditto, ditto	31,553	8	3¾
Arrears of Female Servants, ditto	2,409	9	2½
Ditto, Waggons, ditto	674	7	10½
Ditto, Carts, ditto	1,351	9	—
Ditto, Shops, ditto	118	13	8
Firft Fruits of the Clergy	3,630	—	9¼
Tenths ditto	9,918	7	11
	1,880,586	15	1½

DUTIES, Anno 1791.

	£.	s.	d.
Sugars	234,292	6	8
Britifh Spirits	109,783	—	—
Foreign Ditto	139,075	10	6
Malt	500	—	—
Bills and Receipts	153,494	11	10
Game Duty	17,523	1	3
£. 10 per cent. on Affeffed Taxes	93,164	6	2¾
	747,832	16	5¾

DUTIES, Anno 1794.

	£.	s.	d.
British Spirits	65,503	—	—
Foreign ditto	84,335	—	—
Glass	23,068	—	—
Attornies Articles	12,021	9	—
Bricks, Customs	54,643	—	—
Slates and Stones	5,111	11	11
Bricks and Tiles	52	15	10
Spirit Licences	31,000	—	—
Paper, Excise	77,565	—	—
Ditto, Customs	866	10	8
	354,166	7	5

	£.	s.	d.
Total of CUSTOMS, EXCISE, and STAMPS	11,794,305	11	10
Ditto INCIDENTS	1,880,586	15	1½
Ditto DUTIES, Anno 1791	747,832	16	5¾
Ditto DUTIES, Anno 1794	354,166	7	5
GRAND TOTAL	14,776,891	10	10¼

Exchequer, the 12th
Day of January 1795.

JAMES FISHER.

An ACCOMPT of the Total Produce of the Duties of CUSTOMS, EXCISE, STAMPS, and INCIDENTS, respectively for One Year, ended the 10th Day of October 1794; distinguishing (as far as possible) in each Branch, the Produce on every separate Article, the Duties on which have amounted to ONE THOUSAND POUNDS, or more, in the Four Quarters of the Year: viz.

The Total produce of the Duties of Customs for One Year, ended the 10th Day of October 1794, as per Accompt (A) — —	4,044,923	15	6¾
Ditto of the Duties of Excise for One Year, ended ditto (exclusive of 586,888l., the Produce of the annual Malt Duties) as per Accompt (B)	7,541,965	2	5¼
Ditto of the Stamp Duties for One Year, ended ditto, as per Accompt (C) —	1,420,867	11	10
Ditto of Incidents at the Receipt of the Exchequer for One Year, ended ditto, as per Accompt (D)	2,368,839	5	10½
	15,376,595	15	8½

Memorandum

In the Sum of 2,368,839l. 5s. 10½d. stated as the Amount of Incidents at the Exchequer, is included 352,184l. 6s. 5¼d., being the Amount of the Imprest and other Monies paid in there within the above Period.

Presented pursuant to an Act of the 27th Year of his present Majesty's Reign, the 2d Day of January 1795, by

GEORGE ROSE,

(A.)

An ACCOUNT of the Total Net Produce paid into the Exchequer of the Duties of CUSTOMS in England and Scotland; distinguishing, as far as possible, the Produce upon every separate Article, the Duties on which shall have amounted to 1000l. or more, in the Four Quarters ending the 10th Day of October 1794.

CHARGE.

SPECIES OF GOODS.	Net Produce, subject to the Payments of Bounties and Management. £.	s.	d.
Ashes, Pearl and Pott	962	1	10
Barilla	13,078	17	2
Brimstone	8,524	10	9
Bristles undressed	5,261	—	1
Bugle, great	876	10	2
Carpets, Turkey	2,070	13	6
China Ware	9,865	7	10
Copper, unwrought	1,083	1	11
Cork	3,777	15	1
Corn, Oats	7,136	6	8
—— Wheat	9,485	13	7
Drugs—Borax refined	4,396	11	—
Cassia Lignea	999	19	1
Cortex Peru	12,351	6	9
Juniper Berries	1,047	17	3
Manna	881	4	6
Oil perfumed	1,982	17	5
Opium	1064	8	—
Quickfilver	3,666	4	7
Rhubarb	2,015	17	—
Saccarum Saturni	1,542	1	4
Senna	1,612	8	10
Succus Liquoritiae	7,065	2	3
Dye Stuffs, Smalts	9,630	12	2
Elephants Teeth	1,264	7	10
Feathers for Beds	7,527	6	10
Fruit, Lemons and Oranges	9,879	19	2
Fruit, Nuts, small	2,113	3	9
Glass Plates	5,807	7	2
Grocery—Almonds, Jordan	2,912	1	8
———— not Jordan	1,330	13	11
Cinnamon	1,328	12	6
Cloves	2,208	5	9
Cocoa	1,679	13	2
Coffee	45,851	—	1
Currants	73,403	13	6
Figs	1,988	1	8
Ginger	2,223	12	9
Mace	1,427	12	4

CHARGE.

SPECIES OF GOODS.	Net Produce, subject to the Payments of Bounties and Management. £.	s.	d.
Grocery—Nutmegs	1,928	2	0
Pepper	24,671	17	6
Pimento	788	1	6
Raisins, Denia	10,607	0	5
—— Lexia	9,672	0	6
—— Lipari	6,180	3	3
—— Smyrna	18,162	2	4
—— Solis	12,643	1	2
Rice	11,656	3	8
Sago	2,391	7	10
Sugar, brown	1,448,195	19	5
Tea	118,699	4	1
Hair, Horse	642	16	0
—— Human	788	12	0
* Hemp, Rough	118,209	4	5
Hides, Indian	1,562	0	5
—— Losh	7,600	11	8
—— Ox or Cow	1,132	9	2
Incle, wrought	3,297	14	0
Iron, Bar	146,284	7	10
—— Cast	1,567	14	7
Kelp	1,190	19	9
Linens.—Cambricks	2,430	4	3
Canvas, Hessens	19,917	17	6
—— Spruce	5,093	1	11
Damask Tabling, Silesia	1,327	7	10
Drilling	2,176	18	2
Germany, Narrow	49,353	4	9
Russia, Broad, above 22½	21,354	17	2
—— —— above 31½	1,717	12	7
—— —— above 36	3,997	19	4
—— Narrow	4,701	6	6
—— Towelling and Napkining	1, 03	5	11
Manufactured Articles of India	3,373	6	11
Mats, Russia	2,836	11	5
* Hats, Chip	2,270	3	[illegible]
Oil, Ordinary	13,686	19	[illegible]
—— Sallad	5,118	19	[illegible]
—— Train	1,612	10	[illegible]
Paper, Foolscap	1,353	9	[illegible]
Pictures	937	4	[illegible]
Piece Goods of India.—Callicoes	21,473	10	
Muslins	113,474	17	
Nankeens	11,647	17	
Prohibited	14,327	18	
Saltpetre	846	10	

CHARGE.

SPECIES OF GOODS.	Net Produce, subject to the Payment of Bounties and Management. £.	s.	d.
Seeds, Clover	4,363	16	4
Shells, Mother of Pearl	1,532	5	7
Silk, Bengal, Raw	100,834	15	0
—— China, Raw	24,854	4	10
—— Italian and Turkey, Raw	6,945	18	10
—— Thrown	93,703	16	2
Skins.—Bear, Black	2,016	6	0
Beaver	1,022	13	6
Calf, undress'd	1,801	8	5
—— Tann'd	2,604	1	9
Deer, in hair	3,268	5	6
Kid, undress'd	3,812	14	0
Martin	324	15	8
Snuff	868	14	2
Spirits.—Brandy	29,388	14	8
Geneva	28,481	17	1
Rum	49,086	19	10
Stones, Blocks of Marble	1,434	19	0
Tar	7,387	10	10
Thread, Sisters	1,174	10	1
Tobacco	235,211	6	0
Tow	1,259	19	6
Turpentine	3,068	0	5
Wax, Bees	3,462	15	11
Wines, Customs only.—Canary	1,421	4	5
French	10,465	9	10
Madeira	12,082	3	2
Portugal	377,794	19	11
Rhenish	3,213	5	4
Spanish	75,558	6	2
Wood.—Balks	2,227	9	6
Battens	11,201	17	4
Boards, Paling	1,215	8	9
——— Scale	1,223	11	2
Deals	125,411	18	8
—— Ends	3,715	13	5
Lathwood	3,104	13	9
Masts	3,207	19	9
Plank, Oak	7,056	3	10
Staves	16,764	1	6
Timber, Fir	54,963	13	1
——— Oak	1,051	5	6
Users	1,106	0	3
Wainscot logs	3,228	12	6
Yarn, Mohair	1,895	7	11

CHARGE.

SPECIES OF GOODS.		Net Produce, subject to the Payments of Bounties and Management. £.	s.	d.
Allum	Subsidies on goods exported.	1,204	10	9
Coals		98,370	18	10
Indigo		8,119	8	2
Lead		33,697	12	7
Skins, Beaver		3,479	10	6
Tin		4,453	18	5
Other subsidy articles		6,641	7	10
Coals brought coastways		518,239	6	9
Wine brought coastways to London		970	1	11
Stones and Slates brought coastways		6,064	11	7
Surcharges on sundry small articles		2,579	19	9
Interest on bonds		6	1	6
Tobacco condemned or sold for the duty		7,587	16	8
Duties on corn		23,129	12	8
Received from the inspector of corn returns		864	10	8
Duty on wine, sold by the excise		179	13	1
Duties remitted from the plantations		24,507	4	1
Window, or commutation duty, by 24 Geo. III.		229,848	1	8
Sundry small articles, the duties whereof have not amounted to £.1000 on each		280,313	0	7½
		5,101,206	10	0½

DISCHARGE.

By PAYMENTS out of the NET PRODUCE.	Payments out of the Net Produce.		
	£.	s.	d.
Payments out of the Net Produce, viz.			
Bounties — — —	566,808	6	6
Re-payments on over entries and damaged goods	41,118	8	0½
Charges of management — —	402,625	4	9
Money issued out of the revenues of Scotland, applicable to His Majesty's Civil Government	44,929	15	2¼
Paid Treasurers of the counties in Scotland, on account of corn returns —	801	0	0
Paid into the Exchequer — —	4,044,923	15	6¾
	£. 5,101,206	10	0½

Inspector General's Office,
Custom House, London,
Dec. 16th, 1794.

THOMAS IRVING,
Inspector General of the Imports
and Exports of Great Britain.

An Account of the Total Net Produce of the Duties arising from the Stamp Revenue, that have amounted to 1000l. or more, in the Four Quarters next preceding the 10th Day of October, 1794.

	£.	s.	d.
Consolidated Duties —	779,866	9	1
Insurance — —	127,201	2	0
Burials, &c. — —	3,825	0	1
Hats — —	9,338	4	11
Plate — —	23,248	17	1
Post Horse Duty —	196,339	18	0
Medicine — —	12,622	16	1
Game — —	39,920	11	8
Attornies — —	26,017	13	6
Pawnbrokers —	4,571	0	11
Glove — —	4,364	18	3
Perfumery — —	3,676	2	3
Judges Duty — —	1,558	8	0
Bills — —	110,973	7	8
Receipts —	43,581	4	2
Additional Game, 1791 —	16,991	1	3
Attornies, 1794 —	9,195	9	0
Apprentice Duty —	7,675	7	11
	1,420,867	11	10

Stamp Office,
14th October, 1794.

J. LLOYD, pro Compt.

EXCISE.—An Account of the Total Net Produce, paid into the Exchequer, of the Duties of Excise in England and Scotland: distinguishing, as far as possible, the produce on every separate Article, the Duties on which shall have amounted to 1,000l. or more, in the Four Quarters ending the 10th October, 1794.

DUTIES.	First Quarter, from 10 Oct. 1793. to 5 Jan. 1794			Second Quarter, from 5 Jan. 1794, to 5 April, 1794.			Third Quarter, from 5 Apr. 1794. to 5 July 1794.			Fourth Quarter, from 5 July 1794, to 10 Oct. 1794.			Total Net Produce of the Four Quarters.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Auctions — — —	17,440	0	0	18,133	0	0	20,607	0	0	24,576	0	0	80756	0	0
Beer — — —	367,368	0	0	457,781	0	0	718,557	0	0	426,672	0	0	1970378	0	0
Bricks and Tiles — —	57,016	0	0	14,567	0	0	2,476	0	0	42,398	0	0	116457	0	0
Candles — — —	38,652	0	0	79,992	0	0	67,089	0	0	28,826	0	0	214559	0	0
Coaches built for Sale — —	581	0	0	138	0	0	389	0	0	535	0	0	1643	0	0
Cocoa Nuts and Coffee — —	9,049	0	0	8,952	0	0	8,166	0	0	18,213	0	0	44380	0	0
Cyder, Perry, and Verjuice —	4,843	0	0	933	0	0	5,441	0	0	10,358	0	0	21575	0	0
Glass — — —	38,664	0	0	37,900	0	0	33,982	0	0	36,541	0	0	147087	0	0
Hides, Skins, Vellum, and Parchmt. —	51,428	0	0	71,462	0	0	57,202	0	0	65,123	0	0	245215	0	0
Hops — — —	0	0	0	0	0	0	15,354	0	0	450	0	0	15804	0	0
Malt, perpetual — —	104,907	0	0	8,944	0	0	81,968	0	0	378,583	0	0	574402	0	0
Metheglin, or Mead and Vinegar —	2,260	0	0	2,772	0	0	5,030	0	0	7,653	0	0	17685	0	0
							1794.			1794.					
Paper — — —	20,025	0	0	16,805	0	0	16,378	0	0	27,080	0	0	80288	0	0
Printed Goods — —	45,045	0	0	52,525	0	0	25,246	0	0	58,938	0	0	181754	0	0
Sope — — —	100,080	0	0	92,400	0	0	86,971	0	0	99,312	0	0	378763	0	0
Spirits { British — —	106,689	0	0	239,778	0	0	256,060	0	0	53,131	0	0	655658	0	0
Spirits { Foreign — —	187,067	0	0	286,244	0	0	82,341	0	0	134,466	0	0	690118	0	0
Starch — — —	20,986	0	0	24,904	0	0	26,988	0	0	28,921	0	0	101799	0	0
Sweets — — —	1,123	0	0	730	0	0	5,405	0	0	3,601	0	0	10859	0	0
Tea — — —	164,747	12	3½	54,830	19	9¼	163,488	10	4½	44,566	0	0	427633	2	5¼

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Tobacco and Snuff	75582	0	0	83001	0	0	8196	0	0	75042	0	0	315561	0	0
Verjuice is with Cyder and Perry															
Vinegar is with Metheglin															
Wine	82909	0	0	85075	0	0	55362	0	0	107298	0	0	330644	0	0
Wire	529	0	0	386	0	0	926	0	0	1023	0	0	2864	0	0
Licences to Auctioneers are with Auctions															
Coachmakers are with Coaches															
Dealers in Coffee, Choc. and Tea	3243	0	0	2740	0	0	2868	0	0	4980	0	0	13831	0	0
Makers and Sellers of Wax and Sper. Candles are with Candles															
Makers of, and Dealers in, exciseable Commodities	27380	0	0	5545	0	0	3532	0	0	5838	0	0	42295	0	0
Retailers of Spirituous Liquors	150723	0	0	6098	0	0	738	0	0	2079	0	0	159638	0	0
Ditto of Wine	29568	0	0	1317	0	0	303	0	0	720	0	0	31908	0	0
Sellers of Gold and Silver Plate	1965	0	0	1851	0	0	1728	0	0	2413	0	0	7957	0	0
Manufrs. of, and Dealers, in Tobac. &c. are with Tobacco, &c.															
British Spirits, 1791	16937	0	0	40117	0	0	43953	0	0	9361	0	0	110368	0	0
Foreign Ditto, 1791	36586	0	0	57218	0	0	17295	0	0	25465	0	0	136564	0	0
Duties commd. — British Spirits	—	—		628	0	0	37479	0	0	9439	0	0	47546	0	0
22 *Feb.* 1794 — Foreign Ditto	—	—		4275	0	0	16577	0	0	25955	0	0	46807	0	0
28 *Mar.* 1794 — Bricks	—	—		—	—		988	0	0	25646	0	0	26634	0	0
18 *April*, 1794 — Glass	—	—		—	—		1462	0	0	6573	0	0	8035	0	0
Total of Duties, except Malt, Annual	1763392	12	3½	1758041	19	9¼	1944255	10	4½	1791775	0	0	7257465	2	5¼
Annual Malt, Mum, Cyder, and Perry	118456	0	0	4759	0	0	155718	0	0	293455	0	0	572388	0	0
Total of England	1881848	12	3½	1762800	19	9¼	2099973	10	4½	2085230	0	0	7829853	2	5¼

An Account of the Duties of Excise paid into the Exchequer by the Commissioners of Excise in England, in one Year, between the 10 Oct. 1793, and 10 Oct. 1794, on the Part of Scotland.

DUTIES.	First Quarter, from 10 Oct. 1793, to 5 Jan 1794			Second Quarter, from 5 Jan. 1794, to 5 Apr. 1794.			Third Quarter, from 5 Apr. 1794. to 5 July 1794			Fourth Quarter, from 5 July 1794, to 10 Oct. 1794			Total Net Produce of the Four Quarters.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Auctions	1000	0	0	1000	0	0	—	—		—	—		2000	0	0
Beer	5000	0	0	—	—		—	—		—	—		5000	0	0
Bricks and Tiles	2000	0	0	1000	0	0	1000	0	0	—	—		4000	0	0
Candles															
Cocoa Nuts and Coffee	1000	0	0	—	—		—	—		—	—		1000	0	0
Glass	—	—		5000	0	0	2000	0	0	—	—		7000	0	0
Hides	—	—		—	—		—	—		6000	0	0	6000	0	0
Malt, perpetual	12000	0	0	6000	0	0	5000	0	0	6000	0	0	29000	0	0
Paper	2000	0	0	1000	0	0	—	—		2000	0	0	5000	0	0
Printed Goods	7000	0	0	6000	0	0	6000	0	0	6000	0	0	25000	0	0
Sope	5000	0	0	6000	0	0	6000	0	0	6000	0	0	23000	0	0
Spirits { British	14000	0	0	18000	0	0	27000	0	0	15000	0	0	74000	0	0
Spirits { Foreign	—	—		6000	0	0	5060	9	6	24000	0	0	35060	9	6
Starch															
Sweets															
Tobacco	9000	0	0	6000	0	0	9000	0	0	6000	0	0	30000	0	0
Wine	5000	0	0	—	—		9000	0	0	6000	0	0	20000	0	0
Licences { Tea	—	—		1000	0	0	—	—		—	—		1000	0	0
Licences { General	1000	0	0	1000	0	0	—	—		1000	0	0	3000	0	0
Licences { Spirituous Liquor	1000	0	0	2000	0	0	6000	0	0	3000	0	0	12000	0	0

British Spirits, 1791 Foreign Ditto, 1791 —	1000 0 0	— —	939 10 6	— —	1939 10 6	
Malt, 1791 —	— —	— —	— —	500 0 0	500 0 0	
Total of Duties, except Malt, Annual	66000 0 0	60000 0 0	77000 0 0	81500 0 0	284500 0 0	
Annual Malt, Mum, Cyder, and Perry —	6000 0 0	4000 0 0	100 0 0	3500 0 0	14500 0 0	
Total of Scotland —	72000 0 0	64000 0 0	78000 0 0	85000 0 0	299000 0 0	
Perpetual Duties { England —	7257465 2 5¼					
Perpetual Duties { Scotland —	284500 0 0					
Total of perpetual Duties —	— —					7541965 2 5¾
Annual Duties { England —	572388 0 0					
Annual Duties { Scotland —	14500 0 0					
Total of Annual Duties —	— —					586888 0 5
Total of England and Scotland —						81288853 2 5¼

Excise Office,
London,
12th Nov. 1794.

JAMES WEBB, Accompt. General.

An ACCOUNT of the total produce paid into the Exchequer of the Duties under the Head of INCIDENTS; diſtinguiſhing (as far as poſſible) in each Branch, the Produce on every ſeparate Article, the Duties on which ſhall have amounted to ONE THOUSAND POUNDS, or more, in the Four Quarters ended the 10th October, 1794.

	£.	s.	d.
Conſolidated Salt — —	428,987	13	1½
Ditto — Letter Money —	156,000	—	—
Letter Money, 1760 — —	299,000	—	—
Seizures — —	18,231	9	2¾
Firſt Fruits — —	3,630	—	9¼
Tenths — —	9,918	7	11
Hawkers and Pedlars, 1710 — —	2,809	6	4
Hackney Coaches and Chairs, 1711 —	11,500	—	—
Ditto — — — 1784 —	14,000	—	—
6d Deduction on Penſions, 1721 —	51,342	—	—
1s Ditto — on Salaries, 1758 —	33,465	—	9
Male Servants — —	96,137	11	11¾
Female Ditto — — —	4,420	8	11½
4 Weel Carriages — —	162,825	14	11½
2 Well Ditto — —	3 ,650	15	11¾
Carts — — —	1,396	6	3½
Horſes — —	108 754	6	—
Houſes and Windows, 1766 —	340,511	9	4¾
Houſes, 1779 — —	147,907	14	3½
Alienation Duty — —	2,530	15	4
10l per Cent. — —	86,963	5	6
	2,014,002	6	9¾
The produce of Duties under 1,000l, within the ſame Period, amounts to — —	2,652	12	7½
	2,016,654	19	5¼

		£.	s.	d.
Money	paid by Lieut. General Christie, Deputy Quarter Master General in North America, on Balance of his Account from 1757 to 1766	632	16	—
Ditto	by Edward Roberts, Esq., First Clerk to the Clerks of the Pells, for the Residue of Exchequer Fees for the consolidated Fund	1,368	2	4
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Ditto	by George Rose, Esq., for Post Fines from 1775 to 1788 — —	3,592	4	2½
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Ditto	by Wm Chamberlayne, Esq., on Account of Daniel Chalmer deceased —	9,467	10	4
Ditto	by John Fenwick, Esq., for the Carnavon Militia — —	500	—	—
Ditto	by Claude Scott, on Account of Wheat, &c. sold for Government — —	40,000	—	—
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Ditto	by Robert Bisset, Esq., on Account of the Armament, 1793 — —	2,000	—	—
Ditto	by Fludyer and Co. on Account of Cloathing sold for Government —	8,714	17	11
Ditto	by Abraham Newland, Esq., being the Surplus after paying off the Principal and Interest upon Exchequer Bills, made forth by virtue of an Act 33. Geo. III. Reg. for enabling His Majesty to issue Exchequer Bills — —	13,348	2	2¾
Imprest	Money re-paid by Josette Murray, Executrix of Richard Murray, late Barrack Master in Quebec — —	514	14	—
Ditto	———— by the Right Hon. Welbore Ellis, late Treasurer of the Navy —	7,842	15	7¾
		352,184	6	5½
		2,016,654	19	5¼
		2,368,839	5	10¾

Exchequer, the 15th
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Examined,

GRENVILLE.

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